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LIVES

OF THE

ARCHBISHOPS OF CANTERBURY.

VOL. II.

Anglo-Norman Period.

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A. VII. e

LIVES

OF THE

ARCHBISHOPS OF CANTERBURY.

BY

WALTER FARQUHAR HOOK, D.D.

DEAN OF CHICHESTER.

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VOLUME II.

ANGLO-NORMAN PERIOD.

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SUCCESSION

OF

ARCHBISHOPS AND CONTEMPORARY KINGS.

Archbishops.	Consecration.	Consecrators.	Accession.	Death.	Contemporary Kings.
Lanfranc	1070	Will. London . . . W. Winchester . . Giso Wells . . . W. Hereford . . . H. Sherborn . . . S. Rochester . . . R. Dorchester . . H. Elmham . . . Stig. Selsey . . .	1070	1089	William I. William II.
Anselm	1093	Thom. York . . . Maur. London . . Walk. Winchester . Gund. Rochester . Osm. Sarum . . . Robert Hereford . Robert Lichfield . John Bath . . . Ralph Chichester . Herbert Thetford .	1093	1109	William II. Henry I.
Ralph of Escures . .	1108	Anselm . . . . Rich. London . . Will. Winchester . Ralph Chichester .	1114	1122	Henry I.
William of Corbeuil .	1123	Richard London . Will. Winchester . Roger Sarum . . . Bern. S. David's . Ernulf Rochester .	1123	1136	Henry I. Stephen.
Theobald	1139	Alberic Ostia . . Henry Winchester . Roger Sarum . . Simon Worcester . Seffrid Chichester . Roger Lichfield . . Alex. Lincoln . . Robert Hereford . Robert Exeter . .	1139	1161	Stephen. Henry II.

Archbishops.	Consecration	Consecrators.	Accession.	Death.	Contemporary Kings.
Thomas à Becket . .	1162	Hen. Winchester Nigel Ely . . . . Robert Bath . . . Jocelin Sarum . . Will. Norwich . . Hilary Chichester . Walt. Rochester . Nic. Llandaff . . Gilbert Hereford . Robert Lincoln . . Dav. St. David's . Geoff. St. Asaph . Richard Lichfield . Bart. Exeter . . .	1162	1170	Henry II.
Richard	1174	Alexander III. . .	1174	1184	Henry II.
Baldwin	1180	Richard	1185	1190	Henry II. Richard I.
Reginald Fitz-Jocelin	1174	Richard . . . . Peter Tarentaise .	1191	1191	Richard I.
Hubert Walter . .	1189	Baldwin	1193	1205	Richard I. John.
Stephen Langton . .	1207	Innocent III. . .	1207	1228	John. Henry III.

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1072	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	Alphonso I. (*Castile.*)
1073	. .	. .	. .	. .	Gregory VII.	
1076	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	Sancho V. (*Nav. and Ar.*)
1085	. .	. .	. .	. .	Victor III.	
1087	William II.	. .	. .	. .	Urban II.	
1093	. .	Donald VI.				
1094	. .	Duncan II.	. .	. .	. .	Peter I. (*Nav. and Ar.*)
1096	. .	Edgar				
1099	. .	. .	. .	. .	Pascal II.	
1100	Henry I.					
1104	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	Alphonso I. (*Nav. and Ar.*)
1106	. .	. .	Henry V.			
1107	. .	Alexander I.				
1108	. .	. .	. .	Louis VI.		
1109	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	Urraca (*Castile.*)
1118	. .	. .	. .	. .	Gelasius II.	
1119	. .	. .	. .	. .	Calixtus II.	
1124	. .	David I.				
1125	. .	. .	Lothaire II.	. .	Honorius II.	
1126	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	Alphonso II. (*Castile.*)
1130	. .	. .	.	. .	Innocent II.	
1133	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	Garcia V. (*Navarre.*)
1134	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	Ramirez V. (*Aragon.*)
1135	Stephen					
1137	. .	. .	. .	Louis VII.	. .	Petronilla and Ramondo (*Aragon.*)
1138	. .	. .	Conrad III.			
1143	. .	. .	. .	. .	Celestine II.	
1144	. .	. .	. .	. .	Lucius II.	

A.D.	England.	Scotland.	Germany.	France.	Pope.	Spain.
1145	. .	. .	. .	. .	Eugene III.	
1150	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	Sancho VI. the Wise (*Navarre.*)
1152	. .	. .	Frederic I.			
1153	. .	Malcolm IV.				
1154	Henry II.	. .	. .	. .	Anastasius IV.	
1155	. .	. .	. .	. .	Adrian IV.	
1157	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	Sancho II. (*Castile.*)
1158	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	Alphonso III. (*Castile.*)
1159	. .	. .	. .	. .	Alexander III.	
1162	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	Alphonso II. (*Aragon.*)
1165	. .	William I.				
1180	. .	. .	. .	Philip II.		
1181	. .	. .	. .	. .	Lucius III.	
1185	. .	. .	. .	. .	Urban III.	
1187	. .	. .	. .	. .	Gregory VIII.	
1188	. .	. .	. .	. .	Clement III.	
1189	Richard I.					
1190	. .	. .	Henry VI.			
1191	. .	. .	. .	. .	Celestine III.	
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1198	. .	. .	Philip	. .	Innocent III.	
1199	John	. .	Otho IV.			
1212	. .	. .	Frederick II.			
1213	. .	. .	. .	. .	. . .	James I. (*Aragon.*)
1214	. .	Alexander II.	. .	. .	. .	Henry I. (*Castile.*)
1216	Henry III.					
1217	. .	. .	. .	. .	Honorius III.	Ferdinand III. (*Castile.*)
1223	. .	. .	. .	Louis VIII.		
1226	. .	. .	. .	St. Louis IX.		
1227	. .	. .	. .	. .	Gregory IX.	

Authorities:—Stubbs, Registrum Sacrum Anglicanum. Le Neve, Fasti Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ: ed. Hardy. Sir Harris Nicolas, Chronology of History.

LIVES

OF THE

ARCHBISHOPS OF CANTERBURY

BOOK II.

ANGLO-NORMAN PERIOD.

CHAPTER I.

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CHAP. I. Introductory.

THE present book occupies a period of little more than a century and a half. But the years which elapsed between William the Conqueror and Henry III., between Lanfranc and Stephen Langton, between Domesday Book and Magna Charta, between Gregory VII. and Innocent III., are among the most eventful years in the history of Europe, and especially in the history of England.

It was the age of feudalism, the character of which, unobliterated, is still impressed upon the institutions of the country: it was the age of the Crusades which gave a fresh impulse to the progress of civilisation and opened the literary treasures of Greece, and of the East generally, to the learning of Europe: it was the age of chivalry, which gave to modern civilisation its superiority over that of the ancient world, by introducing the courtesies of society, by infusing a spirit of humanity into the operations of war, and by establishing the code of honour, as ancillary to the mandates of religion: it was the age when the schoolmen awakened the slumbering mind of Europe, and, by ploughing the intellectual soil, prepared it for the seeds, soon to be sown, of modern science: it was the age in which schools were developed into universities, and places of instruction became seats of learning, connected with, but independent of, the Church: it was the age in which the Courts of Law, emanating from the "Curia Regis," assumed the place in Westminster Hall which they still retain: it was the age in which that struggle began between the civil and ecclesiastical Powers, which, favourable at first to the pretensions of the Church, terminated only at the Reformation, when the Church

and Realm of England declared the Sovereign to be in all causes, and over all persons, ecclesiastical as well as civil, in these his dominions supreme.

The period commences with the establishment of Physical force, it concludes with the assertion of Moral right. Men were first taught the necessity of submission to authority, then limits were prescribed to authority itself, and the governing body was taught that it was responsible to those who, for the general welfare, submitted to be governed.

It was an age of bad actions but of great men. From experience, and from the greater light which experience supplies, we have learned to censure many of the objects, to the furtherance of which the men of this epoch directed their minds, and to condemn the measures to which they resorted for the accomplishment of their ends. But we often find these very men instigated by high and holy motives; encouraging in themselves and in others principles, which, if liable to misapplication, are, nevertheless, of everlasting value; and laying deep the strong composite foundation of a political edifice, such as ought to secure for them the admiration of a grateful posterity. In the study of history, we learn to adore the Providence of our God, when, in mercy, he frustrates the immediate designs of his short-sighted creatures. Still more do we admire the Divine Benevolence, when He blesses their well-intentioned exertions by shaping them to purposes more important, and more really in accordance with their desires, than they ventured to anticipate; when he makes their very failures to be stepping-stones for the advancement of generations yet unborn. We may feel assured that a portion of a good man's happiness in heaven will consist in the contemplation of the undesigned results of his conduct when on earth; — in seeing the blessed harvest which, to the glory of God, has sprung up from the seed which he cast upon

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the filthy soil from which he was not permitted to see it emerge.

Among the great men of the age, sometimes as theologians and scholars, at other times as ministers of state, as lawyers, as warriors, and as generals, the primates of England maintained the foremost place, and exercised an influence on the politics of Europe. When we mention the names of Lanfranc, Anselm, Becket, Hubert, and Stephen Langton, it will be at once perceived that this Book is concerned with the history of heroes, if not of saints. The present generation may be offended at seeing archbishops acting as judges, as viceroys, as soldiers; but the question whether by shrinking from these offices, in their own time, they could have performed the duty which they owed to their fellow-men, can only be answered by those who have duly considered the circumstances under which they were placed, the difficulties with which they had to contend, and the principles which were, at that time universally received, as true, — in one word, the Spirit of the Age.

I. During the whole of this period the struggle was for power. There was one continual struggle for power between popes and emperors, between kings, bishops, and barons. Even when Magna Charta was extorted from King John, the direct object was not the assertion of liberty, but the restriction of power.

The cause of this it is not difficult to find. One of the earliest results of the establishment of the feudal system was the formation of numerous tyrannical oligarchies. The feudal lord exercised within the boundaries of his estate almost all the rights of sovereignty. Although legal forms were not entirely set aside, yet practically his will was the only law to himself, his word the only law to which his retainers gave heed. If by anarchy we mean the triumph of might over right, the country, and Europe

generally, were ever on the verge of the worst kind of anarchy, — the lawlessness of armed men living among a people unable to obtain weapons for their defence. The eleven hundred castles, which are said to have existed in the time of Stephen, were, in fact, little less than eleven hundred different states. The baron, indeed, acknowledged himself to be the vassal of the Crown, and admitted that, to a certain extent, he was responsible to the king, who, on an appeal to his peers, might call him to account. But when the king was weak, he was defied. It was, therefore, a primary object with the king to obtain power to control, and if need were, to coerce his barons.

But the most powerful of the Norman kings, was himself little more than a great baron; and, although the tyranny of one is less oppressive than the tyranny of many, he was equally ready to set aside the restraints of the law when it suited his convenience. The immense sums of money which were occasionally and suddenly raised, are sufficient to show that the minister of a Norman king, if less cruel than the neighbouring baron, was not less exacting. Power was required to restrain the king, and this power was sought by the Church. The Scriptures of the Old Testament were studied with a zest equal to that of the Puritans of a subsequent period, and the idea of a theocracy was prevalent and popular. The people groaned beneath the tyranny of the barons; they too often missed a protector in the sovereign; they found a friend in the priest, who very frequently rose from their own ranks, to the high position he occupied in society. Priests and bishops were foremost among the demagogues of the day, and in the contentions which we shall have to recount between the primates and the kings of England, we shall find the people invariably on the side of the Church. Every church movement was a popular movement. The Church formed the revolutionary party; and among the people,

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degraded, and to a great extent enslaved, the prevalent feeling was, that any revolution would be better than the existing state of things. The king became more exacting, from the necessity under which he was placed of supporting mercenaries to defend himself against the assaults of barons, church, and people. The Church defied his mercenaries, because the anathema of the ecclesiastic when directed against the ruling powers, was sure to meet with a deep response in the heart of the people; who, even to barons and monarchs cased in armour, became formidable from their numbers.

The consequence of this condition of things, was an intensity of selfishness, such as, in modern times, we read of among the ill-governed states of Asia, and of which we had fearful experience in the Indian revolt. We distinguish between self-love and selfishness. Self-love is an instinct of our nature to which an appeal is made by revealed religion, whenever heaven is held out to our hopes, or hell is suggested to our fears. The object of true religion is to make self-love rational, by inducing us to resist the temptations of the present for the purpose of securing our real, permanent, everlasting well-being and happiness.

By selfishness, on the contrary, we mean that inordinate regard to self, which makes us forgetful of the claims of others, of what is due from us to them, and to the whole family of man. Selfishness is not incompatible with the coexistence of many generous, kind, and even noble feelings, for, in the indulgence of them, self may itself be gratified. But when our interests clash with those of others, when our will is opposed, when our passions are resisted, then it is, that in violation of all law, in disregard of the sufferings, the rights, and the feelings of others, the sin of selfishness becomes the prolific parent of almost every iniquity.

When the state of society was such that every man had to depend upon his own right hand to maintain his own, the worst features of selfishness were sure to be displayed. The education of the nobles was based upon selfishness, and selfishness in one class, begets, of course, selfishness in every other. The only arts in which the noble desired to excel were those which related to war and the chase. Young men were educated in a spirit of pugnacity. They were taught to love war for its own sake; and to think nothing of a neighbour's life or limb, if it could be made a sacrifice to their vanity. War, and war only, was glorious. They sought the indulgence of their warlike propensities on the field of battle; but if no enemy could be found, they converted a friend into a temporary foeman; and then, for sport's sake, friend would stand armed against friend; neither of them caring for the pain he inflicted, because both were solely intent upon self-glorification. They destroyed the habitations of men to provide a home for the beasts of the earth, and butchered the animals they sheltered and fed, with a zest only less exciting than that which they enjoyed in the slaughter of men.

There seems to have been in all classes, including kings and prelates, an absolute impotence to control the angry passions when once aroused. We who live in a civilised state of society, are scarcely aware of the approximation to madness which the malignant passions assume, when they have not been checked and controlled in early life. Even in our own age, there are classes of society, in which we have examples both of the ungovernable nature of these passions, and of their possible coexistence with many amiable qualities. In our police courts men are continually summoned by their wives for assaults, and we justly pronounce them to be brutes; but there may be something of good even in a brute, and when the anger

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of the accusing wife has subsided, we hear of her pleading in her husband's behalf, and in her readiness to forgive and forget the past, we read of possible kindness in sober moments. The murderous feeling of a moment does not imply that there is nothing of love or even of tenderness in the lucid intervals. But in the upper classes of society these scenes are now of rare occurrence. How seldom we hear of a nobleman or gentleman guilty of murder—a not unusual occurrence in the middle ages. The reason is, that the very customs of society impose restraints upon us from our earliest years. The malignant spirit finds abundant ways of giving vent to its spleen; but against violent action and violent language we are educated to guard, not merely by household discipline, but by our attachment to the word gentleman. The Norman kings were none of them gentlemen. They were not gentlemen, because, from their earliest years, the vindictive and other passions were encouraged and indulged. A man who, through his angry passions, had been hurried into crime, and who felt violently the pangs of remorse, would often be conscious of his incapacity to master himself, and in order that he might guard against a repetition of crime, he would betake himself to a monastery, selling his liberty, and placing himself under external restraint.

If we refer to the works of John of Salisbury and of Peter of Blois, to the letters of Lanfranc, Anselm, and Foliot, we must be convinced, after making all allowances for the exaggeration of party writers, of the extreme profligacy of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. A Norman castle, especially when it was removed from the slight control of public opinion in Normandy, and was erected in devastated England, became too often a very hell upon earth. "It is a shame even to speak of those things which were done of them in secret."* The awful account

* Ephesians, v. 12.

of heathen society which is given in the first chapter of the Epistle to the Romans was applicable to the fullest extent to the Normans professing Christianity; with this addition, that we must reverse the well-known sentence of Burke, and assert that the evil of vice was more than doubled by losing none of its grossness.

There are many exceptions to be made to the statement now advanced, the nature of which will be presently noticed. But the words of the Saxon chronicle were fearfully true:—"They," the Normans, "filled the land full of castles, cruelly oppressing the wretched people with castle work, and when the castles were built, they filled them with devils and wicked men. They took those whom they supposed to have goods and shut them up, and inflicted on them insufferable tortures."

The policy of William the Conqueror at the commence- of his reign, and at its conclusion, as well as in his various regulations, laws, and proceedings, was to conciliate the Anglo-Saxons whose laws he reformed, whose constitution, so far as it could be reconciled to feudal principles, he retained, and the legitimate successor of whose kings he represented himself to be. By encouraging intermarriages, he paved the way for that fusion of the three races, Anglo-Saxon, Dane, and Norman, which was accomplished surprisingly soon. But he was guilty of an act, the evil consequences of which were long a curse to the country, while it has for ever placed in the list of tyrants the name of one who, for military skill, and for genius as a legislator, has had few superiors.

The Conqueror found a spirit of independence prevailing in the north of England. It was not practicable to garrison so extensive a district. He acted, therefore, on the principle, that it is better to reign in hell than to serve in heaven; and deliberately, in cold blood, he converted the garden of the north into a howling wilderness. From

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the Humber to the Tees, and thence northward to the Tyne,—the whole extent of Yorkshire and of Northumberland,—corn, fruit, game, every article of food, every utensil for dressing it, all were destroyed; man, woman, child, all were massacred; no quarter was shown to sex or age. And death was the least of the miseries inflicted, for some poor wretches, in the despair of hunger, had been driven to cannibalism. William of Malmesbury, writing sixty years after, says in his rhetorical style: "Should any stranger now see it, he laments over the once magnificent cities, the towers threatening heaven itself with their loftiness; the fields abundant in pasturage and watered with rivers; and if any ancient inhabitant remains, he knows it no longer."*

* Hardy observes,—"Domesday Book bears ample testimony to this statement, and that which closely follows, viz., that the resources of this once flourishing province were cut off by fire, slaughter, and devastation; and the ground, for more than sixty miles totally uncultivated and unproductive, remains bare to the present day. The land which had belonged to Edwin and Morcar, in Yorkshire, almost everywhere in the survey, is stated to be *wasta;* and in Amunderness, after the enumeration of no fewer than sixty-two places, the possessions in which amounted to 170 carucates, it is said:—'Omnes hæ villæ jacent ad Prestune, et tres ecclesiæ, ex his 16 a paucis incoluntur, sed quot sint habitantes ignoratur. Reliqua sunt wasta.' Moreover, *wasta* is added to numerous places belonging to the Archbishop of York, St. John of Beverley, the Bishop of Durham, and to those lands which had belonged to Waltheof, Gospatric, Siward, and Merlesweyne." (Note on W. Malmesb. iii. 249.) I would add the remark, that it is to a similar policy that we may, in part, attribute the devastation which created the New Forest. William had the means of guarding the coasts of Kent and Sussex; but his forces being insufficient to protect Hampshire, in which was situated the Anglo-Saxon capital, and being aware that the native inhabitants would aid any invader, he swept them away, and rendered the whole coast, for miles round, unattractive to any piratical hordes simply seeking booty. One object, undoubtedly, may have been, to obtain so large a tract for his sports.

A reign of terror ensued. Soon after the invasion many of the more noble Saxons had fled the country; some to Scotland, some to Denmark, some to Flanders, some to the banks of the Elbe, the ancient home of their fathers; others obtained commissions under continental sovereigns, enemies of the Bastard; a noble few, under the command of Siward, a thane of Gloucestershire, were enrolled as axe-bearers in the army of Alexius the Emperor of the East, and had the happiness of defeating the hated Normans, when, under Robert Guiscard, they invaded the province of Apulia.* The great body, however, of the Anglo-Saxon population sought shelter in the woods with which the island at that time abounded. A more impregnable castle no Norman baron possessed. We can hardly imagine in these times the condition of an indigenous wood, unless we have paid attention to the accounts given by missionaries and travellers in the American continent of the mighty forests, through which they have had to force their way.

A narrow pathway was cut, the tall trees being a wall on either side, and the pathway itself was rugged with stumps and roots of the half felled and uneradicated timber. A handful of men acquainted with the country could here hold a large army at bay; especially an army of Normans consisting chiefly of cavalry, and requiring a smooth road and ample space. The pathway, winding over hills and mountains, down ravines and across brooks and rivers, led to a clearing which presented the appearance of a village, where food was plentifully provided by the sportsman, where the ground was cultivated, and

* "Thus it was," says Ordericus Vitalis, "that the Anglo-Saxons were settled in Ionia, where, to the present time, faithfully attached to the Holy Empire, their posterity is beloved by the emperor, the senate, and the people."—*Order. Vital.* iv. 3; *Fordun*, 698; *Thierry*, ii. 23.

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whither luxuries might be brought from the towns, when to the towns the citizens had returned.

The Anglo-Saxon warriors had been accustomed to a wandering life, and a life in the woods was no hardship to them; and when we speak of these woodmen or foresters, we are to bear in mind that many of them were persons nobly born, who had held a high position in society before the Conquest. They were attended by their servants and vassals.* There was more regard to law and equity among them than among the inmates of the Norman castle. They had their clergy; and they professed attention to their religious duties. They laughed at the new claim of the Norman kings, who, as lords of the soil, asserted an exclusive right to all but what the old law called bocland, and prohibited the Saxons from hunting. The deer were in merriment and mockery called the king's deer, and to regale on the king's deer was not only an amusement, but a patriotic act by which the usurper was defied. If a Norman, whether baron or prelate, crossed their path, the gallant foresters thought themselves at liberty to ease him of his ill-gotten wealth, and to rob the robber was a duty as well as a pleasure. The Saxons were not a cruel race; they did not mutilate or otherwise maltreat their prisoners, but they exacted a heavy ransom; and they were thus enabled to descend into the towns, where, in making their purchases, they amused and gratified the merchant, by recounting the manner in which the Norman had been made to disgorge what he had sinned to obtain.

A Saxon merchant or trader might traverse the length and the breadth of the land in perfect security, and might be certain of a hearty welcome if he fell in with his countrymen. This state of affairs the flatterers of William

* Matt. Paris, Vitæ Abbatum S. Albani, p. 46.

attributed to the wise regulations of the king. But how little credit was due to him for this security to the Saxons is shown by his inability to procure it for the Normans. The Normans, and Saxons suspected of Normanising, scarcely dared to transgress the boundaries of their own grounds, and their castles and houses were closed and fortified like a town in a state of siege.*

The foresters were denounced as robbers and rebels by the Normans. They were regarded as heroes by the Saxons. Stories were freely circulated of the various adventures of Adam Bel, Clym of the Clough †, and William of Cloudesley; — how, secure when they visited a friendly population in the towns, and well acquainted with every bye-path in the country, they maltreated and evaded the Norman magistrate and constable. The stories soon appeared in the shape of national ballads, which are still read with interest by those who find pleasure in poetry, wit, and humour. The last of this band of heroes was the greatest; and, at a later period, Robin Hood became a myth as well as a reality.

It is necessary to bear this in mind, as it enables us to account for the ease with which a popular Norman king, or rather a Norman king when it was his policy to seek popularity, was enabled to surround himself with an English army. It was from the hardy foresters that the royal forces were recruited, when it was the object of the king to keep in check their common enemy, the barons. To win them, the promise was made from time to time, though not invariably kept, that the laws of good King Edward should be observed, or the Anglo-Saxon constitution maintained. Once enlisted, the Anglo-Saxons were ready to follow the king in his continental expe-

* Matt. Paris, ut supra.

† Percy explains Clough to mean a broken cliff (Relics i.); perhaps it were better to say a torrent course.

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ditions, and conquerors and conquered became brothers in arms; one of the many circumstances which tended to the amalgamation of the two races.

From that portion of the population which was employed in cultivating the soil the enlistment could not be made, for they, if not slaves, could hardly be considered as free men. They were either villeins (*villani*) regardant or appurtenant to the manor (*ad manerium spectantes, regardantes*), and incapable of being removed from it; or villeins in gross, the servi of Domesday Book.* The former class could acquire property and make wills, and, if permitted, purchase their freedom; in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries they gradually became copyholders. The villeins in gross, or pure villeins, might be alienated at pleasure and be sold in the market; but they seem to have had a right to purchase property, and they were never numerous † in England.‡

The tendency of the feudal system was to benefit the latter class, by admitting them as well as others to the oath of fealty. This conferred upon them a right of protection and raised them to a condition superior to that of downright slavery.§

The towns soon became the strongholds of freedom and independence. When the Saxons had conquered the country, they, from their dislike of town life, left the towns very much as they found them. The towns therefore retained to a considerable extent the character, which they had inherited, of a Roman municipality. The policy

* Introduction to Domesday, Ellis, 8.

† Domesday Book shows them to have been in Sussex, to the villeins regardant, as 415 to 5866.

‡ Villenage in gross had certainly ceased to exist in the time of Edward IV.

§ Ellis, 81. The whole subject is briefly and clearly stated by Babington "On the Abolition of Slavery in Europe."

of William the Conqueror, whose sagacity suggested the importance of encouraging trade, confirmed the cities in their municipal rights, subject to feudal regulations. When the law had reasserted its authority the Saxon artisans and traders returned to the towns; and here again the Normans and the Saxons were brought into association; and, as was the case with the upper classes, the commingled races soon formed a new species—the English people. By community of interests, by intermarriages, and by local attachments, the distinction of race was almost obliterated in the time of Henry II.*

We shall have occasion, in the life of Hubert, to refer to the flourishing condition of the towns in the reign of Henry. But it was very different in the early part of the eleventh century, and before the great revolution in Europe effected by the Crusades.

The prosperity of towns subsists in manufactures, commerce, and trade; and for manufactured goods the demand was small; while extensive trade, from the circumstances of the times, was next to an impossibility. For the fabrication of armour the extensive family of Smith resided in the castle, or in the village protected under the shadow of its walls. The monastery possessed its own artisans to elaborate the work which its superior civilisation demanded. Kings had their clothes and

* "D. Nunquid pro murdro debet imputari clandestina mors Anglici sicut Normanni?

"M. A prima institutione non debet, sicut audisti: sed jam cohabitantibus Anglicis et Normannis et alterutrûm uxores ducentibus vel nubentibus, sic permixtæ sunt nationes, ut vix discerni possit hodie, de liberis loquor, quis Anglicus quis Normannus sit genere; exceptis duntaxat ascriptitiis qui Villani dicuntur, quibus non est liberum obstantibus dominis suis a sui status conditione discedere. Ea propter pene quicunque sic hodie occisus reperitur, ut murdrum punitur exceptis his quibus certa sunt ut diximus servilis conditionis indicia." —*Dialogus de Scaccario*, lib. i. c. 10.

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furniture made on their own farms. In the towns, therefore, manufactures were only conducted so far as to meet the modest requirements of the citizens. When we bear in mind that a toll was to be paid by the merchant to each baron, whose petty estate he traversed or whose bridge he had occasion to cross; when we also remember that some barons, not content with a moderate toll, eased the traveller of his burden by seizing his person and demanding a ransom, or by instigating his followers to more direct acts of pillage; we must be prepared to acquiesce in the opinion of Mr. Hallam that "one has more reason to wonder at the intrepid thirst for lucre, which induced a very few merchants to exchange the products of different regions, than to ask why no general spirit of commercial activity prevailed."*

II. Under this state of society the service rendered to the Christian cause by the monastic institutions was great. Humanly speaking, it is scarcely possible to see how, except through the intervention of monasteries, Christianity, or civilisation itself, could have been sustained or handed down to posterity.

Of the suppression of monasteries at the period of the Reformation, we heartily approve; because their work was done and the institutions had become effete. An institution which has become useless is sure to sink not only into insignificance, but into mischief. When men were enabled by the process of civilisation, and by more correct views of Christianity, to cultivate their virtues, and to acquire knowledge in their own houses and in their studies; when, both in the country mansion or cottage and in the parsonage-house, bright examples of piety, of charity, and of rational self-denial could be exhibited, brought out into greater perfection by the domestic

* Hallam, Middle Ages, iii. 367.

relations and the dear delights of home, the monastery was deserted by men who, not debilitated by mere sentimentality, were earnest in their work; and, with a few honourable exceptions, they became the resort of the idle and the profligate. But this does not prove that there was not a time, in the world's history, when monasteries held a place in the providential purposes of God; or that they did not accomplish, to a certain extent, and so far as human infirmity would permit, some of the great objects which their pious founders designed. What is useless in one age may have been of essential service to a preceding generation. When the monks applied water-power to the grinding of corn, the water-mill superseded the old fashioned mode of producing flour, and the re-establishment of a hand-mill would have been a puerile folly; but this does not imply that the hand-mill had never been of use to prepare food for man.

Christianity had not, as yet, succeeded in that part of its duty which consists in leavening society with its principles, and it was regarded too much as something apart from the world; nevertheless, its voice was heard, if not always with attention, yet invariably with respect and awe. From the centre of some den of pollution a cry almost of despair would sometimes be heard, How shall I escape the wrath to come? The first step to be taken was that of flight, and to those who fled from the world, the door of the monastery was always open.

That within these walls dogmas were asserted which cannot stand the test of Scripture or even of primitive tradition, that practices were encouraged, the evil tendency of which experience has shown, so far from denying, we are among the first, in the nineteenth century, to assert; but charity must have been utterly quenched in the heart which refuses to do honour to the godly few who, renouncing the allurements of a polluted world, or flying

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the fury or the lust of diabolical men, sought rest for their souls in the observances of the sanctuary, and submitted to the discipline which a well-conducted monastery enforced. The monasteries of the eleventh and twelfth centuries were planted throughout the land as cities of refuge,—literally such, "for the slayer might flee thither which should kill his neighbour unawares, and hated him not in times past, that fleeing unto one of these cities he might live." * At a time when every man was ready to take the law into his own hand, and to administer it, not according to the dictates of justice, but under the instigation of revengeful fury, we see at once the importance of attaching the right of sanctuary to churches, so that the hand of the avenger might be stayed until examination could take place, and the mitigating circumstances be duly appreciated. In this asylum, the oppressed found influential mediators between himself and his feudal superiors, and, if need were, procured a hearing from the king, at whose council board the heads of the monastery had a voice.

The monastery was, however, more especially a ψυχῆς ἰατρεῖον, the city of refuge to those who sought deliverance, not so much from the vengeance of Norman law, as from the tyranny of sin, the power of Satan, the love of the world, the fear of eternal death. Here their

* Deut. iv. 42. The right of sanctuary was by universal consent during the earlier ages of Christianity, attached to all churches. As might naturally be expected, abuses crept in, and what at first had been for good, at last grew to be an intolerable evil. There is extant upon the Parliamentary Rolls (vol. iii. p. 503), a petition of the citizens of London, in which they set forth that apprentices rob their masters, and then harbour within the sanctuary of S. Martin's-le-Grand; that forgers of wills, signatures, and seals, also murderers, traitors, coiners, thieves, and robbers, were there protected. The right of sanctuary was not finally abolished in England until the reign of Henry VIII. (stat. 26, 28, and 32 Hen. VIII.). — *Chron. Monast. de Abingdon*, introd. xlviii.

eyes and hearts were directed to the Cross of Christ, and they were taught to rely upon Him crucified. They were told of the blood of Christ, which could cleanse the most aggravated sin, and of the Spirit of Christ, Who can sanctify the most polluted nature.

Admitted into the convent, which stood the rival of the feudal castle, the new inmate looked down from its lofty turrets on a busy population, for the monks were the scientific agriculturists of the age, and manual labour was enforced upon all who were not occupied by intellectual employments or the offices of religion. As proprietors of the soil, they could command the services of the Saxon serf and the Norman villein born on their estates, but serf and villein found in the monk, not only a fellow-labourer, but a brother and a friend. The language of the Church was directly opposed to that of the Castle, and it was openly proclaimed that all "Christian men are brothers, whether high or low, noble or ignoble, lord or slave. The wealthy is not better on that account than the needy. The slave might as boldly call God his Father as the king. We are all alike before God, unless any one excel another in good works." * How elevating to the character, how consolatory to the heart, must such language have been to those whom the feudal lord regarded as less valuable than his war horse, and as little better than his chattels. Although the time had not come when it became a fact that the foot which once touches the English soil has become the foot of a freeman, yet provision was made in the monasteries for the emancipation of slaves. No feudal lord could refuse freedom to his slave, if the slave were desirous of receiving even the inferior orders of the Church, provided the sum required for the purchase of his freedom was forthcoming; and

* Ælfric's Homilies, vol. i. p. 261.

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from the treasury of the monastery the money might be drawn by any one who proved himself worthy of freedom, and was willing to submit to the restraints of religion and morality.

The humanising and civilising influences of a monastery extended beyond its own domains. The utmost amount of labour was exacted from the working man, and anything like a Ten Hours Act was impossible; but the same end was answered by the number of holidays, which were of necessity granted to them, since by the Church they were claimed as religious festivals. On the festivals the neighbouring monasteries afforded the means of rational amusement and peaceful recreation. Instead of military display, they provided processions in which the clergy were arrayed in their splendid vestments, while the treasures of the establishment were freely exhibited. The architectural beauty of the church, its artistic decorations, together with the music which seemed to unite the supplications of the Church militant with the thanksgivings of the Church triumphant, all tended to the education of the taste and the affections, and such education forms an important element in the edification of human nature and the processes of civilisation.

In the monastery the whole neighbourhood found united the advantages which are in these days provided by the squire's mansion, the parsonage, and the national school. From the monastery went forth the Scripture reader to visit the sick, and to the monastery the sick man repaired, as to a dispensary, to obtain both the advice of a physician and the medicine which was prescribed. The dispensary became a hospital, if the illness were of long continuance. To the pauper it was a poor-house, to the traveller an inn. The merchant could here dispose of his rich stuffs, laces, silks, and jewels; while, as thankofferings from persons benefited by the exertions or

the prayers of the monks, there were ample donations in money or in bullion. From the raw material monkish artists and artificers were employed in making decorations for the altar, vestments for the clergy, and comforts for the household, or else in fabricating vessels of silver and gold, some of which were destined to pass into kings' houses, for the purchase of new rights and privileges to the convent. Art was sanctified when St. Eligius was canonised.

The same apartment served for the studio, the workshop, and the scriptorium. Here the skilful penman was employed in making transcripts almost faultless, such was the labour bestowed upon them, of manuscripts selected, collated, and edited by men of learning.* It has been well observed by an able writer that, "the literature of the two last centuries has brought to light the services which the monks have rendered to letters and science, by transmitting to us writing, the manufacture of parchment and paper, and all the material appliances required to fix and transmit human thought."†

The schoolroom was open to all who chose to profit by it, although then, as now, the persons availing themselves of the advantage were comparatively few in number. Instruction was given in grammar, arithmetic, singing, and the elements of religious knowledge.‡ Through these schools men could rise from the humblest to the highest positions in society. The monks of St. Albans

* The novices and young persons were chiefly employed in transcription, except in transcription of the Scriptures and the office books, which were consigned to persons of mature age and learning. — See Du Fresne, *Gloss. Lat. Med. et. Scriptorum.*

† De Cellier, iii. 3.

‡ "Et ut scholæ legentium puerorum fiant, psalmos, notas, cantus, computum, grammaticam per singula monasteria vel episcopia discant, sed et libros catholicos bene emendatos habeant."—*Labb.* tom. vii. p. 985.

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could point to Nicholas Breakspear, when he was seated, a very proud prelate, on the papal throne, and would then speak of the time when they admitted him a serving lad into their house.

But distinguishing between instruction and education, we add that it was not in the schoolroom, it was in the monastery itself, that the serving lad was educated, his mind drawn out. In every monastery there were the chamberlain, the refectioner, the porter, the infirmarer, the kitchener, the almoner, the sacristan, the treasurer, the seneschal, the cellarer, the precentor. Their names denote their respective offices, and their enumeration suggests the discipline preserved in the household. These were all under the direction of the prior.

Over the whole presided the abbot. He superintended all the priories, cells, and convents, which were detached from the chief monastery, at which he himself resided, and which, on that account, was called the abbey. Although not admitted to episcopal orders, he was invested with episcopal authority over his various convents ; and as the power of the popes increased, the office of the abbot was advanced in dignity. It was always the policy of the popes to elevate themselves by depressing the episcopate, for they were well aware that in the primitive church all bishops were equal. The popes were, in fact, presbyterians ; they denied the distinction between presbyters and bishops, and sought to place presbytery, represented by the abbots, on the same footing as episcopacy. Hence abbots were not only exempted from the jurisdiction of their diocesans, but in many instances were permitted to assume the episcopal dress, the dalmatic, the mitre, the staff, the gloves, the sandals.

In the monasteries, thus constituted, were trained the men who were best skilled to become the advisers and to act as the counsellors of kings. Men who rose

through a gradation of governmental offices were themselves first disciplined, and in their turn became the administrators of discipline. In this description we doubtless have given an account of a model monastery, without making the deductions which must be made when we take into account the evil tempers and passions of men, which are continually retarding the success of the best regulated institutions. There were only a few of the monasteries which were able to accomplish all that a monastery was designed to effect. Looking to our own times and circumstances, we might describe in glowing terms the state of a parish, in which the two families, that of the squire in the mansion and that of the clergyman in the parsonage, are co-operating, equally influenced by the one holy desire to promote the interests, temporal and eternal, of the parishioners. In so doing, our description would hold with respect to many hundred parishes in England, and although only partially applicable in others, and quite untrue in some, still to a certain extent it is true of the whole system.

But elements of corruption and decay were always surely at work in the monastic institutions. A monastery scarcely arrived at excellence before there was a tendency downwards, and a cry among the true hearted for reform.

It was to be expected that those who had laboured successfully should desire to participate in the fruits of their industry. The ascetic was admired, praised, almost canonised; he was regarded as one who reflected honour on the establishment in an age when fanaticism was both ascetic and dirty; he was cheered by the approval of his conscience, and by the expectation of a crown of glory in the world to come. But for those whose aspirations were less exalted, the strictness of the dietary was gradually relaxed, the table was replenished with abundance, the

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wines were choice, and the elegances of life were no longer despised.

Abstractedly considered, and provided that these relaxations were sanctioned by the proper authorities, such a proceeding would commend itself to the judgment of the present age; and we should regard it as an advance in the right direction, "for every creature of God is good, and nothing to be refused if it be received with thanksgiving."* But we see at once, when we look deeper into the subject, that such relaxation in the case of a monastery was almost certain to be attended by such consequences as to result in mischief. From the advantages of female society the monastery was precluded, and the most innocent social enjoyments, in the absence of the softer sex, soon lapsed into grossness. Under such deprivation conversation is so liable to become coarse and indecent, that the founder of a monastery was as strict in enjoining s lence as he was in imposing a dietary. God gave woman to be a help-meet for man, and to attempt a separation of the sexes, thus united by God, is a violation of the laws of nature, and in itself an ungodly act.

Under these circumstances, we are not surprised to find that, whenever the strict rules of a monastery were relaxed, its deterioration was a consequence; that in the absence of that which refines, restrains, and softens the enjoyments of society, the pleasures of the table became excessive, or that the epicure who violated his pledges in one respect, fell an easy victim to temptation when it assailed him under another form.

Good men—and in this age good men were generally austere—saw and lamented the evil; but not perceiving that it was involved in the system itself, they sought to correct it by renovating the rules of Benedict of Nursia,

* 1 Tim. iv. 4.

or by founding new orders.* From the iniquity of the times it was scarcely possible for them to do more.

There was another cause of weakness and source of corruption. The student repaired to the convent for the cultivation of his mind; the penitent to seek the expiation of his sins through acts of penance; old men to die in peace; and thither flocked the timid for protection.

The latter repaired to the monastery not from religious motives, not from high aspirations, not from a desire to lead a strict or ascetic life,— but simply because they were cowards. It is scarcely possible for a coward to be a good man. The weakness which induces him to fly from danger, will make any other temptation irresistible, when it is strongly pressed, and when it is not attended by immediate consequences of danger. His sins are of the meanest and most contemptible character; he may not dare to stab his enemy even in the dark, but he may assassinate his character by circulating the libel, which he may not have the wit to invent; he pilfers where he dares not rob; he seduces and forsakes the object of his seduction. These persons were employed in various ways, in the field, the house, and the Church, their characters deteriorating through the discipline to which they were subjected.

Benedict's rule of obedience may have been necessary in a lawless age; but it tended to the degradation of man. Reason implies freedom of will, a freedom for the proper exercise of which we are accountable only to God. The surrender of self-government is an abdication of reason, and when we render to man that obedience which is due

* Cluny, the Camaldules, the Chartreux, the Cistercians, the Celestines, Fontevrault, Grandmont, were only branches, as it were, of the great Benedictine order. The Premonstratensians, of whom we shall presently read, were regular Canons, or Augustinians.

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to God only, we violate, in effect, the first commandment. Obedience is due to man under certain conditions, as in the case of a soldier or a servant;— but we distinguish between the case of a servant and that of a slave, because the obligations incurred by the servant are voluntary and revocable. The servant in the monastery devoted himself to a slavery for life, and submitted to the worst kind of slavery, that which, through the confessional, sought to coerce his mind. In the absence of the spiritual contest, through which the vigour of a spiritual life is sustained, — the doubts, the difficulties, the cares, the necessary exertion of the mind to ascertain what is right and to decide upon the proper manner of applying or suspending a principle,— man sinks into something less than human.

It is necessary to bear in mind that the monasteries were the resort of this class of persons, as well as of the great and the good; in order that we may account for the double fact that, on the one hand, some of the greatest heroes of the age were trained in these establishments, while, on the other hand, in times of danger, a timidity was frequently displayed, which is sometimes ludicrous and always contemptible.

The coward passes into the liar, the liar into the hypocrite; he first lies to escape punishment, and then he lies to obtain praise, or to excite attention to himself. His punishment too often is that he knows not when he lies. To this class of persons we may attribute the invention, sometimes the unconscious invention, of the lying wonders of which the accounts abound.

They were sure to meet with success, whatever might be the tale they had to narrate. For this age might be denominated the age of credulity. Assertions were confounded with facts, and credence was given to statements, irrational, and often absurd, without any demand for proof, — without any examination of the evidence on

which they were supposed to rest. It was an age when the beautiful was admired, when the good was revered, but when there was an utter disregard of the true. Most of those errors against which we protested at the Reformation, and still continue to protest, although some of them were not authoritatively adopted till a later period, were at this time very generally received, and were fondly cherished by the weaker brethren in the monastic establishments. They were unchecked by their superiors, who would have known better if they had inquired, but who abstained from investigation — superstition having been confounded with religion in the public mind, and credulity being mistaken for faith.

Because of the tendency to corruption, we find, as we have before remarked, that new monastic orders, though founded on the same principles, were continually springing up. On the other hand, because the monasteries were at this time universally and justly popular, we find them erected and endowed by nobles when desiring to benefit their tenants; by kings when it was their policy to acquire favour with the people; by the devout when desirous of promoting the glory of God and the well-being of his creatures. They were the seats of learning in a dark age, the centres of an active humanising industry, when industry in any art, except that of manslaughter, was despised.*

III. We might have designated this Book as a narrative of Papal Aggression; for we shall have throughout to describe the attempts and the partial success of the popes

* Since the above was written I have read "The Monks of the West," by the Count de Montalembert. I have not found it necessary, after the perusal of that work, to make any alteration in my statements or views. I refer the reader to a masterly critique upon Montalembert in the "Quarterly Review" for July 1861, which ought to be read by all who wish to distinguish between history and romance.

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of Rome upon the realm not less than upon the Church of England. Although we have selected a less controversial title, still the connexion between the Church of England and the Church of Rome was, at this period, so intimate, that it becomes necessary to refer at length to the papal policy, which originated with Hildebrand, and continued, in a greater or less degree, to influence the whole succession of popes till the death of Innocent III.

Hildebrand, or Gregory VII., was a giant of one idea. When he entered public life and looked upon Europe with a statesman's eye, he saw it a slaughter-house rather than a battle-field; it was almost in a state of anarchy. We need not repeat what has been already asserted, but merely mention that, at this period, all the evils to which we have referred were prevalent in their most unmitigated forms. Not only was nation rising against nation, but town was armed against town, castle against castle. Every petty baron was arming against his neighbour, or descending like a robber to waylay the merchant or to plunder the cultivator of the soil. The civil and ecclesiastical authorities were, in every country, at war, the one with the other; or, if there was peace, it was only because both had plunged into the lowest depths of immorality. Society, disorganised, demoralised, was calling for reform.

To effect the reform thus demanded, Hildebrand proposed to his mind, and devoted his life to establish, a spiritual autocracy. His design was to re-establish the Roman empire with the Pope as the Emperor, — an emperor invested with spiritual powers, whose decrees were to be irreversible except by himself, who would be regarded, when in such a position, as infallible. In the language of the day, the Pope was to be the Suzerain of Europe, and all kings, princes, and prelates were to be his liegemen and vassals. He thus sought to prevent war by providing Europe with an arbiter in every dispute, a

referee and a mediator, who could command the arms of all nations to enforce his decrees, which, as he assumed, would be always equitable or just. He hoped by these means to put down all wars, to give effect to law, and by the exercise of ecclesiastical discipline to establish morality, virtue, and religion. His mistake was, that he regarded man as a mere machine, and ignored the existence of mind in any one except the Pope, by whom the machinery was to be put in motion and controlled.

Such was the grand idea of Hildebrand — the object, to secure which he purposely continued, for many years, in a subordinate position; and when the time came for him to ascend the papal throne as Gregory VII. all things seemed to be prepared for his success and triumph. The empire was divided and weak; an infant was upon the throne of France; Christian Spain had almost succumbed to the Moors; Italy was in the hands of petty princes, ill able to resist his authority; the northern nations had been converted by Roman missionaries, and were favourable to Roman policy; the independent Anglo-Saxon Church was in the hands of the Normans; and William the Bastard, when resorting to every measure that could suggest itself to his mind to secure success, enlisted superstition in his cause, and purchased by promises which he never intended to fulfil, the unhallowed sanction of the Pope to his invasion of England.

To the furtherance of these objects, his history shows him to have been prepared to make all personal considerations give place. We can imagine the curse which would have ensued to the world from the success of Gregory's scheme; and we are grateful to the overruling Providence by which the evil was averted and his plans frustrated. The mind of Europe would have been enslaved, and in the slavery of his mind, man becomes the most abject of created beings. Even as it was, the immediate effect of

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the papal system, as moulded by Hildebrand, was to retard the moral improvement and the intellectual advancement which he had at heart. Nevertheless, while condemning his principle, and censuring in strong terms the harsh and unprincipled manner in which, when he thought it necessary, for the furtherance of his ends, he set all established laws and rules of action at defiance, we may, in these days, speak with admiration of the vastness of his conceptions, and, with something bordering upon respect, of the consistent self-denial with which he laboured, sinned, and died for the maintenance of a grand idea, and for the success of his opinions. It will not have escaped the reader's observation that Hildebrand's idea was that which has been propounded, in our own days, by one of the most consistent and philanthropic of our statesmen,—the avoidance of war, and the maintenance of order, by the establishment of a universal referee. Thus do extremes meet.

So absorbed was the mind of Hildebrand by his one idea, that he viewed all things simply as they bore upon the great design he had in hand, and estimated them accordingly. His virtues as well as his faults are traceable to this circumstance. In an intolerant age we find him tolerant—the protector, if not the patron, of Berengarius. His powerful mind induced him to acquiesce in the opposition of Berengarius to the theory of transubstantiation, not yet become a dogma of the Church. He could not, indeed, afford to risk his popularity with the religious world, when he discovered that by the religious world, though not as yet by the Church, the notion of transubstantiation was accepted as the only mode of explaining our Lord's presence in the Eucharist; but still, he protected Berengarius from the extreme persecution of his enemies, and never favoured his opponents. Latitude of opinion, until the Church spoke authorita-

tively, was consistent with Gregory's scheme. On the other hand, his heart was hardened, and he cared not how many hearts he broke, when the question of the constrained celibacy of the clergy was brought under consideration. Here his idea was nearly concerned, and he sternly compelled — or sought to compel, for he only partially succeeded — the married clergy to separate from their wives. He was not moved by the sentimentality which looked for greater holiness in the unmarried than in the married state. The subject came before him as a politician, and as a political question he treated it. Under the development of the feudal system, the married clergy were endeavouring to make these preferments hereditary. If the celibacy of the clergy had not been at that time enforced, or, at all events, if their marriage had not been disparaged, the clergy, as Palgrave remarks, would have become in every state of Europe, like the priests of the Greek Church in Russia, a sacerdotal tribe or caste. This new complication of affairs, Gregory sternly resisted.

We may say of Hildebrand, that he was not animated by a mere vulgar love of power, or by any vain ambition to place his own individuality at the summit of human authority. He declined the papacy for many years, and refused to ascend the ecclesiastical throne until the time came when he felt that no one but himself was competent to conduct those measures to their final issue, which, through the instrumentality of others, he had been for many years preparing. His energy often degenerated into passionate obstinacy, and his zeal was without love; but he had still a great object in view, to which he devoted himself with an ardour, not enthusiastic, but unquenchable.

We cannot say the same of the greatest of his successors, Innocent III. Under this title, in the year of Grace 1198, Lothair ascended the papal throne, the suc-

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cessor of Celestine III. Gregory reigned at the commencement of the period occupied by the present book, Innocent at its close. Gregory's scheme of government became traditional, but none of his successors could enter into the largeness of his views, or entirely understand his policy. They became simply potentates contending for power. The ambition of Innocent was the vulgar ambition of kings. His individuality was predominant. He wielded the spiritual powers he inherited to advance a temporal object, which was, first, to establish a kingdom in Italy with the Pope as king, and then to reduce all the other kings of Europe to the condition of vassals. He did not rise above the feudalism of the age, but as the princes of Europe were vassals of the emperor, so he desired to make the emperor and the king vassals of the Pope. With consistent perseverance he waged continual war until he carried his point, not only over the secondary powers, but over the Emperor, the King of France, and the King of England.

He had not to contend with difficulties, such as at last humbled the proud heart of Gregory. Before the time of Innocent, the pseudo-decretals had done their work. False and forged we know them to be, yet in that age of credulity, men would have as soon thought of denying the veracity of the gospels, as the authenticity of the decretals. All that Innocent did was to accept the admitted premises, and to draw them out to their legitimate conclusions. It was universally admitted that it pertained to the papal authority to pronounce on what is sinful; and that the correction of sin among all descriptions of men, including princes and kings, appertained to what was called the apostolic see.* It was only a logical consequence from this concession that an ecclesiastical tribunal

* Ep. Innocent III. 165, 167.

was erected at Rome, which drew to itself the cognisance of every process, and absorbed the nearest interests of the state.

When the following assertion was made by Innocent III. to the confederated states of Tuscany, it offended neither the taste of the age by its bombast, nor the principles of the age by its presumption.

"As God, the creator of the universe, placed two great luminaries in the firmament, the greatest to rule over the day, and the less over the night; so, in the firmament of the universal church, He has established two great dignities the greater to rule over souls, which are days, and the less over bodies which are nights. These two dignities are the *pontifical* and the *regal* powers. But as the moon, which, in all things, is inferior to the sun, draws her light from him; so does the regal power derive the splendour of its dignity from the pontifical source." *

The weakness of the kings during a large portion of this period was the strength of the Pope. To give some shadow of authority to his attack upon England, William

* Although under Innocent these principles of the papacy were more fully developed, they were asserted in the reign of an earlier successor of Gregory, Pascal II., who was elected in 1099. The following lines personify a controversy between the imperial and papal courts: —

"Pars quoque papalis sic obviat imperiali:
Sic regnare damus quod Petro subjiciaris;
Jus etiam nobis Christus utrumque parit.
Spiritus et corpus mihi sunt subjecta potenter:
Corpore terrena teneo, cœlestia mente:
Unde tenendo polum, solvo ligoque solum:
Æthera pandere, cœlica tangere, papa videtur,
Nam dare, tollere, nectere, salvere cuncta meretur,
Cui dedit omne decus lex nova, lexque vetus!"

Gotfrid. Viterb. Chron. p. xvii. ap. Germ. Script. vol. ii. p. 347, ed. Struv.

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the Conqueror condescended to seek the papal sanction for his proceedings. To the same authority Henry I. deferred to strengthen his hands against the claims of his brother Robert. To Rome King Stephen made application for the establishment of his dynasty. On a papal grant Henry II. rested his title to the lordship of Ireland. Richard I. implored the exertion of the papal power, when by that of the emperor he was oppressed. We are not to forget these circumstances in our patriotic indignation against King John: when he, in his pusillanimity became a vassal to the Pope, and when Innocent seized the advantage thus given, to exercise his power in the spirit of a tyrant. Although each party, king, peers, and prelates, complained, at different times, of the conduct of the despotic Innocent, their complaint was directed not against his assumption of power, but against his employment of it in a manner unsatisfactory to themselves. Each party was pleased when it could receive his support; and, in hope of that support, all parties were ready to yield to the Pope even more than the most unscrupulous Pope would, uninvited, have ventured to demand.

The strength of the papal weapons lay in the superstition of the age. The superstition of the age conceded the point that subjects were released from their allegiance to an excommunicated king, and kings therefore feared excommunication. The observance of religious offices and ordinances had itself become a superstition, except among the enlightened few. Men too often regarded the ordinances of the Gospel as charms, and resorted to them as such. Hence the threat of an interdict filled monarchs with dismay.

But the spiritual weapons of a carnal warfare had become blunted even in the hands of Innocent III. The effects of the mighty change in manners and in modes of

thought, in the hopes, requirements, learning, and the whole spirit of the times, which resulted from the Crusades, were beginning to be felt. The age of credulity and of undue subservience to authority was passing into that reactionary period, the character of which will be developed in our Third Book.

IV. We are scarcely correct when in this connexion we speak of crusades in the plural number. It is to the first and only successful expedition to which this name is attached, that reference is made, when we treat of the influence which the spirit it evoked has had upon the civilisation of Europe. No great event stands single in history. The second and third crusades may be regarded as the feeble echoes of an expiring enthusiasm, or as the armament of allies to assist the European colonies in Asia, which the first crusade had established. The later crusades, no longer animated by the enthusiastic feelings of the mass of mankind, originated in the policy of sovereigns, or the intrigues of pontiffs. It was the first crusade which shook Europe to its centre and aroused it from its barbarism.

This great event can be fairly estimated in its results by those only, who, believing in the special providence of God, previously observe how the Divine goodness is always employed in overruling the actions of man, whether his intentions be righteous or corrupt, to the ultimate welfare of the human race. There is a Divine alchemy which is for ever extracting good out of evil.

The sober citizen, when he reads of all Europe pouring itself, as with the might of one man, upon the plains of Asia, not at the dictates of policy, but for the mere indulgence of a sentiment, is inclined to think that of all the phenomena of insanity, the Crusades were the most astonishing. The philanthropist, when he hears of not less than a million of lives sacrificed in these expedi-

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tions, and of the awful amount of suffering and of crime of which they were the immediate cause, refers to the Crusades with feelings of unmitigated disgust. The political economist regards them as expeditions which retarded the progress of civilisation — because the stock and population transferred to Asia, would, if employed at home, have rendered wealthy and populous the very nations which these wars impoverished.

These critics, however, take too narrow a view of the subject: they regard it only from one standing point. To assume that the stock and population of Europe would have been beneficially employed at home, if the Crusades had not diverted them into other channels, is to assume the very point in debate, and to deduce a conclusion from insufficient data.

In order that we may judge of the ultimate effects of the Crusades, we must request the reader to go back from the pontificate of Innocent III. to the commencement of the eleventh century, and to recall what has been already stated of the condition of society in Europe, when the king was little more than a powerful baron, and the barons little less than petty kings. We have spoken of the castle, of the monastery, of the city, of the people enslaved or raised but little above the condition of slavery, of the woods filled with outlaws, many of whom, on the continent especially, were little better than the banditti by which Italy has been till lately infested. Of the deplorable state of morals something has also been said. The testimony of contemporaries is always to be read with due allowance for party views, and for the exaggeration of excited feelings. We must make some allowance for the indignation, passion, and satire of William of Tyre in the following passage; but he describes vividly, and with sorrow not less than with indignation, the state of things as they presented themselves to the

mind of good men, earnest in the demand for reform, but perplexed to know how a reformation was to be effected.

"The people," he says, "were faithful only in name. Princes and subjects, clergy and laity, had alike departed from purity both of faith and morals. Sacrilege, violence, gross fornication, injustice, and a long catalogue of other sins betokened that the world was declining towards evening, and that the second advent of the Son of Man was at hand; for the love of many had waxed cold, and truth was no more to be found on the earth. The bishops, instead of correcting the prevailing abuses, were grossly negligent; dumb dogs not able to bark, accepting persons; leaving the sheep to wolves and hirelings, given to simony, followers of Gehazi. In short, all flesh had corrupted its way upon the earth, and nature itself gave tokens of approaching judgments; for there were prodigies in heaven, and signs upon earth; pestilence, and famines, and earthquakes." *

While such was the internal state of Europe, this whole quarter of the globe was in danger of being subjected to Asiatic rule, and the intolerant superstition of Mahomet. The first crusade was, in point of fact, the impulse of enthusiasm. Nevertheless, if a general policy had been possible, the measure would have been suggested by statesmen; and Europe would have been involved in war for self-preservation. Nothing but the narrow waters of the Bosphorus separated the Greek empire from the victorious Turks, and if Constantinople had fallen, the invasion of all Europe would have followed.

The Greek Emperor had applied to the Pope, and to conciliate his good offices had proposed certain doctrinal concessions. The Pope had the ambition and desire to meet the appeal, but he could only render assistance

* William of Tyre, i. viii. pp. 634, 635.

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through the emperor and the princes of the West, whose angry passions and feelings, excited by the aggressions of Gregory VII., were not to be moved. But what emperor and pope were unable to effect, was accomplished, as if by a miracle, through the instrumentality of an obscure hermit of Picardy, who is described by William of Tyre as possessing a wonderful flow of words, though in stature small, and contemptible in appearance.

Amidst the demoralisation of Europe, the overthrow of faith and morals, there was, as we have seen, one redeeming point. The religious sentiment remained. To this sentiment the appeal was now made; and a response was returned, as with one voice, from the palace and the cottage, from the cloister and the town, from the castle where plunder was legalised, and from the forest where the outlaw treated the prince as the prince was accustomed to treat the merchant. Kings, nobles, prelates, warriors, townsmen, freemen, villeins, serfs, monks, women, children, outlaws, all were roused, as if by magic, into immediate and enthusiastic action. Europe became, as it were, one great nation, with one common end in view.

Pilgrimages to the Holy Land had, from an early period of Christian history, been common. The common sentiment of mankind upon the subject is beautifully expressed by one whom Cambridge still remembers with affection, — Professor Smythe. "To us," he says, the "names of Runnymede and of ancient Rome have a thrilling charm. Who can tread with careless feet the spots where English martyrs died? Who can pass, without feelings of awe, through the hallowed precincts of the dead? Who can turn without regret from the country of his home, or of his birth; or who does not remember it with increased affection in a far-off land, even though all that he held most dear may have passed away? Is Palestine a land, or Jerusalem a city, like a common land and a common

city? Far different is the answer which nature has unalterably given to appeals of this kind, in every climate and in every heart; and if indeed the sepulchre in which our Saviour was immured, if, indeed, the Cross on which he expired could be presented to our eyes, if we could believe that such were, in truth, the objects actually presented to our eyes, assuredly we should sink in reverence, as did our forefathers, before such affecting images of the past: assuredly, with the sufferer Himself, we should identify these visible instruments of his sufferings; and the sacrifice of our hearts would not be the idolatry of blindness, but the natural effusions of irresistible awe." The sentiment is natural. The fault consisted in perverting the sentiment into a meritorious act; and then, in the invention of lying wonders to meet the cravings of an exaggerated feeling. There is not perhaps one of our readers who would not desire to visit Palestine, or whose religious feelings would not be quickened if he were to do so. But if a man were to suppose that because he has visited Palestine, he has done something which merits a reward, or that he has acquired any peculiar sanctity by his action, we should regard him as superstitious and illogical. Both the sentiment and the superstition were in combination, when Peter the Hermit took the wrongs of Palestine for his text, in a sermon which roused all Europe from its slumbers and armed the one half of mankind against the other.

The crescent had long supplanted the cross at Jerusalem, and the pilgrims from Europe had been subjected to an impost not ungrudgingly paid for protection; but now the Turks or Turkomans having possession of the city, the Christians were subjected to the most inhuman barbarities, and these having been witnessed and experienced by Peter the Hermit, when on a pilgrimage to Palestine, inflamed his indignant passions; and he vowed a vow

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that he would never rest until he had roused the princes and people of Europe to rescue the sepulchre of our Lord from the hands of the infidel.

Of his marvellous success we need not speak. We need not remind the reader how boldly he entered into the castle and cottage; how he preached to crowds in churches, in streets, in the highways; how he summoned prince and peasant, to repentance if possible, but, at all events, to arms; how he roused the very pontiff from his chair of repose, and compelled him to walk in his steps, to follow his example, to ascend the pulpit, to convene the councils of Placentia and Clermont, at which place last-named the war-cry that was raised, "It is God's will! it is God's will!" signified the determination of all Europe, at last, to unite its energies in the furtherance of a common object.

> "'And shall,' the Pontiff asks, 'profaneness flow
> From Nazareth—source of Christian piety—
> From Bethlehem, from the Mount of Agony,
> And glorious Ascension? Warriors, go,
> With prayers and blessings we your path will sow;
> Like Moses, hold our hands erect, till ye
> Have chased far off, by righteous victory,
> Those sons of Amalek, or laid them low.'
> 'God willeth it!' the whole assembly cry,
> Shout which enraptured multitudes astounds!
> The council roof and Clermont's towers reply:
> 'God willeth it!' from hill to hill rebounds,
> And in awe-stricken countries, far and nigh,
> Through Nature's hollow arch, the voice resounds."

But the Hermit of Picardy was after all only the spark which fired the train. The spark without the gunpowder could never have caused the explosion. In material causes, both cause and effect imply the existence of two or more distinct bodies. When lately the great bell at Westminster was fractured, the cause

was not the shock of the hammer, and the effect the fracture of the bell; the *cause*, properly speaking, was the hammer and the bell in a particular state and relation, and the *effect*, the hammer and the bell in another state. The cause always consists of the plurality of substances in a *certain state*, and the effect consists of the same substances in another state. In order to the action, or rather to the existence of a cause, these substances must be in a certain relation so as to admit of the operation of the qualities or powers residing in them, and it is only when they exist in this relation that the effect will be produced. It is precisely the same in the moral world. Peter the Hermit, if he were at the present time to preach a crusade in London, would be consigned to a Bethlehem, as different from the Bethlehem to which he had made his pilgrimage, as was that Jerusalem in which King Harry died, and which still forms an apartment in the Dean of Westminster's house, from the city of David. He was successful in his own age, because the bell was prepared to ring out no uncertain sound when the hammer of his tongue fell upon it.

The world was prepared. For many a Peter had already traversed the length and breadth of Europe. Many a palmer,

> "With sable cowl hung o'er his face,
> And in black mantle clad,
> Whose cap a scallop shell did deck,
> With crucifix around his neck
> From far Loretto brought,
> Whose sandals were with travel tore,
> Staff, budget, bottle, scrip who wore,
> While faded palm branch in his hand
> Showed pilgrim from the Holy Land."

As such a one passed through the forest, the outlaws had been accustomed to bow down before him, and to regale him with the king's venison. They listened with thrilling

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interest to his tale. They burned with indignation to resent his wrongs. As such a one passed through the town the citizens would examine him to ascertain whether any way might be open for their merchandise, and were left under the impression that the surest way to open a trade with the East was by first robbing the Saracens of property and life. As he entered the monastery, the monks would cross-examine him, and many were eager to abandon their cloisters and their cells, if only a way could be devised by which they could with impunity evade their vows. By the cottage hearth, the very women and children were excited to enthusiasm when the palmer contrasted the present degradation of the Holy Land with the glories of the past. What was whispered in the cottage was soon talked of in the castle.

War was already in every one's thought. The agriculturist felt degraded because he was not permitted to handle the sword. The villein felt that if he could only obtain his freedom, the Moslem tyranny would soon be at an end. The outlaw in the forest, and the baron in the castle could not but feel that their warlike propensities might be more honourably indulged than by committing legal or illegal robberies upon the traveller and the merchant, or by inglorious combats with forest keepers or their neighbour barons. All were warlike. All heard of little else beyond their own immediate neighbourhood, except of Palestine. All were discontented. The active-minded were eager for adventure. The few deep thinkers were in a state of mingled enthusiasm and fear ; they were alarmed at the increasing power of the Turks ; they were impatient at the wrongs done to the Christians.*

It was to such a people, prepared for action by a

* As the leading articles of a leading political journal are to our age, so were the palmers in the ages of which we are now speaking.

thousand Peters, through a long course of years, that the Hermit of Picardy spoke. The barrel of gunpowder was filled to the brim, when his was the spark which caused the explosion. Such, too, was the bell which rang out the cry, "It is the word of God," when Urban struck it.

Maimbourg refers to a contemporary writer whom he does not name, who was himself at the Council of Clermont, and afterwards in the Holy Land. This writer assures us, that having strictly observed the time and examined the matter, he was informed from many persons, of different places, that on the very same day on which the Pope published the crusade, the news was known in the remotest places of the East and West. This, he tells us, made such an extraordinary impression upon men's minds, that when the bishops came to preach the Cross, and to excite the people to take it up, they found them so predisposed, that an infinite number of persons of all ranks, qualities, and conditions throughout Europe, but especially France, pressed eagerly forward to engage in the heroic enterprise. The predisposition, and the universal opinion that the time for action had arrived, which we have traced to natural causes, were regarded, in the superstition of the age, as miraculous. But, to whatsoever causes traced, such was the favour with which the design was embraced, that no considerations of worldly honour, interest, or pleasure, no delicacy of education or bonds of friendship were able to retard men. They generously, continues our author, broke all those little chains to enter into the more glorious bonds of the solemn vow of the crusade. Here you might see friends recognising each other, and entering into this new amity; there enemies embracing and religiously swearing most inviolably to maintain the truce: nay, even the weeping ladies, who saw themselves about to be divorced from their loving husbands and dearest children, yet did not cease to encourage them to pursue

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this glorious enterprise; many of them had the courage to share it with them; they resolved to follow their husbands, notwithstanding all the fearful dangers, hazards, and hardships to be expected in so painful a march and so long a voyage.

How miserably the expectations now raised were to be disappointed is too well known;—how dearly a short-lived success was purchased by an incredible amount of suffering and of crime.

While the men of mind and thought were planning the enterprise, a crusade was extemporised. The first armament seems to have consisted of outlaws and vagabonds: the outpourings of the forest, the scum of the towns, the emptyings of the dungeons, the most degraded of the monks to whom the monasteries had been as prisons. When we read that of these three hundred thousand perished before the crusades had, properly speaking, commenced, we can easily imagine what the state of Europe must have been. These were they who, with Walter the Penniless as their leader, and with a goose and a goat at their head, to whom, in the darkness of their degrading superstition, they attributed an infusion of the Divine Spirit, proceeded rather than marched, a disorderly mob, into Bulgaria, there miserably to perish. The Bulgarians regarded them as a horde of invaders, and treated them as such; only a few escaped to Constantinople with Walter the Penniless himself,— a man, from his talents, deserving of a better fate.

A second expedition, consisting of the same class of persons, soon followed in the track of Walter the Penniless, under the leading of Peter the Hermit himself, who, in fact, regarded himself as the generalissimo, with Walter the Penniless as his lieutenant.

When we consider the vast capacity of mind and the various kinds of knowledge which are requisite to make

a good general; who must unite in himself all civil, military, and political excellence: when we consider the many particulars into which the science of war branches out, the genius as well as experience which is evinced by him who is prepared to march an army through every sort of country, whether open, woody, or mountainous; to know how to form a camp with security; to make a proper disposition for battle, whether with a view to the position of the enemy, or to the situation of the country; to foresee events which depend, in a manner, upon chance; to be capable of making a good retreat if required; to direct forages without exposing or fatiguing the troops; to send out detachments with precaution; to conduct the convoys with safety; to know how to canton the army, so that it shall never be in want of subsistence: when these things are considered, and we reflect on the hundreds and thousands of lives which may be sacrificed through the deficiencies of an unscientific general, we are surprised at the readiness with which the command of an army is sometimes assumed by men who have nothing but the common soldier's virtue, personal bravery, to recommend them; but it excites our indignant feelings to hear of a wild fanatic incurring such a responsibility; and daring to assume an office, the elementary duties of which he has never performed, and of the principles of which he is entirely ignorant.

Peter the Hermit led his mob, by the same route as that pursued by Walter the Penniless, to crime and to death. At the southern frontiers of Hungary, they attacked the Hungarians, and there, having obtained a victory over their Christian brethren, they celebrated it by every species of libertinism and grossness. Neither public treasures nor private property were spared; virgin modesty was no protection, conjugal virtue no safeguard; and in the midst of their savage success, they vowed that, as

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they had treated the Hungarians, so would they treat the Turks. The victorious ruffians, however, were at length routed in Bulgaria, and the remnant which escaped, having reached Constantinople, and having been treated with a politic generosity by the Emperor Alexius, repaid his kindness by deeds of flagitiousness upon his people. He nevertheless permitted them to pass into Bithynia, where they were overwhelmed by the Turks, who erected a pyramid of their bones, to intimidate or exasperate the future followers of the Cross.

The real army of the Crusaders assembled on the banks of the Moselle in August 1096; whence their generalissimo, Godfrey of Bouillon, looked down upon and beheld a very different scene;

> "Concourse in arms, fierce faces threatening war,
> Giants of mighty bone and bold emprise;
> Part wield their arms, part curb the foaming steed,—
> Single, or in array of battle ranged,
> Both horse and foot."

Of Godfrey of Bouillon the undisputed voice of history has pronounced that he was one of the greatest and best of men. We do not possess, as in the history of Marlborough and of Wellington, a detailed account of all the difficulties civil and political, as well as military, which he had to encounter and overcome; but we perceive them to have been such as could have been surmounted only by consummate skill and address, by patience, perseverance, self-possession, and presence of mind,—by genius, in fact, of the highest order.

He was called to the command of an army demoralised, and yet wildly fanatical; the divisions of which would obey the orders only of their respective commanders, and the commanders of which were not always prepared to yield obedience to the commander-in-chief.

Few of them were capable of appreciating his strategic skill; his caution they would have regarded as cowardice, if his valour had not been beyond dispute; and their unrestrained passions not unfrequently rendered abortive the plans which his wise policy suggested. He had to negotiate between the most subtle and intriguing of diplomatists, the Emperor Alexius, and semi-barbarian princes; between crafty Greeks and lawless Normans. He had to conduct undisciplined troops and to support them in an enemy's country, where he was in danger from treachery and surprise on the one hand, and from mutiny on the other; he had to soothe the passions of despotic minds which had never hitherto acted in combination; he had to struggle with famine, disease, and drought; he had to contend with an enemy accomplished, trained to the art of war, skilful, and gallant; he had to sustain repulses, and to rally his forces under disheartening circumstances; but overcoming all difficulties, and defeating every enemy, he succeeded in planting the banner of the Cross on the battlements of Jerusalem, and was master of the Holy City on Friday the 15th of July, 1099.

There, for twelve months, he reigned; elected king by a unanimous vote, though he refused to wear the royal diadem there, where his Master had worn a crown of thorns. And then, having obtained another victory over the Saracens, and having accomplished his work, he died, exhausted by fatigue of body and anxiety of mind.

Eighty-eight years of trouble and warfare under his successors soon passed away; and the last of those who had been boys when the first crusade commenced, had scarcely been laid in the grave, when the green and yellow banners of the Moslem were again unfurled before Jerusalem.

It was announced to Christendom that the Cross had once more yielded to the Crescent, and that Jerusalem

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was again in the hands of the infidel. But that announcement had no longer that magic effect upon the mass of mankind, which was produced when the first crusade was preached by Peter and Urban. Sparks there were enow, but the gunpowder was not. The old enthusiasm lingered in cloisters or was feigned at courts; and there were some whose piety it influenced, and who were eager for action. The reconquest of Palestine was more than once attempted; but Europe was changed. The immediate purpose of the crusades was a miserable failure; it was apparently the occasion only of suffering, cruelty, and crime. But already and immediately a change had been effected in society, and a change which was never checked in its progress to complete civilisation.

We can, though only in a small degree, understand this effect from our own experience; from the patriotic, generous, and unselfish feelings which the Crimean war excited and the Indian war sustained. Luxury and self-indulgence were in some classes degenerating into effeminacy, while in others the whole mind was occupied in obtaining the means by which self in its sensualities might be pampered. Even higher minds were looking only to self-improvement as the means of self-aggrandisement. Self in some shape was predominant, and a generous regard for the general welfare was an obsolete virtue, of the real existence of which many professed a scepticism. The trumpet sounded, and it awakened a public spirit, a patriotic spirit, a more than patriotic spirit, a European spirit, a spirit which determined to protect the weak against the strong. Our young men rushed with eagerness from the indulgences of home to the field of battle; our rich men unlocked their coffers, and the once fashionable word economy, a very good word in general, was buried in the grave of Joseph Hume.

And it was a European spirit which the crusades awakened, that very spirit which our late war resuscitated in ourselves. But this awakened spirit, being now directed to the amelioration of European society, both the wealth and the population were henceforth required and employed at home.

One other object the first crusade at once and immediately effected. By that expedition, the threatened war was carried from Europe into Asia, and although the Europeans were eventually obliged to retire from their possessions in Palestine, still the desolating course of the scimitar and Koran was effectually and for ever checked.

We may fairly doubt whether any shock, less violent than the moral earthquake of the crusades, could have aroused the sleeping energies of Europe, or rather have caused its wasted energies to be profitably employed.

A few years ago, our political economists were alarmed lest we should be overwhelmed by our increasing population. Emigration was recommended, but people were unwilling to emigrate, and those were most unwilling to whom emigration would have been the greatest of blessings. And yet we have seen what sound policy, in union with common sense, could not effect, accomplished at once, by the discovery of gold in California, Australia, and Columbia. A lust for gold, as if gold were actually wealth, is the superstition of the present age; and, though every emigrant has not ceased to be penniless, yet emigration has become a fashion, and future generations will probably trace to this movement the establishment of new kingdoms; and a realisation to the world of that wealth of which gold is only the representative.

Just so, in the dark ages, the appeal was made to the religious sentiment in conjunction with military ardour, which was the characteristic of the times; and the foundation was laid for the civilisation of Europe.

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But it is not to these immediate results of a great event that the philosopher is accustomed to confine his attention; he learns to trace remote effects to that which he regards as their original cause. Centuries elapsed before Christianity itself made a visible impression on the great mass of society, and yet to Christianity modern civilisation traces its origin; and we see how the crusades, a Christian movement, were made conducive to this great end.

Europe was lawless; the crusades laid the foundation anew for the ascendancy of law, that is of right over might, by their immediate tendency to consolidate the royal authority and power. Kings were powerless when barons were petty kings; and lawless barons were not to be easily controlled by one, whom they regarded as only *primus inter pares*, or who had little claim upon their allegiance, beyond its acknowledgment.

The crusades did what the kings had been unable to accomplish. They sapped the foundation of these petty despotisms. In their eagerness for the crusade many of the barons mortgaged their estates, and returned to Europe too poor to redeem, or powerless to maintain, their rights. The rights they forfeited were frequently purchased by the citizens; and the towns had a common interest, with the king, in maintaining the majesty of the law and in preventing the ascendancy of the barons. Kings granted new privileges to municipalities; and the privileges thus conceded, the municipalities soon became sufficiently powerful to maintain against kings themselves. The East was opened to the merchant; and the tastes acquired by the crusaders demanded a supply of luxuries hitherto unknown. At the same time, the impediments to trade had been to a considerable extent removed. The castle of the marauding baron lay in ruins; and the crusades had drawn the bandit from the forests. There were, moreover, in the towns a busy, active, money-making,

money-lending class, whose condition in Europe was so remarkable, that we shall hereafter have to consider it more particularly. The Jews, though prohibited by the prejudices of the age from sharing in an expedition, the object of which was the liberation of their own land, nevertheless profited considerably by the event; and through the circulation of money, they gave a fresh impulse to reviving trade.

The foundation was thus laid of civil rights; the way was open to the independence and the ascendancy of the middle classes, and to the establishment of that liberty which yields obedience to law and to nothing but the law; which has so happily obtained in our own country, and the progress of which, if for a time impeded, is, in every European country, inevitable and irresistible.

To the crusades we are also indebted for the abolition of slavery. The manumission of a slave was a thing of almost insurmountable difficulty before the crusades. But after them, or rather during their progress, the difficulty became almost insuperable of retaining a fellow-creature in bondage. The crusading baron, having mortgaged his property, required retainers, and in the cultivation of his mortgaged lands he felt no interest. He invited the villeins to enlist under his banner, and the soldier of the Cross was, *ipso facto*, a freeman. The gates of the cities were always open to fugitives, who fled to them as places of refuge; and there was a law which presumed a valid title to liberty in any man who, had passed a year and a day in any commune. With the general dispersion of the people during the assemblage of the crusading armies, the number of such fugitives continually increased, and the roll of the citizens was thus constantly augmented at the expense of the barons and their fiefs.

Among the ecclesiastics who attended the crusaders, many were men of mind who studied with eagerness the

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language of St. Chrysostom, and through that language revealed to their compatriots the treasures of Plato and Aristotle. At Cairo, at Fez, at Tunis, at Alexandria, they received instruction from the Saracens in medicine, astronomy, geometry, and chemistry; and they returned to Europe not only with their minds expanded, but with their hearts enlarged.

We may, indeed, regard the first crusade as the termination of the dark ages, the commencement of a new era, and the dawn of civilisation. Mediæval history extends from the commencement of the fourth century to the close of the fifteenth, when modern history begins. Of these centuries seven may be regarded as dark, while the remainder present to our view much of intellectual power and of social happiness, together with an advancement in civilisation continuous and uninterrupted.

I have dwelt on the subject the longer, not only because it is necessary that we should bear in mind this concurrent process of civilisation during the perusal of the following lives; but because it illustrates very clearly the principle upon which the believer studies all history. A short digression may, indeed, be permitted, that we may apply this principle to events which have of late years astonished and perplexed us.

Within the last few years, we have been plunged twice into war: and we are alarmed with rumours of war in all parts of the world. And yet, before the breaking out of the Crimean war, it was considered by many that, under the then existing circumstances of Europe, war was of all things the most improbable. It was supposed that, in the progress of civilisation, some mode of settling national differences would be devised which would prevent a recurrence to what was regarded as a sign and a product of barbarism. It was imagined that the reticulation of commercial interests throughout the world had become

such, as to leave no possible interstice for war. The principles of sound policy seemed to require the maintenance of peace; which religion enforced as a duty, and philanthropy asserted to be the greatest of all blessings. Nevertheless, — with all our interests, with all our inclinations, with all our principles on the side of peace,— war came.

Under these circumstances, we are almost compelled to the conclusion that in a fallen world, and, human nature remaining as it is, war, like disease, will continue to be an inevitable evil: an evil which we may anticipate, but cannot avert; an evil which we may defer, but from which, do what we will, we cannot entirely escape. But if war be a thing inevitable, the Christian philosopher feels assured, that the evil will be overruled for good, by a superintending Providence, and that incidental suffering will be made to minister to the eventual benefit of mankind. In short, if an occasional castigation of the boy is necessary to make the man, and we are divinely instructed that he who spares the rod will spoil the child; if, as we often see, sickness and sorrow be necessary to soften the heart, and to bring the soul to Christ; if the tempest be occasionally necessary to clear the atmosphere; if (which is a painful fact) controversies must arise, even among men of piety, for the preservation of God's truth; so, when we take an enlarged view of the designs of Providence, and regard them as relating not only to the salvation of the individual, but to the regeneration of man, as such, to the whole human family; we can easily acquiesce in the conclusion, that, under the present constitution of things in a fallen world, war may sometimes be an unavoidable necessity. We can see how the punishment of one generation may be made the groundwork of blessings to another, while the care of the righteous, considered individually, is, in every generation,

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in the hands of Him who causeth their present affliction to minister to their far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory.

As the boy is to avert punishment by his good conduct, and the man to avoid disease by temperance, soberness, and chastity; as we erect conductors to avert from our houses the evil consequences of a storm; so are we, regarding war as a curse and peace as a blessing, to avert the evil and to secure the good by any and every sacrifice that can be reasonably demanded, or which can be made without incurring yet greater evils. As the man who ruins his health by his excesses is justly condemned and despised; as he would be a madman who should find pleasure in launching anything but a lifeboat in a storm; so we condemn in terms which cannot be exaggerated, the ambition of kings or people, who have courted war for its own sake. But when a just war is forced upon us, — when we are compelled, by the European spirit which the crusades were the first to evoke, to protect the weak against the tyranny of the strong, — or to maintain our own from the assaults of a treacherous and cruel enemy, — then we may console ourselves with the thought, that, while we are chastened for our sins, our sufferings and sacrifices are not made or endured for nothing, — but that all will be overruled for good by Him who is King of kings and Lord of lords.

V. It is said by Sismondi * that chivalry broke forth in all its splendour at the time of the first crusade. The preaching of the crusade was certainly the first grand appeal that was made to mediæval Europe, from the intense selfishness which feudalism had generated and fostered, to those nobler instincts of human nature which

* Histoire des Français, t. iv. p. 199.

form the basis of chivalry, and provide it with its grand idea. But an appeal cannot be made to a nonentity, and that which breaks forth into splendour must have had a previous existence. Those instincts, of course, existed in human nature, and although they were too generally depressed by the incidents of a depraved state of society, they had frequently been encouraged in early life, and were continually craving for indulgence.

In a former paragraph we mentioned that to the demoralisation prevalent in the baronial castles, there were honourable exceptions. The statement of these exceptions we reserved till the present time, from its connexion with the subject now brought under our notice.

There appears to have been one castle on many of the large estates, which was regarded as the family residence. Here the king or baron permitted his wife to reside, surrounded by her ladies, in the midst of her children; with her boys until they were old enough to be initiated into the arts of war and the chase. When the husband was in this his proper home, he left behind him his dissolute companions; and, honouring purity in his wife, showed his respect for that virtue, the rules of which he elsewhere violated, if not always without compunction and remorse, yet in defiance of all decency, and often with that coarseness and brutality to which we have before alluded.

With the exception of William the Conqueror, whose conjugal fidelity was his great redeeming virtue, the Norman kings were among the most licentious of mankind; and yet, until we come to Eleanor of Aquitaine, we find their queens to have been models of propriety, who exercised considerable influence over their lords. By their lords they were consulted even in matters of state, and from them they obtained that deference which virtue only can command. Matilda of Flanders, though vin-

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dictive, and in the management of her sons injudicious; and the Empress Maud, though haughty and unamiable; presided over households, which we should say the voice of scandal never attacked, if we were not aware that the libeller exists in every age, and that many find more pleasure in repeating his libels than in investigating the truth. Among the most licentious of the Norman kings we may place King Henry I. He is said to have had twenty illegitimate children, but of his delicate attention to his queen, Matilda of Scotland, we have the means of judging from her correspondence with Archbishop Anselm; and also from the fact that his conduct exposed him to the ridicule of his boon companions when he met them on some of his other manors. There was, indeed, more than one castle or hall on every manor, where women of a different character were to be seen; where the children were bastards; and where debauchery was unchecked. The following passage of a later date, though referring to these times, as quoted by Guizot from Saint Pelaye, lets us into the state of society at this period.

"At this time there was peace, and there were great feasts and jousts, and all kinds of chivalry of dames and maidens assembled where they knew of feasts, which were common and frequent: and there came with great honour, the good knights of those times. But if it happened by any chance that a dame or maiden who had an ill name, or whose honour was stained, sat by a dame or maiden of good name, however greater her degree might be as a gentlewoman, or however richer or nobler her husband might be, sometimes these good knights of their right were in no way ashamed to come to them in the presence of all, and to take the good and place them above the blemished, and to say to them before all, 'Lady, be not displeased that this lady, or maiden, takes precedence of you, for although she may not be so noble or so rich as

yourself, she is not stained, but rather is put among the number of the good; and they do not say this of you, at which I am displeased; but honour will be done to who deserves it, and marvel not thereat.' Thus spake the good knights, and put the good and those of good name in the first rank, for which they thanked God in their heart for their being held pure, by which they were honoured and placed first, and the others acknowledged their fault, hung down their faces and were much disgraced; and by this was there good example to all gentlewomen; for by reason of the shame which they heard said of other women they hesitated and feared to do ill themselves. But, God forgive us, in our days as much honour is awarded to the blemished as to the good, from which many take bad example and say that it is all one, and that as much honour is given to those who are blemished and fameless as to those who have done good; do what ill you may, all is passed over. But this is ill-said and ill-thought; for, in faith, though in the presence of ill women, we do them honour and courtesy, when they are gone we tell our minds of them. The which, I think, is ill done; for, to my mind, it is better in the presence of all to show them their faults and frailties, as was done in the times I spoke of just now. And I will tell you, further, what I heard related by several knights who had seen Messire Geoffrey, that when he journeyed through the country, and saw the castle or manor-house of any lady, he always used to ask whose it was, and when he was told it belongs to so-and-so, if the lady was touched in her honour, he would turn aside, if it were half a league, to go to her door, and there he would take out a bit of cloth he carried with him, and so marking the door with a sign would go away. But, on the other hand, when he passed near the house of a lady, or damsel of good renown, if he were not in too great haste, he

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would come to see her, and say to her, 'My good friend, or my good lady, or damsel, I pray God that, in this excellence and honour, and amongst the number of the good He may ever maintain you, for thereby you shall earn praise and honour;' and by this means, lo! the good still more feared, and held themselves still more firmly against doing anything by which they might lose their honour and their rank. I would fain those times were come again, for I do not think there would be so many women in disrepute as there are at present." *

There were homes, then, before the preaching of the first crusade, in which the idea of chivalry had its birth, and that idea was cherished by the religious. "To the help of the Lord, to the help of the Lord, against the mighty," was a noble summons to disinterested action. It is in accordance with the spirit of revelation, since revelation makes known to us that, although the Almighty cannot stand in need of our help, yet He confers honour upon those of his creatures whom, in his mysterious wisdom, He has been pleased to endow with reason and freedom of will, by employing them in His service. He calls them to be fellow-helpers with Omnipotence. To take up arms in his service, and to promote his cause by the destruction of our fellow-creatures, is a course of conduct which we should now condemn, for we know that our weapons are to be not carnal but spiritual: but it was not so in the mediæval Church; it was not so among the Puritans; it was not so among the Zuinglians in Switzerland; it was not so among the followers of Gustavus Adolphus. In a warlike age, it was supposed that war could be consecrated; and to the wars of Israel in the Old Testament reference was made both to vindicate the

* Saint Pelaye, Mémoires sur la Chevalerie, tome i. p. 147; quoted by Guizot, iii. 115.

proceeding and to inflame the courage of the combatants.

In the eleventh and twelfth centuries, there was no blending of principles, no attempt to unite discordant elements into one harmonious whole. All distinctions were sharp, and if not theoretically defined, kept separate in practice. A man was a freeman or a slave; the proper position of a servant was scarcely understood. Religion was everything, as in a monastery, or nothing, as in a castle. Men were saints or devils: there was no medium between gluttony and a fast, between extravagance and an utter reduction to poverty, between luxury and dirt. When, therefore, the principle of selfishness and the principle of generosity were brought into direct opposition or contrast, chivalry formed itself into a distinct institution. Its idea, like that of monasticism, was too exalted. Both sought to make him, who submitted to their respective modes of discipline and training, more than man, and too often left him less than man. Both had to imagine a model,—a model hero or a model saint, and their histories became legends or romances, in which it was forgotten who is the father of every untruth. The less wise professors of chivalry rendered the institution ridiculous by their eccentricities, while others who professed its elevated principles, too often degenerated, without compunction, into immorality. They encouraged a platonic affection for some lady love, who was endowed in their imagination with heavenly perfections, and yet they too often held this to be compatible with coarse and gross debauchery. This system also led to, or confirmed men in, one of those great errors, the long continuance of which, in some portions of the Church, still fills us with astonishment. The knight, coupling with the name of God that of his ladye love, was first accustomed to ascribe his success to some mystic influence which she could

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impart; and the transition was easy to the thought of a higher and a purer lady. To the Virgin Mary they attributed the qualities of youth, beauty, and goodness. Tournaments were undertaken, and feats of arms performed in her honour, as in that of an earthly mistress. The veneration with which she was regarded, seems occasionally to have taken the character of romantic affection, and she was often supposed to return this love by singular marks of her favour and protection. During an expedition of Christians to the coast of Africa, Froissart tells us that the Duke of Bourbon, as commander-in-chief, was lodged in the centre of his army with all honour, and powerfully guarded. The device on his banner, powdered over with flower-de-luce, was the figure of the Virgin Mary in white, seated in the centre, and with an escutcheon of Bourbon at her feet. On one occasion, the Saracens attacked the lines of the Christians. "As they approached, they saw before them a company of ladies dressed in white, one of whom, their leader, was incomparably more beautiful than the rest, and bore in front a white flag, having a vermilion cross in the centre. The Saracens were so greatly terrified at this vision, that they lost all strength and inclination to proceed, and stood still, these ladies keeping steadily before them. The Genoese crossbows had brought with them a dog, as I heard, from beyond sea, but whence no one could tell, nor did he belong to any particular person. This dog had been very useful to them, for the Saracens never came to skirmish, but by his noise he awakened the army; and as every one now knew that whenever the dog barked the Saracens were come, or on their road, they prepared themselves instantly; in consequence of this, the Genoese called him the Dog of our Lady. This night the dog was not idle, but made a louder noise than usual, and ran first to the main-guard, which was under the command of the Lord de Torcy, a Norman, and Sir Henry

d'Antoing. As during the night all sounds are more easily heard, the whole army was in motion, and properly prepared to receive the Saracens, who they knew were approaching." *

As in our notice of the monastic system, we found it necessary, for the proper understanding of the ensuing narratives, to remark on the incidental evil as well as on the positive advantages which resulted from those institutions, so we are obliged to act in the same manner, when referring to the institution of chivalry. We shall not find all the good resulting from it which romance writers might lead us to expect, and yet it had a mighty and enduring influence upon the civilisation of Europe. Chivalry was the practical expression of a grand idea, the noble utterance of what is gentle and softening, together with what is courageous and self-denying, in the manly heart. It represented Christian charity under the title of courtesy; and it, under this designation, introduced into the courts of earthly greatness that grace, which is in heaven to survive both faith and hope. It is impossible to think slightly of the institution which, rising above the monastery, stood forth to inform men of the world that, though living in the world, it is their duty to serve God religiously, to fight for the faith with all their strength, to die a thousand deaths rather than to renounce Christianity, to maintain the right, to be loyal and true, to shield women from wrong, and the poor from oppression, to love honour, to keep faith with all mankind;—that institution which introduced into modern civilisation a character unknown to the ancients, — the gentleman.

VI. While chivalry was educating the affections of mankind, the schools, the studia, the gymnasia were developing themselves into universities. In the twelfth

* Froissart, lib. iv. c. 21.

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century, the effect of the crusades was visible in the awakening of the European mind. The material of knowledge had been increased, through the influence of Greek and Oriental learning. The age of credulity was passing away. The time had not indeed arrived for great intellectual discoveries, or for the practical application of admitted principles; but the mind had begun to inquire, to investigate, to philosophize; and, by the dialectics of the unjustly despised schoolmen, the intellectual soil was gradually ploughed, drilled, and otherwise prepared for the reception of the experimental and inductive science of a future age.

The schoolmen or philosophers required more assistance than separate monasteries could afford, and they desired to be associated with men of similar pursuits. Books were few and public libraries were indispensable; but libraries were only to be found in cathedrals, monasteries, or schools. At the schools the philosophers found men of learning; for students were required to repay the expense of their education, by residing for a certain number of years at the place where they had received it; in order that they might impart the instruction to others which they had themselves received gratuitously; or, as we should say, to act as tutors.

In their association learned men became a university. The word universitas was at first employed to denote any incorporated society, because a corporation implies one whole out of many individuals.* The title was at one time common to the cities of Germany, or any other corporations of any kind; but it soon became narrowed to its present technical signification, to denote a certain class of educational institutions connected with a seat of learning.

* Du Cange, sub voc. Huber, chap. i.; Kurtz, 130, 1.

As the subject of the universities will frequently come under our notice, it may be expedient to remark, that, when the studia were incorporated as universities, no alteration was made in the pre-existing mode of education. There was something additional, but no interference with the constituted order of things. Before their incorporation the schools had adopted a curriculum, which was known as the trivium and quadrivium. The trivium included grammar, logic, rhetoric; the quadrivium, arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, and music. These were the seven arts in which men were required to graduate.

When the universities became not only places of education but seats of learning, the graduates in arts soon perceived that they had themselves much to learn. By the division of labour, different professions were constituted, and graduates desired to become proficient in the sciences, especially those of theology, medicine, and law. Thus the professorial was added to the original tutorial system. A higher class of learned men settled in the universities, and these, lecturing on professional subjects, each having his special science, became professors. Faculties were, in course of time, established in all the universities of Europe, and to the professional schools, established within them, some of them owed their celebrity. Theology was studied at Paris and Oxford, and at a later period at Cologne, jurisprudence at Bologna, and medicine at Salerno. But all had this in common, that no student was permitted to advance to the higher departments of study until he had first graduated in arts. As Huber justly observes, the university has its foundation in arts, or, in other words, in a liberal education.

A liberal education is to the present time the characteristic of what is called a university education. By a liberal education is meant a non-professional education.

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By a non-professional education is meant an education conducted without reference to the future profession or calling, or special pursuit for which the person under education is designed. It is an education which is regarded not merely as a means, but as something which is in itself an end. The end proposed is not the formation of the divine, or the physician, or the lawyer, or the statesman, or the soldier, or the man of business, or the botanist, or the chemist, or the man of science, or even the scholar; but simply of the thinker.

It is admitted that the highest eminence can only be attained by the concentration of the mind, with a piercing intensity and singleness of view, upon one field of action. In order to excel, each mind must have its specific end. A man may know many things well, but there is only one thing upon which he will be pre-eminently learned, and become an authority. The professional man may be compared to one, whose eye is fixed upon a microscope. The rest of the world is abstracted from his field of vision, and the eye, though narrowed to a scarcely perceptible hole, is able to see what remains indiscernible by others. When he observes accurately he becomes, in his department, a learned man, and when he reveals his observations he is a benefactor of his kind. All that the university system does is to delay the professional education as long as possible; it would apply to the training of the mind a discipline analogous to that, which common sense suggests in what relates to bodily exercise. A father, ambitious for his son that he might win the prize at the Olympian games, or in the Pythian fields, devoted his first attention not to the technicalities of the game, but to the general condition and morals of the youth. The success of the athlete depended upon his first becoming a healthy man. So the university system trains the man and defers the

professional education as long as circumstances will permit. It makes provision, before the eye is narrowed to the microscope, that the eye itself shall be in a healthy condition; it expands the mind before contracting it, it would educate mind as such before bending it down to the professional point; it does not regard the mind as an animal to be fattened for the market by cramming it with food before it has acquired the power of digestion; but treats it rather as an instrument to be tuned, as a metal to be refined, as a weapon to be sharpened.

This is the system which the old universities of Europe have inherited. We adhere, in fact, to the trivium and quadrivium, to which we shall have occasion frequently to refer. Philology, logic, and mathematics are still the instruments employed for the discipline of the mind, which is the end and object of a liberal education. It is not to make men mathematicians that young men are taught mathematics; it is not to make them critics, historians, and poets that they are disciplined in the niceties of grammar and the fetters of Latin verse; that they are instructed to make verbal distinctions, to learn a rule, and to mark the exceptions to it; but these studies are enjoined because no better means, in a succession of ages, have been found, for enabling it, in all phenomena, to seize the idea, to state a question with clearness, and to argue upon it with perspicuity. It is then, when this end has been accomplished that the professor is able to lecture with success. He sows the seed upon ground prepared; and the prepared ground receiving the seed is productive thirty, fifty, or a hundredfold, according to its original capacity or genius.

The error in the middle ages was, that this culture of the mind was not unfrequently made the exclusive object; in modern times, the danger is lest, in our impa-

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tience to be up and doing, it should be overlooked or undervalued.*

Of the exact time when the schools of Oxford and Cambridge were incorporated, and so became entitled to the name of universities, no record exists. The same is to be said of the older university of Paris. The rights were probably assumed from the necessity of internal arrangements, before they were confirmed by charter; as, in charters granted to towns, we often find privileges conceded as favours from the sovereign, the exercise of which can be proved to have existed long before the grant. The common law prevailed before the statute was obtained.

That Oxford was a place of education in the Saxon times, is a fact conceded by those, who have compelled their opponents to admit the forgery of the documents, which would attribute its foundation to Alfred. It is mentioned as the resort of students in 1180, by Giraldus Cambrensis, and previously, in the reign of Stephen, lectures were read there by Vacarius, a professor of civil law.

With regard to Cambridge, it is stated that the monks of Croyland, under their Abbot Goisfrid, opened a school in its vicinity, at Cottenham, in the early part of the twelfth century, and that they afterwards removed to a barn in Cambridge itself. The authority on which this statement rests is not above suspicion, and the statement is inaccurate in some of its details; but there must have been schools in high repute at Cambridge in the year 1209.† In that year they attracted to them three hun-

* All the members of the congregation of Clugny had to pass through a curriculum of ten years, two years being devoted to logicalia, three years to literæ naturales et philosophiæ, and five years to theology. The council of Tours, in 1236, enjoined that every priest should go through a preparatory course of five years' study.—*Kurtz*, 130, 1.

† The authority is that of the continuator of Ingulf. Owing to certain anachronisms in his statement, the statement is sometimes rejected

dred students and professors, who quitted Oxford on account of the riots. This seems to have been the foundation of the university, which in 1231 had attained an eminence equal to that of Oxford.

There was a time when upon these subjects there were bitter controversies; for there is no subject, however unimportant, upon which impassioned men may not excite their angry feelings. But now there happily exists only a friendly rivalry between the two universities. Cambridge may feel justly proud of a filial relation to Oxford, and Oxford, as becomes a personage more advanced in years, hears with complacency, though not with acquiescence, her grandchildren of Cambridge addressing their own Alma Mater,

"O matre pulchra filia pulchrior."

VII. There are other portions of history besides that which relates to the foundation of the universities which are involved in obscurity from the loss or non-preservation of public records. The documentary history of England, after the Conquest, scarcely commences before the reign of King John. A remarkable light is thrown upon the annals of his reign by the publication of the various rolls, to which frequent reference will be made in the life of Stephen Langton. Both Sir Francis Palgrave and Mr. Duffus Hardy incidentally point out how they correct the traditional history as preserved in the Chro-

in toto. The writer may possibly, however, have recorded a tradition, adorning it with his own conjectures, which were certainly inconsiderate and careless. We may presume that the obscurity in which the early history of our universities is involved will never be dispersed. We search in vain for information in Wood and Ayliffe, in Caius, Parker, and Fuller, and we are sure that they would have thrown light on the subject, if to do so had been possible. The most readable book on the English Universities is that of V. A. Huber, which deserves to be well translated and fairly annotated.

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niclers. This fact, together with the perusal of that interesting document, the Dialogus de Scaccario *, may convince us that, tyrannical and despotic as the Norman kings were by temper, they were to a considerable extent restrained by the laws of the country, which, though they sometimes violated them, they always respected. In the disputes between the kings and the archbishops, we invariably find the kings maintaining the laws and customs of the land, and the archbishops, till the time of Hubert, with the exception of Lanfranc, evading or defying them. We must at the same time remember that although the contemporary materials for writing the lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury, as supplied from private resources, are abundant, they are all of a party character; and, with the exception of the letters of Foliot, they are on the side of the opposition to the king's government. Until the reign of John we possess, in fact, only *ex parte* statements, which, in the absence of public documents, we are unable to correct. The statements are also made by persons under the influence of the odium theologicum, which is of all passions the most unscrupulous in the discoloration of facts and the aspersion of character.

This observation is made, that the reason may be seen why, in the personal disputes between the kings and the archbishops, I am inclined to take the most favourable view that circumstances will permit, of the sayings and doings of the former. The kings were generally right in principle, though placing themselves in the wrong by the ungovernable temper which was their curse, if not an hereditary mania.

No attempt is made to depict the character of any one

* The Dialogus de Scaccario was probably written by Richard of Ely, surnamed Richard Fitz Neal, Bishop of London. He was nominated to the See of London by Richard I., and was consecrated by Archbishop Baldwin in 1189. Hardy's Le Neve; Rot. de Oblat. et Fin. vii.

of the personages whose history is here recorded; for I have observed that, in depicting characters, authors generally draw upon their imaginations, and not unfrequently sacrifice truth to antithesis. The stereotyped character of many an historical personage, which is in the mouth of every superficial critic, is very frequently the reverse of the truth. My business is simply to record actions and to report opinions. Upon avowed opinions and upon conduct, I am free to speak as I think; — to condemn bad conduct, let who will be the agent, and to praise good actions, although there may be much to censure in the opinions of him who performs them. Characters must be always mixed: in the worst there is something to praise if we would look for it; in the best there is much to blame, as every good man will admit. He who begins ill may end well; and some who have begun well may fall from grace. While the character is forming, for better or for worse, there must be many inconsistencies and changes. These I shall note; but when I come to the end, I shall remember the words of Him who saith "judge not."

In this book, as in the last, I have adopted an introductory chapter to avoid interruptions in the narrative. The history of the Archbishops of Canterbury must be, in point of fact, a history of the Church of England. The validity of this assertion is not impeached when it is alleged, that it does not include the history of the northern province, and of each particular diocese. On that ground it might be contended that Hume and Lingard, in writing their history of the Kings of England, are not historians of the British Empire, because a history of England does not include the history of Scotland or Ireland. In the history of the Primates of all England the general history of the northern metropolitans is included. Any special notice of the Archbishops of York, and of the suffragans of either province,

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is seldom required, and when required will be found either in the notes or in the Appendix. Each province and each diocese has its own special and particular history; so has each county in each of the three kingdoms. But this department of history belongs to the antiquarian. The position occupied by the general historian differs considerably from that which is assumed by the local antiquarian. While the latter is gathering the grapes of Eshcol, the former is taking a Pisgah view of the land; while the one is contemplating the combined action of the labourers in the plain, the other is watching for the relic which the ploughshare on an ancient battle-field may, by a happy chance, bring to the surface; while the one is admiring the garden, the other is dissecting the flower; the antiquarian describes the ruined monastery or traces the existing school to its founder, while the historian has to pass over with a rapid glance much that is interesting in detail in order that the whole landscape may be the more clearly seen. The history of peers and of landed proprietors is interesting to the district with which they are connected, but the history of kings and primates has reference to the whole country over which they reign, or to the whole Church over which they preside.

Under this impression, and with the object of assisting the memory, this work is divided into five books, in accordance with the five great epochs, under which, according to the view taken by the author, the history of the Church of England arranges itself: I. The Anglo-Saxon period. II. The Anglo-Norman Period. III. The Reactionary Period. IV. The Reformation. V. The Modern History.

In the first book has been given the history of the Anglo-Saxon Church; the present occupies the time between Lanfranc and Langton, or from the Conquest till

the commencement of the reign of Henry III.; the third period embraces the History of the Church of England from Langton to Warham, or from Henry III. to Henry VIII.; the fourth period lasts from Cranmer to Tillotson, or from Henry VIII. to the Revolution; from which event we date our modern history. But we must bear in mind that this division is arbitrary. As in architecture, there are transitionary states; as in the natural world, we cannot fix the exact line of demarcation which separates animal from vegetable life; so in history, three generations of men commingling in one age, we cannot state with precision the moment when the past has developed itself into the present, or the connexion of the present with the future. Norman influence, tastes, and feelings were prevalent in the realm and Church of England, as we have already had occasion to show, before the Norman Conquest; in the present book we shall find that a reaction had already commenced against civil and ecclesiastical tyranny; and in what we designate the reactionary period, we shall learn that, long before Cranmer, the principles of the Reformation were rooted in the public mind. The future is always in the womb of the present.

Amidst the struggles of mankind, — their virtues and their vices, their wisdom and their folly, their magnanimity and their meanness, their great designs and imperfect execution, their public spirit and their selfishness, — the Christian philosopher will ever observe that directing hand and over-ruling power, to which we have, in humility and faith, already directed attention. In the turmoils of the age before us, when ecclesiastical authority was demanding too much and the civil authority conceding too little, he will perceive the principle of permanence established for Christianity; in the turmoils of the ensuing period, he will see established the principle of progress; and these points having been secured,

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the principle of intelligence was the principle established at the Reformation. What is now in store for us,—what is the problem we are now working out, who can tell? Our blessed Lord asks, "When the Son of Man cometh, shall he find faith on earth?" We look around us, and we know not what answer to return. Our Lord saith, "When ye hear of wars and rumours of wars, be ye not troubled, for such things must needs be; but the end shall not be yet." * We must rest satisfied with the blessed conviction that all things are working together for the good of them that love the Lord, and are conducing towards the final establishment of that kingdom of glory, over which the Divine Head of the Church will for ever reign.

* Mark, xiii. 7.

CHAP. II

LANFRANC.*

Birth, Parentage, and Education. — Success as a Lawyer. — Probable Cause of his leaving Italy. — I. Life as a Student. — Success at Avranches and probable Cause. — Ignorance of Theology. — Conversion. — Probably a Widower. — Retirement to Bec. — Success as a Teacher. — Enlargement of Monastery. — Lanfranc appointed Prior. — Letter of Berengarius. — Transubstantiation. — Lanfranc denounces Marriage of the Duke of Normandy with Matilda of Flanders. — Ordered out of the Country. — Reconciled to the Duke. — Visits Rome and obtains a Dispensation for the Royal Marriage. — St. Stephen's, Caen. — Lanfranc Abbot. — His Munificence. — Notice of his Writings. — Declines the Archbishopric of Rouen. — II. Conduct as Archbishop.—Reluctance to accept the See of Canterbury. — Odo Bishop of Bayeux. — Charta Regis. — Lanfranc elected and consecrated. — Sad Condition of the Country. — He desires to resign. — Obliged to go to Rome for Pall. — Affectionate Reception by Alexander II. — Returns to England. — Royal Proclamation for Restoration of Church Property. — Trial on Penenden Heath. — Lanfranc's Wealth and Munificence. — Rebuilds Canterbury Cathe-

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* Authorities:—Lanfranci Opera; the Benedictine Edition, edited by Dom Luke D'Achery, was published in Paris, in the year 1648; a reimpression of this edition was published at Lyons in 1677; a third edition, in two volumes 8vo., was published in 1844 simultaneously at Paris and in Oxford under the editorship of Dr. Giles. This is the edition I have used, not by preference, but simply because it is the one I possess; it contains some letters not published before. The other authorities are, the Chronicon Beccense; Milo Crispinus; Gervas; William of Malmesbury de Gest. Pontif.; William of Jumieges; Ordericus Vitalis. The only modern writers with whom I am acquainted are, Mr. Wright, in his Biographia Britannica Literaria, and a notice Biographique Littéraire et Philosophique, par M. Charma.

dral. —Converts Cathedral into a Conventual Church. — Statutes. — Controversy with the Monks of St. Augustine. — Riots at Glastonbury. — Use of Sarum. — Basis of Book of Common Prayer. — — Peculiars. — Angry Letter to Bishop of Chichester. — Controversy with Archbishop of York. — Visit to Bec. — Lanfranc Justiciary. — Disgrace of Odo. — Resistance to Pope. — Ecclesiastical Polity.—Irish Church.—Lanfranc's Relations with Anglo-Saxons.— Letter to Margaret Queen of Scots. — Wulfstan, Bishop of Worcester. — Coronation of Rufus by Lanfranc and Wulfstan. — Death of the Archbishop.

CHAP. II. Lanfranc. 1005.

LANFRANC was born about the year 1005 at Pavia, in Lombardy. Here his name is still held in honour, a church in the vicinity of the town being dedicated to San Lanfranco. Although he was not nobly born*, yet his father Hanbald and his mother Roza†, are said to have been persons of senatorial rank, — a description which indicates a high position in society.

When the Lombards founded a kingdom in the north of Italy, Pavia was constituted the capital. For many years, indeed, it succeeded to the position formerly occupied by Rome, and then by Ravenna, as the metropolis of the whole peninsula. At the time, however, of Lanfranc's birth, each city in Italy appears to have regarded itself as an independent state, and there was in these towns more of real freedom than in any other part of the world. The citizens were accustomed to assemble in Parliament, and the Parliament was composed of all persons in the state who were capable of bearing arms.‡ Two consuls were annually elected, and they were charged not only with the command of the army but also

* Lanfranc speaks of himself in writing to the Queen of Scots as "ignobilis." Lanfrancus Margaritæ Reginæ Scotorum, Lanfranci Opp. i. 59; but Milo Crispinus says, "Ut fertur, pater ejus de ordine illorum qui jura et leges civitatis asservabant, fuit."—P. 282, c. i.

† Gervas, 1652.

‡ Sismondi, chap. i. p. 22.

with the administration of justice,—the special department of Hanbald, who is spoken of as one of the conservatores legum.*

Although these rulers of the city exercised, in fact, the powers of royalty, they were not accounted noble; and hence probably the modest expression of Lanfranc when, referring to his family, he speaks of himself as ignobilis. The cavalry of the city was composed of nobles, who, having committed themselves in the civil wars, had fled to the town for protection, and were admitted to the order of citizens on condition of their fighting in defence of its liberties. These formed a distinct class. The infantry were composed of the other citizens. But the entire forces, when they gathered round the carroccio, were placed under the command of the civic authorities.†

The tastes of Lanfranc were not warlike, and he devoted himself to the study of law. For this purpose he studied in the schools of his native city; which in some respects differed from the schools in Normandy and England. The universities north of the Alps originated in the cathedral and monastic schools, but those of Italy were frequently independent of the Church; Bologna and Salerno had certainly not an ecclesiastical origin.‡ The school of Pavia is said to have been founded by Charlemagne.

We mention these circumstances connected with the birthplace of Lanfranc and the place of his education, because they conduced to the formation of his character,

* His office was probably that of Master of the Rolls or keeper of the Records of Law, like the French Greffier or the Spanish Escrivano; or he may have been the Notary Public. The old Latin Dictionary of Calipinus says: "Notarius, scriba publicus, qui acta in judicio vel extra judicium, notis, vel literis vel labris expit." See also Du Cange in V. Notarius.

† Sismondi, chap. i. p. 22.

‡ Huber, i. 14.

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and of that spirit of independence which he sometimes displayed. It is to be remarked that he was less subservient to the Papacy, even after he had become an ecclesiastic, than was the case with the generality of contemporary divines. So far as its external relations were concerned, Pavia was imperialist rather than papal, and the university was imperialist in its origin.

Describing the success of Lanfranc as a lawyer, Ordericus Vitalis informs us: — "The youthful orator when pleading a cause frequently triumphed over his veteran opponents, and by a torrent of eloquence won the prize from men long in the habit of eloquent speaking. At a ripe age his opinions were given with so much wisdom, that learned doctors, judges, and prelates of the city readily adopted them."*

It appears strange that, with such a career before him, he should quit the sunny banks of the Ticino and repair to the less genial climate of Normandy; there to mix with men whom, with Italian insolence, he regarded as barbarians. For the solution of this difficulty we must refer to the general history of the times. His migration took place when William the Bastard was Duke of Normandy; it could not, therefore, have been earlier than 1035. But between the years 1035 and 1039, the time of Conrad the Salic, there were great disturbances in Italy, such as would affect a young man whose habits were studious, and who had little turn for warlike pursuits. The interests of the different classes of society came into collision, and the prelates, almost throughout Italy, had joined the cities against the nobles. War was nearly universal. From an expression of Ordericus Vitalis, in a passage which will be quoted presently, it would appear that Lanfranc regarded himself as an exile;

* Ordericus Vitalis, lib. iv. c. 6.

from which we infer that his family was, in the revolutions of Pavia, on the losing side, and that he was compelled by circumstances to leave his country.

Lanfranc had studied at most of the universities or schools of Italy, and had acquired a taste for literary and scientific pursuits*; and, on leaving his native land, he determined to indulge his inclinations by establishing a school in Normandy. Several reasons may be assigned for his making choice of Normandy for the place of his future labours. The political relations between the Italians and the Normans had been long, frequent and intimate. There was in Normandy a dearth of learned men, and the young duke was reputed a patron of literature.† Lanfranc

* La Biographie Universelle says that he studied at Cologne. Charma refers to this as a misprint, and suggests Bologna. But I do not recollect that this is stated in any of the original authorities. Bologna did not come into notice as a school of civil law till seventy or eighty years after this date.

† The Chronicle of Bec assigns this as his reason for going into Normandy: "Audiens Lanfrancus famam regionis Normanniæ, quæ prius Neustria dicebatur, in qua ducatum tenebat hereditario jure Willelmus ille, qui postea subjugavit sibi totam Angliam armis, sciens certo relatu illic multum collapsum studium literaturæ barbaricæ gentis, et intelligens providentissima inspiratione inde se posse adipisci majorem gloriam, et plurimum quæstum; venit ille cum paucis." As the superiority of the Normans over the Anglo-Saxons has been sometimes asserted, I add the following remarks from an author very careful in his statements: "The collective fruits of the intellectual exertions and experience of the Anglo-Saxon race, deposited in a literature richer than that of any of their Germanic brethren, either in expressive prose or artificially constructed, alliterative, rhythmical poesy; the wisdom of hoar antiquity, all the learning, every animating warning, exhilarating example in national tradition, became lost to the people. Such a loss we should with reason deplore, even if it had been supplanted by something nobler and better; but that which the Normans brought with them was certainly far from being an equivalent even in point of mere learning. Those Norman bishops at the head of their squadrons, in a war of attack and conquest, afford us a spectacle as instructive as rare, even in the days of heathenism; and a very slight inquiry suffices

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looked to Normandy with the same kind of feeling as that which is experienced by young men of the present day, when they are determined to seek or to make their fortunes in the colonies.

Henceforth the history of Lanfranc may be arranged under two sections. I. His life as a student. II. His conduct as Primate of all England.

Circa 1039.

I. About the year 1039 Lanfranc opened a school at Avranches, and became its magister. By his legal attainments, as well as by his proficiency in every department of human learning, and perhaps still more by his eloquence, he attracted crowds of scholars. When books were scarce, clearness of arrangement, readiness of illustration, and powers of distinct enunciation, which constitute eloquence, were of vital importance to the success of a teacher; and from early exercise in the law courts of Pavia, Lanfranc was as skilful in imparting knowledge as he was laborious in acquiring it. Another secret of his success may be discovered in the novelty of his teaching, differing as it did from anything to which the northern nations had, of late years, been accustomed. The Emperor of the East had, till lately, continued to exercise some amount of influence in Italy. For some time after the conquest of Italy by the

to show that the highly cultivated men, whose names, before and during the time of William, are enumerated among those of the Normans, do not belong to that people. No poem, no national historic work, no sermons, no essays, no collection of laws, from the pen of a native, have the Normans, before their military occupation of England, either transmitted to posterity, or to which they can refer. We may, therefore, fairly assume, when we see the English nation, after ages of depression, again vigorously flourishing, that this resurrection, but for the Norman Conquest, would have taken place much earlier and more completely, and that the civilisation of Southern Europe, which the clergy of those migratory ages spread abroad, would have shed its influence more benignly over Anglo-Saxon life, without the transplanting of the Court of Rouen to England." — *Lappenberg, Hist. of England under the Norman Kings*, pp. 142, 143.

Lombards, the Greeks still possessed certain isolated ports and fortified positions along the coast. In these places as well as in Venice, Ravenna, Genoa, Pisa, Rome, Gaeta, Naples, Amalfi, and Bari, the ancient civilisation, with its literature, lingered. Before the occurrence of the Crusades, Greek literature was so little known in the cathedral and monastic schools of the North, that it appeared with a freshness in the schools of Avranches and Bec which exaggerated the fame of Lanfranc. It was said that "to understand the admirable genius and erudition of Lanfranc, one ought to be an Herodian in grammar, an Aristotle in dialectics, a Tully in rhetoric, an Augustine and Jerome and other expositors of the law and grace in the sacred Scriptures. Athens itself, in its most flourishing state, renowned for the excellence of its teaching, would have honoured Lanfranc in every branch of eloquence and discipline, and would have desired to receive instruction from his wise maxims."*

Although this passage, as far as Augustine and Jerome are concerned, must refer to his teaching at Bec, rather than at Avranches, it is important, because it points out the peculiarity or speciality of his course of instruction.

The clergy of Normandy, as well as the laity, were among his applauding hearers. Lanfranc, with all his accomplishments, had, however, paid little regard to his spiritual interests, and had grievously neglected the care of his soul. He was now subjected to one of those sudden conversions, in the reality of which, as a gracious influence of the Holy Spirit, every true Christian believes, although none but a fanatic regards them as essential and necessary. Lanfranc was under deep religious conviction and impressions. Ordericus Vitalis says that, "when in exile, like another Plato, he learned to philosophize.

* Ordericus Vitalis, lib. iv. c. 6.

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The love of the light eternal flashed into his mind, and the love of true wisdom enlightened his soul. He saw with Ecclesiastes, though he had not yet learnt the use of the ecclesiastical writings, that the things of this world are but vanity."*

It is generally through affliction that the Spirit of God works, in order to effect, in the careless, the conversion of the soul; and we cannot but suspect, that Lanfranc was, at this time, bowed down to the earth by sorrow. We have no direct information of Lanfranc having been a married man. It is a subject which hagiographers, in their unholy depreciation of the holy estate of matrimony, were likely to pass over in silence. There was no reason why a lawyer, or a teacher unconnected with an ecclesiastical office, should not have taken to himself a wife; but the hagiographers would rather leave the impression that he had always been a bachelor. Nevertheless, there was certainly a tradition of his having had a son named Paul, who in 1077 was preferred to the abbacy of St. Albans. Upon that abbey, also, Lanfranc, as archbishop, conferred many favours. The purity of Lanfranc's character was never impeached; and he was, at one time, surrounded by enemies who would have been eager to reproach him, if any valid grounds for doing so had existed. If we give any credit to this tradition, we conclude that he was married; and we possess, in the loss of his wife, an assignable cause for Lanfranc's sudden access of religion, and for his repairing unexpectedly to a monastery.† What renders the conjecture the more pro-

* Ordericus Vitalis, lib. iv. c. 6.

† I speak doubtfully upon this subject, as I am not aware that we have any authority for stating that Paul was Lanfranc's son, except Matthew Paris; but Matthew Paris recorded a tradition which certainly has nothing in it of improbability, although it may have been mere gossip. See Selden note to Eadmer, 196.

bable is the fact, that, when Lanfranc became Archbishop of Canterbury, he refused to press upon the Church of England the celibacy of the clergy, with that stringency, with which it had been enforced in the Church of Rome.

To whatever cause we are to attribute this change in Lanfranc's feelings, it is certain that he acted suddenly under the impulse of a newly acquired enthusiasm. One morning the scholars and hearers of the great magister of Avranches assembled as usual, but Lanfranc did not make his appearance. The great man was nowhere to be found. Had he fallen into the hands of robbers? Had he been deported by jealous ecclesiastics? Had he been murdered? Had he fled to some distant wilderness, and become a hermit? Any of these were possible events, — but the Duke did not institute any investigation, and, after a little inquiry, silence was thought to be prudent, and curiosity gradually subsided.

As to the proceedings of Lanfranc himself, we have a minute account of them in Milo Crispinus. It partakes of the character of a legend, but there is some poetical beauty in the narrative; and the fictitious can easily be detected, while a considerable residuum of probable fact is left.

Lanfranc, in the earnestness of his zeal, desired to devote himself to the service of his Redeemer, in one of the strictest monasteries which he could find. He was told that the establishment he desired was to be found in the forest of Ouche; and he was forcing his way through a thick entangled forest in the neighbourhood of Rouen, while the scholars of Normandy were inquiring, with painful anxiety, for their revered and admired preceptor. It was afterwards narrated that, in his journey through the forest, Lanfranc was attacked by robbers, who left him nothing but his clothes. It occurred to Lanfranc that he had once heard of a pious man in a similar predicament, who, being robbed of his horse, an unruly beast,

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freely presented the robbers with his whip in order that they might manage him. The well-conditioned highwaymen, not to be outdone in generosity, refused the whip and returned the horse. Lanfranc remembered that this story was quoted as an illustration of acting on scriptural principles, and determined to make the same kind of experiment upon the better feelings of his assailants. They had taken his purse, they might as well take his clothes also. The Norman robbers, however, being matter-of-fact men, and not deeply read in the Scriptures, supposed that he intended to insult them; they took his clothes, as he generously suggested, but never thought of returning his purse. They left him only his cap, which they forced down over his eyes, and then they bound him to a tree at some distance from the road. Lanfranc had now much time for painful thought. He soon perceived the difference between an action upon which the Divine blessing rested, because it was done *bonâ fide;* and a similar action when resorted to as a clever manœuvre. But, strange to say, he, one of the most learned men of the age, was unable to repeat a single prayer, psalm, or hymn. He was ignorant, according to this representation, to an extent almost incredible. But he trusted to the outpourings of his own overburdened soul, and prayed effectually; vowing a vow to God, that, if he obtained the Divine protection now, he would ever afterwards devote himself to the service of the Church and to the care of his immortal soul.

With the morning came relief. His piteous cry for help was heard by the travellers on the road not far distant. They approached and unbound him, and, upon his asking them to name to him the nearest monastery in the district, they directed him to Bec.*

* Milo Crispinus, Vit. Lanf. c. 1, s. 2, inter Opp. Lanf. ed. Giles, i. 282. The same story is told in the Chronicon Beccense, but as having happened at another time.

So secluded was this monastery that he could only find it by following the course of the river Risle, until he came to a tongue of land formed by a back stream or bec*, flowing into the main river. Here he saw a few huts, surrounded by fields or gardens carefully cultivated and in the most perfect order. His eye rested upon a man in worn and tattered garments, with uncombed hair and an uncut beard. In his handsome and expressive countenance and his aristocratic bearing, in which nothing however of haughtiness remained, Lanfranc at once recognised the head of this community of cottages. The abbot was busy in making what was to be their public oven or bakehouse. "God save you," said Lanfranc; "God bless you," replied the abbot, who had recognised the Italian pronunciation of the stranger, and added, "You are a Lombard?" "I am." "What do you want?" "To be a monk." The abbot paused from his toil. He was unable himself to read; but Brother Roger was working with him at the oven, and he was directed to show the stranger the book

* The word Bec is of Danish origin, and is still in common use in Yorkshire. Some villages, such as Holbeck, in the parish of Leeds, derive their name from the Bec, brook, or bye stream which bounds them, or on which they are situated. Charma has the following note:— "Est-ce du nom de ce ruisseau que l'abbaye du Bec a emprunté le sien? Ne serait-ce pas plutôt de l'angle formé par le confluent de ce ruisseau et de la Rille que le ruisseau et l'abbaye ont tiré le nom qu'ils portent encore? C'est une question qui ne vaut pas la peine qu'on prendrait à la débattre. Pour moi, sans rien affirmer positivement, j'inclinerais vers la dernière de ces hypothèses, qui a pour elle le sens du mot *Bec* (*le Bec-d'Allier*, *le Bec-d'Ambez*, *&c. &c.*), et l'autorité de Lamartinière. Le Bec, bourg de France, en Normandie, avec une abbaye qui est située sur un Bec ou langue de terre au confluent de deux rivières. *Le grand Dictionnaire géographique et critique*, c. ii. p. 178. Mais voici Papirius Masson qui concilie tout: Beccus dicitur, veterum Gallorum seu Danorum lingua aquæ cursus in alium fluvium intrans. *Descriptio Fluminum Galliæ*, Paris 1618." Charma, note to Lanfranc, Notice Biographique, p. 39.

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of rules. They were few but austere. Lanfranc read them. When he had concluded he said that, God helping him, he would keep them. The abbot consented to receive him as a brother; and instantly the proud scholar was prostrate at the feet of the illiterate recluse.

The abbot was Herluin, — a remarkable man. A noble by birth, a descendant from a Dane, one of the first who settled in Neustria, he had been educated in the court of Gislebert, Earl of Brionne. In feast and in battle-field he had been equally popular, until the gross immoralities of a Norman court and castle revolted his better nature. In 1031, being then in his thirty-seventh year, he began to think seriously of the four last things, Death and Judgment, Heaven and Hell. From eschatology his mind adverted to his Saviour and his God, and by the Spirit of the Lord he became a converted man. The form and character of his religion was shaped, of course, in a man void of learning, by the sentiments prevalent in the religious world at the time, and by the example of those who had been his spiritual advisers. He knew not how to fly from the pollutions of Norman society except by becoming a monk. There were many monasteries in the land which afforded a refuge and a home to those who, without a tendency to asceticism, desired to lead moral and religious lives. In these the pleasures, without the vices, of society were enjoyed. But such was the corruption of the age, that some of the monasteries had themselves become as polluted as the Norman castle; and Herluin sought in vain for an asylum in Normandy sufficiently strict to meet the cravings of his enthusiasm. He became, in consequence, the founder of a monastery on his own estate; where, surrounded by a few followers, who were animated by a kindred spirit, he constituted himself the abbot, and was duly consecrated to the office. A few huts formed the residence of the monks, and the noble mother of Herluin,

converted like himself, was accustomed to cook their dinner and to perform the menial offices they required. The time was passed in an alternation of devotional exercises and of manual labour. By the industry of the monks the trees were felled; and the field thus created was tilled, manured, and sowed, until the wilderness had become the paradise which had presented itself to the eyes of Lanfranc, as, descending the hill, he came down into the fruitful valley.*

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Meantime Herluin had become aware that religion without learning soon degenerates into mere fanaticism, and unable himself to instruct his monks, he regarded Lanfranc as a God-send.

The softer parts of Lanfranc's character are brought out in his relation to Herluin, for whom he seems to have entertained a profound respect. Hitherto, as we have seen, Lanfranc had disregarded theology, and had been so careless in his religious observances, as to be unable to repeat the common offices of the Church; and therefore, if at first he was inclined to smile, when he saw the old knight wasting his oil, while endeavouring to master the mysteries of a spelling-book, and when he heard him indulging in false quantities whenever he attempted to pronounce a Latin word; he was, on the other hand, astonished and affected when he listened to him, as he poured forth his treasures of Scriptural knowledge, and quoted those passages especially which bring first alarm and then consolation to the sinner's heart. Herluin, though unable to read, had been an attentive listener; and, as he possessed a good memory, the Scriptures were written upon the tablets of his heart. Lanfranc, comparing the spiritual knowledge with the general ignorance of Herluin, was heard more than once,

* Vitæ Abbatum Beccensium, auctoribus Gilberto et Milone Crispino, inter Opp. Lanf. pp. 260 et seq.

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after listening to the abbot's discourse, to exclaim, "Spiritus ubi vult, spirat."

For three years Lanfranc remained a secluded penitent; leading an ascetic life, and giving instruction to the monks indoors, while Herluin directed their labours in the field. He devoted himself to the study of Scripture, breaking up, as his biographer tells us, the fallow-ground of his heart, weeping as he read.*

But the spirit of the teacher was strong in Lanfranc. He was eager to impart the new knowledge which he obtained. We may add that, however much he desired to conceal it even from himself, although Lanfranc had ceased to be a worldly man,—that is to say, although now he made it his *first* object to seek the kingdom of God and his righteousness,—yet he was not fitted to be a recluse, and was eminently qualified to act as a man of the world.

"Naturam expellas furcâ tamen usque recurrit."

It was not likely that such a man should remain long in obscurity. There were other men who, like Herluin, disgusted with the immoralities of the age, sought for peace in the ascetic religion in which only the enthusiastic expected to find repose; and they found it in Herluin's establishment. Among them were, doubtless, some of the many who had been hearers of Lanfranc at Avranches; and if the person of the attenuated monk was not recognized at first, the familiar voice sounded as music to their ears, and betrayed the object of their search.

At all events, it was soon noised abroad in Normandy, that the famous magister of Avranches had reappeared in the scholasticus of Bec. Among the scholars came the

* "At doctor ille maximus in claustro omnem operam impendebat quieti et silentio, cordis sui novalia verbi sacri excolens assidua lectione; irrigans ea dulci, quam sæpe obtinebat, lacrymarum compunctione."—*Vita Lanfranci*, c. 1, s. 3.

sons of princes and nobles in the land: to repair to Bec became the fashion of the day.* The huts were multiplied on the banks of the Risle: temporary accommodation was provided. A more capacious monastery was required, or Lanfranc must repair to some more accommodating and convenient establishment.†

To become the founder of a monastery was not beneath the ambition of Lanfranc, who would regard it as a meritorious work. But Lanfranc felt all that was due from him to Herluin. He loved him as his spiritual father, with all that love which a great man feels towards one in whom, though his inferior in intellectual acquirements, he recognises many virtues in which he feels himself to be least proficient. Nothing would he do without the consent of the abbot. The humble-minded Herluin had founded his monastery as a retreat rather than a school, and regretted the fame which was thrust upon him. But, on the one hand, he felt reluctant to part with Lanfranc, whose homage touched his heart; and, on the other hand, he had become more and more convinced of the importance of learning, for the elucidation and enforcement of Scriptural truth. After some hesitation, Herluin consented to the enlargement of the buildings; and thus was the foundation laid of one of the most celebrated monasteries of Western Europe, from which emanated no fewer than three Archbishops of Canterbury.

Herluin retained the office of abbot, and assigned that of prior to Lanfranc. He reserved to himself the arrange-

* "Clerici accurrunt, ducum filii, nominatissimi scholarum magistri latinitatis, laici potentes, et nobiles viri multi, pro ipsius amore multa eidem ecclesiæ contulerunt."—*Vita Lanfr.* c. 2, s. 4.

† "Viris litteratis undecumque confluentibus cum ornamentis et spoliis quibus spoliaverant Ægyptum, quæ cultui tabernaculi postmodum forent accommoda. Poetarum quippe figmenta, philosophorum scientia, et artium liberalium disciplina, Scripturis sacris intelligendis valde sunt necessaria."—*Mab. A. S.* ix. 364.

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ment of all matters of business and the secular concerns; but he confided to the prior the internal regulation and discipline of what may be called the new establishment.

And now, as usual, many stories were in circulation bearing upon the conduct and character of the celebrated Prior of Bec. To one we have already alluded—relating to the circumstances which attended the robbery — to which, however exaggerated the details, he was, no doubt, subjected.

When first Lanfranc arrived at Bec, he was associated with men who, if they knew Latin, were ignorant of the niceties of language, and were illiterate. The prior who preceded Lanfranc was probably selected as being less unlearned than the other brethren, and was proud of his superiority. Lanfranc took his place among the monks, his name and character being known only to the abbot. It was Brother Lanfranc's turn to read in hall. He was proceeding with a sentence in which the word "docēre" occurred, and he, of course, pronounced it properly, with the middle syllable long. "Docĕre, docĕre," said the prior, rather pompously; and "docĕre" was repeated by Brother Lanfranc. Lanfranc may have amused his friends by relating the occurrence, for he had a sense of the ridiculous; but graver men dwelt upon the example here set of the monastic virtue of obedience. "The wise man," says the biographer of Lanfranc, with puerile simplicity, "knew that obedience was due to Christ rather than to Donatus, and willingly gave up the right pronunciation."*

Another story was told to show the acts of humility to which the great man had stooped. He had undertaken to cultivate and improve some land which had been newly assigned to the monastery of Bec. One day, when repairing to the scene of his labour, he was joined by a fellow-

* Vita Lanfr. c. 2, s. 4.

traveller. They conversed. But some strange noise was heard, and the traveller paused; when Lanfranc said to him, "It is only my cat. The fact is, that the mice and the rats ('mures et rati') are so extremely annoying to us in our new house, that I am carrying a cat ('catus') to keep them down." "See," exclaims his biographer, "to what humility so great a man was willing to stoop for God's service; and because he humbled himself, God greatly exalted him."

But however exalted he might be as a teacher, Lanfranc was by no means distinguished as a theologian. His writings show that he was not a man of genius, he was deficient in original thought, and had none of the metaphysical depth, united with a power of analysis, which is so conspicuous in his successor Anselm. The man of genius is a suggester of thought to others: in reading his works, we feel as if a spark were carried into our mind, and a train of gunpowder fired; we are set a-thinking. This is the case with the writings of Anselm, but not with those of Lanfranc. Of the latter, we can only say, that he was pre-eminent as a man of talent, very skilful to carry out the suggestions of others, to elucidate other men's thoughts, or to support an established opinion with vigour, eloquence, and skill. We are not surprised, therefore, to find that, before he became an ecclesiastic, he was inclined to the liberal opinions, as we should style them, which were beginning, even in an age of credulity, to display themselves; or that he should be subject to a violent reaction when he determined to make theology his study, and that he should become a vehement advocate of the doctrine of transubstantiation.

In the life of Plegmund, we have alluded to the introduction of the idea of a transubstantiation in the Eucharist into the schools of theology, by Paschasius Radbert. Paschasius Radbert was constrained to admit that, in his

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time, there were many who doubted the orthodoxy of his position *, and it had not, in Lanfranc's time, become a dogma of the Catholic Church in any of its branches. The celebrated man who now occupied the papal chair, Gregory VII., was willing to leave it an open question. But the tendency of the age was to harden, to sensualise, to corporealise the sacred dogmas and mysteries of revelation; and the religious world maintained the opinion with that intolerant zeal by which that world has in every age been distinguished.

A stout opponent they had in Berengarius.† When Berengarius found that his old friend Lanfranc had committed himself to the opposite side, he addressed to him the following letter: —

"A report has reached my ears, Brother Lanfranc, which, from the affection which has existed between us, renders it my duty to admonish you. I have been told that you have not only expressed your dissatisfaction with, but that you have actually pronounced to be heretical, the opinions of Johannes Scotus — those opinions in which he differs from Paschasius Radbert, who has found a supporter in you. Now, if this be the case, you have pronounced a judgment rash and unworthy of the powers of mind with which God has endowed you, and which are by no means despicable. You have not as yet grounded yourself in Holy Scripture, or conferred much with those who have been more diligent in scriptural studies than

* In his letter to the monk Frudegard, Opp. Paris 1618, fol. 1619: "Quæris de re, ex quâ multi dubitant." The new thing in his doctrine was that by virtue of the consecration, by a miracle of Almighty power, the substance of the bread and wine became converted into the substance of the body and blood of Christ, so that beneath the sensible outward emblems of bread and wine another substance was still present. Neander, vi. 299.

† The treatise of Berengarius is now accessible. It was edited by Vischer, Berlin 1834.

yourself. And now, brother, all I desire is to hear what you have to say upon the subject, before competent witnesses and a fitting audience, if you will give me the opportunity.

"Until this takes place, do not think scorn of what I now say. If you reckon John a heretic, whose opinions on the Eucharist I maintain, you must be supposed to regard as heretics Ambrose, Jerome, Augustine, not to mention others."*

This is the angry letter of a man who had been at one time on terms of intimacy with Lanfranc. The excellence of Lanfranc in what related to secular learning is not denied; it had been their bond of union. But Berengarius was aware that Lanfranc, at the time of their intimacy, had been profoundly ignorant on all theological subjects; and having now heard that he had ventured to pronounce a hostile opinion in the controversy in which he was himself engaged, he could not refrain from alluding to the circumstance in terms so contemptuous that they would have irritated one less accustomed than his correspondent to an atmosphere of adulation. Berengarius and Lanfranc were henceforth bitter enemies, the leaders in opposite schools.

The newly-awakened zeal of Lanfranc had involved him in a controversy likely to be attended by more serious consequences, although it conduced eventually to shape his future fortunes, and to lead him to the highest eminence.

* It has been said that Lanfranc was obliged to act on the defensive at Rome, because his enemies had transmitted thither some letter which he had received from Berengarius. The learned D'Achery and those who follow him suppose that the letter given above is the chief among the letters thus mentioned. But this may be denied on internal evidence. The letter would have been the fullest acquittal of the charge of complicity with Berengarius that Lanfranc could have produced. There is a good note on the subject in Charma, p. 103.

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William, Duke of Normandy, had contracted a marriage with Matilda, daughter of the Earl of Flanders, and the marriage was within the degrees of consanguinity now prohibited by the Church. The excommunication of the offenders, accompanied with an interdict on the duchy, was threatened by the ecclesiastical courts at Rome, Roman authority having been established early over the Church of Normandy, from the intimate connexion which existed between the two countries. Lanfranc was loud in his denunciation of the marriage, and stood forth as an advocate for the Church against the court. William was well aware that few men think for themselves; and his sagacity soon discovered the importance of enlisting in his cause the pens of the learned few, whom he influenced by rewards, by promises, by flattery, or by exciting their hopes.* The opinions of a man like Lanfranc, eloquently expressed and eagerly reported by the enemies of the duke, had an effect similar to that produced in these days by an article in a leading political journal. Lanfranc was, if possible, to be won; but this was no easy matter. Why had not Duke William noticed Lanfranc at Avranches? Whatever was the reason, his neglect was not likely to be forgotten by the Prior of Bec.

The duke determined to make up for past neglect by sending his chaplain Herfast, attended by a crowd of courtiers, to Bec. Knowing, as we do, the high importance which royalty, with justice, attaches to every act of condescension and favour, we can easily understand that the visit itself of these representatives of the court was

* Thierry, whilst narrating some of the worst actions of William, remarks: — "Whilst these things were going on in Englan, famed was publishing abroad by the pens of hired priests, or priests who wished to be hired, that William, the powerful, the victorious, the pious, had civilised that country, until then barbarous, and revived Christianity there, until then greatly neglected."—*Thierry*, i. 252.

probably regarded as a compliment sufficient to flatter and pacify the Boanerges. But William little knew, at this time, the independence of mind which characterised the citizen of Pavia. Lanfranc understood, at once, the purpose of the visit, and treated his visitors with marked disrespect. To the amusement of the scholars, by whom he was surrounded, he placed in the hands of the royal chaplain an Abecedarium, or spelling-book, and took every opportunity of exposing his ignorance.

On the return of the courtiers, and on their report of the proceedings at Bec, the duke fell into one of those extraordinary paroxysms of rage which seem to have been irresistible in a Norman potentate; and he commanded the insolent Lombard to quit his dominions. In order moreover to show his indignation against the whole community, one of the granges of the monastery was to be burnt to the ground.

What now took place it is difficult to narrate, because it is evident that many little circumstances have been omitted by Milo Crispinus, which are necessary to enable us to present the whole proceeding, in all its particulars, to the mind's eye. Lanfranc certainly prepared to obey the duke's command. The monastery was still poor, and the monks were possessed of only one horse, a sorry jade, which soon became dead lame.* On this the Prior of Bec took his seat, attended by one servant.

Lanfranc directed his steps to Rouen, where he probably had been summoned to appear before the duke, previously to his departure from Normandy. At this period, a man's dignity was estimated by his equipage and the number of his attendants; and when the duke was apprised of Lanfranc's approach he evidently expected to meet a large cavalcade. He went forth prepared to en-

* "Tripes equus, quarto pede inutili."—*Vit. Lanf.* c. 3, s. 7, p. 287.

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counter a haughty opponent, with whom he would have to deal with the strong arm. But when he saw the great man draw near, seated on a horse, whose nose, at almost every step, touched the ground, he was irresistibly amused; and, in a lover of horse-flesh, the appearance of the poor prior may have excited some feelings of compassion. His countenance, however, soon reassumed its usual stern and unreadable expression. But the smile had not escaped the observant Lanfranc; and he said facetiously (decenti joco), "By your commands I am leaving your dominions, but it is only at a foot's pace that I can proceed on such a wretched beast as this; give me a better horse, and I shall be better able to obey your commands." The duke took the joke, and laughingly exclaimed, "Whoever heard before of an offender venturing to ask a donation from the very judge whom he has offended?"

Thus commenced the friendship of Duke William and Lanfranc. A private interview was granted to the prior, and the two great men came to a perfect understanding. Orders were issued to repair the damage done to the monastery of Bec; and Lanfranc was, soon after, on the way to Rome, to obtain the papal sanction to the marriage of William with his fair cousin.

Lanfranc's conduct on this occasion has been sometimes misjudged. If he had merely passed, from the ranks of the opposition, to the court, he would only have been one among many to do what, since his time, has been frequently done; he would have shown that if he were not conciliated he might be a troublesome enemy. Although we may not be able entirely to acquit Lanfranc of having had recourse to this line of policy, yet his becoming a courtier certainly did not imply, on his part, any change of principle. He was perfectly consistent. He had denounced the marriage of the Duke and Duchess of Normandy, because it had been contracted within the assigned

limits of consanguinity, without a dispensation from the Church, the power of granting which he supposed to reside in the Roman Curia; and this principle was not violated when he advised the duke to submit to the Church, instead of defying it; and to ask for a dispensation which Lanfranc was himself prepared to negotiate.

This negotiation Lanfranc was the more willing to undertake as he had business of his own to transact at Rome. His former connexion with Berengarius had raised suspicions of his orthodoxy, and he was anxious to clear himself. He took effectual measures to prove that he did not hold, with Berengarius, the doctrine, which we now regard as orthodox, on the subject of transubstantiation; he left a favourable impression in Rome as regarded both himself and his royal master; and he returned to Normandy having conciliated the friendship of William and Matilda.

The conditions on which Lanfranc negotiated the dispensation for the marriage were readily complied with. He had stipulated, on behalf of the Duke and Duchess of Normandy, that they should erect and endow two abbeys and four hospitals. The abbeys, dedicated, the one to St. Stephen, the other to the Holy Trinity, were established in the city of Caen; the hospitals at Rouen, Caen, Cherbourg, and Bayeux. The royal couple religiously adhered to the stipulations, which were probably not made until their consent had been first obtained; and in the midsummer of 1066 the abbey of St. Stephen's was completed.

Lanfranc was now to suffer from the friendship, as he had formerly suffered from the anger, of the duke. He was compelled to leave his much-loved Bec, and, at the earnest solicitation of his new patron, to become the Abbot of St. Stephen's. The object, doubtless, was, that he might become, as he did become, the preceptor of

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William's children, and Caen was for that purpose a convenient situation. The office of prior, with a resident abbot, would have been more congenial to the feelings of Lanfranc, who was not only a student himself, but was one who found his pleasure in imparting knowledge to others. He could have dispensed with the almost regal ceremony with which an abbot was surrounded; although, on principle, he exacted what, in the feeling of the age, was regarded as due to the dignity of his office.

He arrived at St. Stephen's, and took possession of his stall by the mandate of the founder. He received the benediction from the Archbishop of Rouen. He proceeded to the chapter house. The chapter house was already filled by the brethren. They had taken their seats, elevated by one step from the floor. But when the abbot entered they descended, and each bent the knee and made obeisance as the great man passed. The abbot sat in solitary grandeur, no one presuming to approach him until he beckoned to the prior. The prior drew near, bending himself to his knee. Lanfranc gave him the kiss of peace and placed him by his side.

Then came all the officers of the establishment, and laid their keys at his feet, which he graciously restored to their custody.

The abbot repaired to the refectory. Two brethren approached and, bending the knee, kissed his hand, and served him with a towel and water. The feast then took place.

Lanfranc having retired to rest was so wearied, that he did not rise at the usual hour in the morning. The greatest care was taken not to disturb his slumbers. The boys in the school were exhorted to make no noise; but they were not permitted to remain in bed when the hour had arrived for their lessons. The master went quietly into the dormitory, and with his staff pulled off the bed

clothes, beckoning to the boys to follow him in silence. They washed, they combed themselves, and said their prayers. Then they remained at lessons, until it was notified that the abbot was on his way to the chapel, where they joined the procession.

Lanfranc now appeared episcopally arrayed, with the mitre, the pastoral staff, the gloves and sandals. Standing in his stall, when he had entered the church, he led the choir and sang the whole service with spirit. When the service was concluded, he went to the gate of the convent, where he gave his blessing to the poor, and ordered them to receive refection.

Of a man thus treated with an amount of deference and respect, which is, in these days, scarcely conceded to royalty, it is no slight praise to say that he was distinguished for his affability. This is one of the virtues assigned as a distinction to Lanfranc. What Matthew Paris says of another abbot was equally applicable to Lanfranc. "He studied books; he preached in the chapter; he was kind to the scribes and their masters. In doubtful ordinances of his rule, as well as in divine service, he took the advice of his convent before he decided; while his affability and instruction extended to all. He was always the first speaker in difficult cases, and was fond of promoting hilarity." *

Lanfranc's munificence in the formation of libraries, in the several institutions over which he presided, should be mentioned to his praise. Not only were Caen and Canterbury indebted to him†, but, when the Abbot Paul erected the Scriptorium at St. Albans, the copies were

* Matt. Paris, Vitæ Abb. S. Alb. p. 134.

† "Effulsit eo magistro, obedientiæ coactu, philosophicarum ac divinarum litterarum bibliotheca, nodos quæstionum in utraque solvere potentissimo."—*Ord. Vit.* iv. 6.

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supplied by Lanfranc, at that time archbishop.* He left at Bec a collection of 160 volumes. The antiquaries of Normandy conjecture, with probability, that to him they are indebted for some of the valuable manuscripts in the public library at Avranches.† He employed much of his time, when in England, in correcting the manuscripts of the Fathers and the Scriptures, which were found in the Anglo-Saxon monasteries not always correctly transcribed.‡

Of his character as a writer something has been already said. The publication which gave him a European fame is his "De corpore et sanguine Domini nostri," which is sometimes called Liber Scintillarum. It was published at the end of the year 1079 or early in 1080. The author argues logically, but too often assumes for granted the very principles which ought first to be proved. His language to Berengarius, against whose more orthodox doctrine on the subject of transubstantiation, the treatise is directed, is often violent and coarse, though not without vigour and wit. An analysis of the work may be found in Du Pin.

In Dr. Giles's edition of Lanfranc's works is published a dialogue under the name of "Elucidarium." It is entitled Elucidarium because, as the author informs us, its object was to elucidate some obscure questions, chiefly in theology, on which his disciples had asked his judgment.§

* Matt. Paris, Vitæ Abb. S. Alb. p. 51. Mon. Angl. ii. 183.

† Rapports sur les Bibliothèques des Départements de l'Ouest, p. 117.

‡ "Lectioni erat assiduus et ante episcopatum et in episcopatu quantum poterat. Et quia scripturæ scriptorum vitio erant nimium corruptæ, omnes tam Veteris quam Novi Testamenti libros, necnon etiam scripta sanctorum patrum, secundum orthodoxam fidem studuit corrigere. Et etiam multa de his quibus utimur nocte et die in servitio ecclesiæ ad unguem emendavit: et hoc non tantum per se, sed etiam per discipulos fecit."— *Vita Lanfranci*, p. 309.

§ It has been doubted whether this work is rightly attributed to

It is a work of historical value, as it throws light upon the mode of teaching and the instruction imparted at this period.

Therefore, although it is no part of my duty to analyse the writings of the personages whose actions I record, I shall present the reader, in a translation, with some extracts, which, if they do not enlighten us, will at least be interesting from their singularity. The work is written in the form of a dialogue between a master and his disciples:—

"*D.* Are the elements sensible that there is a God? *M.* God has never made anything insensible of Him. Things which are inanimate, to us are insensible and dead, but to God all things live and all are sensible that He is their creator. Heaven indeed is sensible of Him, for at His command it ever moves round in an incessant revolution, whence it is said,—'Who made the Heavens in understanding.' The sun and moon and stars are sensible of Him, because by invariably preserving their courses, they return to their own places. The earth is sensible of Him, for it always at a fixed season produces fruits and germs. The rivers are sensible of Him, for to the places whence they flow they ever return. The sea and the winds are sensible of Him, for they obey His command by immediately subsiding. The dead are sensible of Him, for they arise at His command. Hell is sensible of Him, for it devours those whom by His decree He commits to it. All the brute animals understand

Lanfranc. It is frequently found in MS. without a name, and is sometimes given to Anselm; but it is not in his style. I agree with Mr. Wright in thinking that it is probably to be attributed to Lanfranc before his elevation to the see of Canterbury. Mr. Wright informs us that "in a manuscript of this work preserved in the British Museum (MS. Reg. 5 E. vi.), written probably early in the twelfth century, it is distinctly attributed to Lanfranc in the following contemporary rubric: 'Incipit Liber beati Lanfranci Cantuariensis archiepiscopi in sagacitate omnium sacri eloquii expositorum.' The writers of the 'Histoire Littéraire de France' have made the strange statement, that the Elucidarium is nothing but the Commentary on the Epistles of St. Paul under another name."

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that there is a God, for they continually observe the law which He has implanted in them." *

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"*D.* Has not the fall of the wicked lessened the number of the good. *M.* Insomuch that to complete the number of the elect, man, the tenth† has been created. *D.* Whence? *M.* Of spiritual and bodily substance. *D.* Whence the bodily? *M.* From the four elements, so that he is called the microcosm, i.e. the little world: for he has flesh from the earth; blood from the water; breath from the air; and heat from the fire. His head is round, resembling the celestial sphere, in which are two eyes, as the two luminaries which shine in the heavens; there are seven apertures as seven harmonies adorn the sky. The chest, from which breathing and coughing proceed, is similar to the atmosphere in which wind and thunder are generated. The stomach receives all the fluids as the sea does all the rivers. The feet support the whole weight of the body, as the earth supports all things. From the celestial fire, he has sight; from the upper air, hearing; from the lower, smell; from water, taste; from the earth, touch. He has in his bones a portion of the hardness of stones; in his nails, of the luxuriance of trees; in his locks, of the beauty of plants; feeling he possesses in common with the animals; this is bodily substance. *D.* Whence the spiritual? *M.* From spiritual fire, as it is believed, in which is expressed the image and likeness of God." ‡

Speaking of the creation of man the disciple asks:—

"Did God form him with his hands? *M.* By command only, by these words his frail nature is signified to us. *D.* Why did he create him of such vile material? *M.* To shame the devil, that he might be the more confounded at beholding a creature, frail and compounded of mud and clay, enter the glory from which he, glorious as he was, had fallen. *D.* Whence did he receive his name? *M.* Being a little world, he received his name from the four climates of the world, which in Greek are

* Elucidarium, p. 204.

† "Ipsum autem determinavit in decem, novem quidem ordinibus Angelorum, et decimo hominum."

‡ Elucidarium, p. 209.

called anatole, dysis, arctos, mesembria, for his race was to fill the four quarters of the world." *

"*D.* Why did God create flies and gnats? *M.* All for the praise of his glory. Flies and gnats and similar creatures were made on account of the pride of man, that when they sting him, he may think on what he is, being unable to resist such minute insects. Thus Pharaoh was not plagued with bears or lions, but gnats and flies and lice afflicted him. Ants too, and spiders, and such creatures as are industrious were created, that from them we may take an example of diligence and pious labour. All God's creation, therefore, affords great delight to him who contemplates it, for in some things there is beauty, as in flowers; in others there are remedies, as in herbs; in others food, as in fruits; in others signs, as in birds and worms. All things, therefore, are good, and created for the use of man." †

The following theory, differing widely from the Miltonic, is quoted for its singularity:—

"*D.* How long were they (Adam and Eve) in Paradise? *M.* Seven hours. *D.* Why not longer? *M.* Because as soon as woman was created she immediately was deceived; man, having been created at the third hour, gave names to the animals; woman, being framed at the sixth hour, forthwith took of the forbidden apple, and held out death to her husband, who through love of her, ate, and, as soon as the ninth hour arrived, God drove them out of Paradise.‡

"*D.* Did any wonder happen at Christ's birth? *M.* Seven special miracles. *D.* What were they? *M.* A very brilliant star appeared. A golden or purple circle shone around the sun. A fountain of oil burst forth from the earth. The utmost peace prevailed. The whole world was enrolled for the taxing. Thirty thousand men who rejected the Lord were slain in one day, and a brute animal spake. *D.* I desire to hear the mystical signification of these events. *M.* Stars signify holy men; a star of the greatest brilliancy appeared because the holiest of the holy arrived. A golden or purple circle shone around the Sun of Righteousness, who came with the gold of His divinity to en-

* Elucidarium, p. 210. † Ib. p. 211. ‡ Ib. p. 214.

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lighten His church, and with the purple of his passion to crown it. Oil signifies mercy. A fountain of oil gushed from the earth, because the fountain of mercy proceeded from the virgin. A profound peace prevailed, because the true Peace appeared on the earth. The world was enrolled for the taxing, because the human race was marked out for the kingdom above by the chrism. Those who refused the Lord were slain, because those who said 'We will not have this man to reign over us' perished. The beast spoke, because the people of the heathen were converted to God's praise." *

Of the mystical body of Christ, that is, the Church :—

"*D.* How is the Church His body and the elect His members? *M.* As the body is joined to the head and is ruled by it, so the Church by the sacrament of the body of Christ is joined to Him; made one body with Him; by whom all the just in their own order are governed, as the members by the head. Of which head the Prophets are the eyes who foresee the future, as are the Apostles who led back others from the way of error to the light of righteousness. The ears are the obedient. The nostrils the discreet. The phlegm sent forth from the nostrils, heretics who by the judgment of the discreet were blown from the head. The mouth, the doctors. The teeth, the expositors of Holy Scripture. The feet, the husbandmen of the church. Moreover, the dung, which is cast from the stomach to the swine, impure and wicked ministers of the altar, and other evil doers within the Church, who load the stomach of mother Church, whom, after death, the dæmons like swine devour. The whole body is cemented together into one by the bond of truth and charity."†

Concerning ministers of the church and monks :—

"*D.* Rejoice my soul, since thou hast heard all that thou desirest to hear. Come now illustrious doctor, pour forth abundantly to thy fellow-servants of the cup of the Holy Spirit so largely bestowed on thee, thou hast lately spoken of the prelates, inform me now what thou thinkest of the other ministers of the Church. *M.* First, then, priests, if they have lived

* Elucidarium, p. 221. † Ib. p. 228.

well, are by example the light of the world; if they have rightly taught, they are by word the salt of the earth. The other ministers of the Church are windows in the Lord's house, through whom the light of learning shines to those who are in the gloom of ignorance; but if they have lived well without teaching, they are coals of fire which burn but do not illuminate. If they have taught well and lived wickedly, they are a burning candle, which gives light to others and through the melting of the wax becomes extinguished itself, or a bell which gives out a sweet sound to others, but is worn away itself, by being continually struck. If, however, they neither live well nor teach, they are smoke which obscures the fire and injures the sight of the eye. Of these it is said: 'The stars gave not their shining,' nay, indeed, they have fallen from heaven. *D.* What do you say of those who despise the world, such as monks, or other religious? *M.* If they carry out their intention, by living religiously, they shall be judges with the Lord; but if not, they are the most miserable of all men, for they have neither this world nor God. Of these it is said: 'They shall go down quick into hell, because they are not ignorant.'"*

Of the various conditions of laymen:—

"*D.* What do you think of soldiers? *M.* Few good; they live by plunder and clothe themselves by robbery, hence they purchase possessions and derive advantage. Of them it is said: 'Their days have they consumed in vanity and their years in hasting, therefore the wrath of God arises over them.'

"*D.* What hope have merchants? *M.* Little. By fraud and lying they acquire nearly all the gain they possess. *D.* Do they not frequently visit holy places, freely offer sacrifices to God, and give much alms? *M.* All these they do that God may increase their wealth and protect it when acquired. And for these they receive their reward. Of them it is said: 'Those who trust in the multitude of their riches, as sheep shall they be thrust into hell, and death shall feed on them.'

"*D.* What do you think of the various artificers? *M.* Almost all perish; for whatever they do, they act most fraudulently.

* Elucidarium, p. 256.

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Of these it is said: 'There is neither darkness nor shadow of death, in which those who work wickedness may be hidden.'

"*D.* Have jesters hope? *M.* None. In their whole design they are the ministers of Satan. Of them it is said: 'They have not known God, therefore God hath despised them, and the Lord shall have them in derision, for mockers shall be mocked.'

"*D.* What do you say of public penitents? *M.* I do not call them penitents, but mockers of God. For they mock God and deceive themselves, who rejoice whilst working wickedness, and exult in the vilest abominations. Whilst murdering men they sing, whilst committing adultery they exult, whilst perjuring themselves or engaged in sacrilege, they chuckle; whilst doing penance they seek different dishes, and delight in intoxicating themselves with various liquors, as well as exceed others in amusements. Of these it is said: 'The Lord shall give them in the flesh worms and unquenchable fire.'

"*D.* What do you say of idiots? *M.* They are to be reckoned with children, who do not know how to do better, and are therefore saved.

"*D.* What do you say of husbandmen? *M.* A great part are saved, since they live simply, and feed God's people by their exertions, as it is said: 'Thou shalt eat the labours of thine hand, and happy shalt thou be.'" *

Why miracles do not now happen:—

"*D.* Why are the righteous unable to work miracles now as they did formerly? *M.* None of the saints ever wrought any miracle, but God who acted through them; as it is said: 'Thou art the God who only doeth great wonders.' Moreover, formerly He wrought visible miracles by the righteous on account of the unbelieving, when He healed infirm bodies; now He works greater, that is, spiritual miracles, by them when in various ways He cures infirm souls. Sometimes, however, when necessary, He works external miracles, by His own, sometimes also by reprobates, but yet He works miracles for the elect's sake. From some of the lapsed, although penitent, God is declared to have departed, because miracles are not wrought by them, so that in

* Elucidarium, p. 256.

the latter time miracles are entirely withdrawn from the Church, that the righteous being more tried by temptations should be more abundantly rewarded." *

Are sacred pilgrimages to be approved?—

"*D.* Is it good to go to Jerusalem or to visit other holy places? *M.* It is better to bestow the money designed for the journey upon the poor. If, however, any, inflamed with the love of Christ, or having made confession of their sins, shall have gone with money derived from their inheritance, or acquired by their own labour, and on their journey have commended themselves to the prayers of the saints, and imparted of their goods to their own poor or to others, they are to be praised; for Helena and Eudoxia are to be praised who did so. If, however, any through curiosity or praise of men run to holy places, they receive as their reward the sight of pleasant places or beautiful buildings, or the praises which they have loved they hear. If too any shall have gone with money heaped up by gain, by fraud, by rapine, or by oppression, they will be accepted by God or the saints as he who slays a son before his father, and comes to him with blood-stained hands." †

The "Commentaria in omnes Beati Pauli epistolas" of Lanfranc consist, probably, of notes taken by his pupils, after having heard his lectures. They are extremely simple, and consist of glosses and observations which were evidently intended for beginners. Where, for example, it is in the text, "qui scrutatur corda," the gloss adds, "id est Deus." The quotations from St. Augustine, St. Ambrose, and St. Jerome, are numerous; not verbally correct, but evidently made from memory.

The work which is of the greatest importance to the historian, is the "Decreta pro ordine Benedicti," in which the practical wisdom of Lanfranc is remarkably conspicuous. It was written after his appointment to the Primacy of England, when he had converted his chapter at

* Elucidarium, p. 264. † Ib. p. 262.

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Canterbury into a Benedictine monastery. There were certain modifications of the Benedictine rule necessary, owing to the attachment of the monastery to the cathedral, and this gave rise to the work before us. It is addressed to the Prior Henry, who is mentioned by Milo Crispinus as having been the last dean and first prior of Canterbury, and one of the pupils of Lanfranc.

The author states, in the preamble, that the regulations he enjoined on the new society he had constituted, were based upon those which had been found most useful in various monasteries of established reputation. He added some details, he changed others, especially in what related to the observance of certain festivals. He desired to attach more of ceremony to these observances than obtained elsewhere, as he was legislating for the religious metropolis of England. He would not, however, presume to settle anything definitively; he might himself see reason to modify his regulations, and he conceded the same liberty to his successors. It would be presumptuous to suppose that anything could be so wisely established as to exclude improvement. The increase or diminution of the number of brothers in an abbey, the resources of a neighbourhood, the revolutions which might take place in public affairs, or differences of opinion, might render it expedient to change ancient traditions, while these considerations also show that it is by no means necessary that one church should exactly imitate another.

Certain principles, he remarks, are inviolable; but one may truly say that the rules of St. Benedict are faithfully attended to, although certain liberties may be taken in things indifferent and external,—if, for example, it be ordered that the chanter shall wear the alb and cope instead of the frock; or again, if it should be ordered, in such and such a monastery, that each brother should have his own foot-tub, although elsewhere there may be only

one tub in common, in which twenty or thirty may wash their feet.

Having thus apologized for what might have appeared, without explanation, to be presumption on his part, he divides his work into twenty-four chapters.

The first chapter, a very long one, enters minutely into directions for ritual observances: it must be peculiarly interesting to the ritualistic antiquary. The order of the monastic exercises is described with equal minuteness, and arranges every hour—every moment of time. We may give the following as a specimen of the detail into which the statutes descend. The Holy Eucharist was celebrated at midnight on Christmas Day. On this occasion, therefore, the monks are directed to comb themselves before they washed, whereas they are directed, on ordinary occasions, to wash before they combed. This was one of the ways in which they were to do honour to the festival. When one hears of the attachment shown, by the biographers of Becket, to dirt and vermin, we are pleased to find that all attention to cleanliness was not prohibited by his illustrious predecessor.

When, on Maundy Thursday, the beggars presented their feet to be washed by the monks, their feet were to be kissed; Lanfranc enjoined that the same act of affection should be bestowed upon the mouth and eyes of the pauper. The abbot was, on the occasion, permitted to enjoy the privilege of washing two pairs of feet.

This Eastern practice had passed into the monasteries of the West, where what had once been an act of hospitality became an idle ceremony.

More practical was Lanfranc's own regulation with respect to a lending library. At the beginning of Lent, the librarian was directed to collect the books, and spread them upon a carpet, except those which were given out during the preceding year. He then called over the

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names of the brethren, and each, as his name was pronounced, restored the book which he had received. If any one was conscious of not having read the book, he was to prostrate himself before the abbot, declare his fault, and ask for pardon. Then the librarian assigned to each brother another book; and, after their distribution, he handed over to the chapter a list of the books lent, and of the persons to whom they had been allotted.*

The eight succeeding chapters treat of the abbot, the prior, the inspectors, the precentor, the secretary, the sacristan, the chamberlain, the cellarer, the hospitaller, the almoner, the infirmarer.

The abbot was to be elected by the majority. The prior was his second in command, and was treated almost with the same respect as the abbot himself. The inspectors were appointed as a kind of police; they were to report to the abbot every infringement of the rule, and every irregularity in the service. The precentor, or chanter, was to regulate the services in subordination to the abbot and the prior; and to him the brethren were to rehearse beforehand, when necessary, the portions of the service they were to repeat in the church. If the precentor were an educated man, he was to have the care of the books. It was enjoined upon the sacristan, among his other duties, to prepare the bread for the Eucharist; he was, if possible, to choose, grain after grain, the corn destined for the service. He was to watch the grinding of it, in order to prevent the admixture of anything impure. It was to be kneaded and baked on iron, to the sound of psalms and hymns. The chamberlain was to look after the linen, and, once a year, the dormitories were to be cleaned, and fresh hay put into the beds. Minute directions on certain points of discipline are added, such

* Lanfranci Opp. i. 98.

as were common to other Benedictine monasteries. The school discipline was very strict; stricter than Anselm would have required. The pupils were never to be left alone. They were only allowed to talk in the presence of a master. No one, except the abbot, the prior and the chanter, was permitted to address them. Midday, according to the custom of the period, was to be dedicated to repose, which it was strictly forbidden to forego even for the purposes of study.

When a brother was at the point of death, all the monks of the convent were to arrange themselves before the couch of the dying man. The patient was then to be required to confess his faults, to receive forgiveness from all the others, and himself to extend his forgiveness to them. Each brother was then to give him the valedictory kiss on his forehead, and the viaticum was administered. When the final struggle commenced, a bed of ashes, in the form of a cross, was prepared, on which the dying man was to be placed. At that moment all were summoned to the death-chamber; even the service of the church was to be left, in order that all might join in prayers for the dying. On his death, a form of absolution was to be placed upon his heart, the bells were to toll, the torches were to be extinguished, and earth was consigned to earth, dust to dust.

There is a "Sermo sive Sententiæ," which D'Achery added, in his "Spicilegium," from a manuscript in the library of Brasenose College, Oxford, which was probably intended as an appendix to the "Statuta." * The decrees had reference chiefly to external observances; this work possesses more of a subjective character. Eight principal duties are imposed upon the monks. They were not to leave the cloister without permission, nor to

* Lanfr. Opp. ed. Giles, ii. 299.

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ask permission without a reasonable cause. They were not to break silence except from a good motive, or under some imperious necessity. They were to obey their superiors in all things lawful. They were not to murmur for any cause, however just the grounds of complaint might appear to be. They were to love one another in the Lord, and to do to others as they would be done by. They were to take part in all the divine offices with zeal, and without distraction. They were to confess their faults openly, but only to their superiors, or to those who had received authority from them. The eighth rule ends thus:—"The soul of a believer is a true temple of Christ. Even in the smallest things act cautiously, for it is not a slight matter in a man to neglect even that which is least. Evil spirits insinuate wicked thoughts into a mind unoccupied, so that, if it ceases to labour, it does not cease from delighting in evil deeds. Everything which, by blandishment or secret excitement, allures the mind, reject. Eat without repletion, drink without inebriety; then, you will not be ensnared by luxuries when they are present, nor will you desire them when they are absent. Be not concerned about your meals; go to them not for pleasure but for food. Diminish your desires; the only point to be aimed at is, that they should cease. It is not to be doubted that each of the faithful is a partaker of the body and blood of the Lord at the time of his being made a member of the body of Christ in baptism; nor is he deprived of the participation of that bread and cup, although, before he has eaten of the bread and drunk of the cup, he may have passed from this world, having been joined in the unity of the body of Christ; for he is not deprived of the participation and benefit of that sacrament, when he is found to have in him what that sacrament signifies."*

* Lanfr. Opp. ii. 300.

Of the sixty-seven letters printed by Giles, fifty-five are Lanfranc's, the twelve others are signed by Berengarius, Popes Alexander II., and Gregory VII., William the Conqueror, Thomas of York, the clergy and the people of Dublin.

II. We now proceed to the public life of Lanfranc. In doing so I shall in some measure deviate from the plan I propose to adopt in general; and in this chapter I shall translate and insert some public documents, to which historians have frequently referred, but which I have never, to my recollection, seen quoted *in extenso*. The perusal of them is important for a right understanding of the controversies which will be detailed in the succeeding chapters, and it will be found useful as giving an insight, indirectly, into the manners of the age; but the reader who finds these documents uninteresting may pass them over without losing the thread of the history.

1067. In 1067 Lanfranc was elected to the archbishopric of Rouen; but he resolutely refused to accept the office. He was a man who would enter, heart and soul, into any work to which he was called by the providence of God; but his tastes and inclinations were for private life and for the humbler pursuits of learning. He had unwillingly accepted the office of abbot. He disliked the secular duties which devolved upon him. He preferred to deal with books rather than with men. Books may present difficulties which must be overcome; but they are not quarrelsome and difficult to please as we find men to be, when, sinful men ourselves, we have to labour among our fellow-sinners. With these feelings, Lanfranc had quitted the legal profession and the prospects which were opened to him, in early life, of being a statesman. Under similar feelings, he refused the important position which the metropolitan see of Rouen offered to his ambition as the head of the Norman Church; and he declined the

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invitation of William, now King of England, when in 1070 he offered him the archbishopric of Canterbury. The offer was unexpected. There can be little doubt, that the post was at first designed for Odo, the uterine brother of the Conqueror; there can be no doubt, that Odo expected it. We may add that he had a right to form such expectations. I must continually remind the reader of the true saying, "Nemo repentè fuit turpissimus." Odo, as he appeared to his contemporaries at the time of the Norman invasion, is thus described: "Odo, Bishop of Bayeux, was the kind of person who could, better than any one, undertake both ecclesiastical and secular business. Of his goodness and prudence the church of Bayeux, in the first place, gives testimony; which he with great wisdom did settle and advance. And though he was in years but young, yet did he excel the age in gravity. To all Normandy he was of great use and ornament, his prudence and eloquence manifesting themselves, not only in Synods, wherein the worship of God was handled, but in all other disputes touching worldly affairs. For liberality, there was none like him in all the realm of France: nor was he less praiseworthy for his love of equity. He was no instigator to war, nor could he be drawn thereto, and therefore much feared by soldiers. But, upon great necessity, his counsels in military affairs were of special avail, so far as might consist with the safety of religion. To the king, whose brother he was by the mother, his affections were so great that he could not be severed from him, no not in the camp." *

His genius was military, but this would not in that age disqualify him for high ecclesiastical preferment. In the present book we shall have to describe the valour and the

* Gesta Will. Ducis Norm. p. 209 a. I have taken the passage from Dugdale, Baron. i. 22, and I have retained his quaint and forcible translation.

military adventures of three of his most reverend and gallant successors. Within our own memory the polemic in the field of politics fought with his pen to recommend himself to a party and to establish a claim upon its patronage.* In the eleventh century, the same feelings animated the military polemic, with the only difference that hard blows were supposed to be more efficacious in enforcing an argument than hard words. In either case, however, there has always been a feeling that the proceeding is not quite legitimate; and the ecclesiastical polemic, whether in his study or in the field of battle, feels himself under restraints not imposed upon the laity. The expectant of the see of Canterbury took part in the battle of Hastings; but he is presented to us on the Bayeux tapestry, although cased in armour, yet without a sword. He bears a staff only, with the superscription, "Hic Odo Epŝ baculum tenens confortat." The shepherd supposed that the same staff which skilfully directed the Norman sheep, might be used to destroy the Saxon wolf.

William rewarded his brother handsomely. Odo already held the earldom of Eu with the bishopric of Bayeux. William gave him after the Conquest the earldom of Kent, and conferred upon him 184 lordships in that county and 250 in other parts of England. He appointed him joint justiciary with William Fitz Osbern; the North of England being assigned to the latter, while Odo ruled the South. In his absence from the country William conferred the regency on his brother, styled by Malmesbury "Vicedominus." † The bad parts of Odo's character

* This was the avowed purpose of the learned Dr. Parr in writing his celebrated preface to Bellendenus. See his life by Dr. John Johnstone, chapter iii. The attack upon Pitt showed the animus of an ancient warrior.

† Dugdale, Baronage, i. 23; Dugdale, Orig. Jurid. 20; and Chron. Sax.; Madox, Exchequer, i. 8; Will. Malmesb. Gesta Regum, iii. 277; Ordericus Vitalis.

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began to develope themselves, however, immediately after the Conquest. He showed himself to be ambitious, worldly, and rapacious, — and we may presume that his immoralities, if they had not become an open scandal, were now suspected or known by the king. William was himself a man eminent for his conjugal fidelity *, and was sure to regard with feelings of disgust any symptoms of impurity when discovered in an ecclesiastic. William, on his death-bed, thus described the Bishop of Bayeux: "My brother Odo is not a man to be trusted: ambitious, given to fleshly desires, and of enormous cruelty; and he will never be converted from his whoredoms and ruinous follies. I satisfied myself of this on several occasions, and therefore I imprisoned not the bishop, but the tyrannical earl. There is no doubt that if he is released he will disturb the whole country, and be the ruin of thousands. I say this not from hatred, as if I were his enemy, but as the father of my country, watching for the welfare of a Christian people. It would, indeed, give me inexpressible and heartfelt joy to think that he would conduct himself with chastity and moderation, as it always becomes a priest and minister of God." †

William was "palam captis gravis," a man of absolute will, and of little mercy when his will was resisted. Nevertheless he had a conscience, and when he gave himself time for reflexion, he could listen to its dictates. At all events he was a far-seeing politician. Although the worst parts of his brother's character were not yet displayed, William must have known enough to have induced him to hesitate before advancing him to the Primacy of

* "Even the voice of slander," says Lappenberg, "has been unable to utter more than one ill-founded reproach against him. At all events we know of no illegitimate offspring left by him." — *Anglo-Norm.* p. 217.

† Ordericus Vitalis, lib. vii. c. 16.

all England, even if other considerations had not interposed objections to the appointment. When William first returned to the Continent after the Conquest, the Regency was confided to Odo and Fitz Osbern. These statesmen, and Odo in particular, by their abetting the Normans in their violent and cruel proceedings against the Anglo-Saxons, as well as by their own rapacity and injustice, had driven the natives to despair and rebellion, and had become objects of public distrust and hatred. There was not a more unpopular man in England than Odo, — feared by the Anglo-Saxons and distrusted by the Normans.

When the king returned to England he was called, through Odo's mismanagement, to meet a determined resistance to his government on the part of the Anglo-Saxons. He was urged by passion, and by what he thought sound policy, to those acts of atrocious cruelty to which we have referred in the preceding chapter. His cruelty has cast a shade over his character, which his many excellent qualities will never be able to remove. Nevertheless William did not intend to be, like his Danish ancestors, a mere depredator. He intended to found a dynasty and to present himself to the world as a great and powerful king. A reign of terror had lasted for four years. The time had now come when he determined to show himself a restorer of order, a defender of the laws, and a wise legislator in Church and State.

I venture to assign to this period the promulgation of the laws of William the Conqueror. They belong, I am aware, to secular rather than to ecclesiastical history, but they are so frequently referred to, and are so nearly connected with the events I have to record during the present period, that I submit them in a translation to the reader.

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Charta Regis

*De quibusdam statutis per totam Angliam firmiter observandis.**

William, King of the English, Duke of the Normans, to all his men, Norman† and English, greeting. We decree in the first place, and above all, that one God, throughout our realm, be worshipped, that the one faith of Christ be always preserved inviolate, that peace, security, and concord, judgment and justice between English and Normans, Normans and Britons of Wales and Cornwall, Picts and Scots of Albany, as well as between the Normans and Islanders, provinces and countries belonging to the Crown and dignity, guardianship, respect and honour of our kingdom, and between all our subjects, throughout the monarchy of the realm of Britain, be firmly and inviolably observed, so that no one injure another in any way, on pain of our full forfeiture.

We decree also that all freemen make covenant and oath that within and without the whole realm of England, formerly called the realm of Britain, they will be faithful to King William, their Lord, and will everywhere faithfully preserve with him his honours and lands, and defend them against enemies and foreigners.

We desire, moreover, and we strictly charge, that all the men whom we brought with us, or who shall have followed us, be under our protection and within our peace throughout the

* This is the second document in Rymer's Fœdera. No date is assigned. If I could have referred the reader to any secular history, I should have preferred to do so. Partial extracts would not serve my purpose, as I desire at all times not to dictate a judgment to the reader, but to provide him with materials to form a judgment for himself.

† Although the term "Francis et Anglis" is here and elsewhere used, we are not to suppose that England was conquered by the French. England was conquered by a race who had first conquered the French themselves, and by whom the French were cordially disliked. "The ill will," says Lappenberg, "borne by the Normans towards the French appears evidently in the works of the earliest chroniclers. According to Wace, the Normans inveighed against the French in their songs and histories, and he says himself very candidly what he has at heart against

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whole realm aforesaid; and if any one of them be slain, let his lord have his slayer within five days, if it be in his power, but if not, let him begin to pay to us 46 marks of silver, so far as his means will allow of it, and if the lord's means be insufficient, let the whole hundred, in which the homicide took place, be charged, in common, with the deficiency.

And let every Norman who was in England in the time of Edward our kinsman, being cognisant of the customs of the English, pay what they call "an hlote and an ſcote," according to the English laws.

We desire also and strictly charge and grant that all freemen of the whole monarchy of our realm aforesaid have and hold their lands and possessions well and in peace, free from every unjust exaction and from all tallage, so that nothing be exacted or taken from them but their own free service, which of right they owe to us and are bound to perform, as has been decreed and appointed to them by us, for an hereditary right, in perpetuity, by the common counsel of our whole realm aforesaid.

We decree also and strictly charge that all cities and burgs and castles, and hundreds and wapentakes of our whole realm aforesaid, be watched every night and guarded "in girum" on account of evil doers and enemies, according as the sheriffs, aldermen, provosts, and other bailiffs and officers of ours shall best provide by common counsel for the utility of the realm, and that they have throughout the realm measures and weights perfectly just and marked as our worthy predecessors enacted.

them. This prejudice, on the part of the Normans, probably lasted as long as their northern physiognomy, their fair hair, and other characteristics, whereby they were distinguished from the French. William the Conqueror, who knew his people thoroughly, is made to say that they were proud, difficult to govern, and fond of lawsuits. Malaterra, who had studied their character in Sicily, found them crafty, vindictive, domineering, eager to leave their country for the sake of greater gain abroad, dissembling, neither prodigal nor avaricious, devoted to the study of eloquence, lovers of the chace, horses, hawking, arms, and beautiful attire; in short, a people that must be held in check by the laws."—*Anglo-Norman Hist.* p. 94. I have translated "Franci," therefore, by Normans.

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We decree also and strictly charge, that all counts and barons and persons holding by knight service and serjeanty, and all freemen throughout our realm aforesaid, always have and hold themselves well in arms and in horses as is befitting and needful, and that they be always ready and well prepared for the full discharge and performance of the service they owe to us, whenever it shall be required, according as of right they ought to render from their feods and tenements, and as we have decreed to them, by common counsel of our whole realm aforesaid, and have given and granted to them for feod, by hereditary right. Let not this decree be violated in any way, on pain of our full forfeiture.

We decree also and strictly charge that all freemen throughout our realm aforesaid be brothers sworn in respect of our monarchy and realm, according to their strength and means, to defend it to their utmost, and manfully guard it, preserving the peace and dignity of our crown, and doing right judgment and justice constantly in every way, according to their ability, without treachery or delay. This decree is ratified in the city of London.

We forbid also any live stock from being bought or sold for money, unless within cities, and this before three creditable witnesses, or anything prohibited, without testimony and warrant. If otherwise, let him pay and afterwards incur full penalty.

Also, let there be no place of trade or market, nor any permitted to be held, excepting within the cities of our realm, and in burgs, and walled towns and castles, and secure places, where the customs of our realm, and our common right, and the dignity of our crown, as constituted by our worthy predecessors, cannot be injured or defrauded or violated; but let all things be done orderly and openly, with judgment and justice as is proper. And for this purpose castles and burgs and cities have been designed, founded, and built, viz., for the security of the people of the realm, and for its defence; wherefore they ought to be looked to, having all due regard to freedom and propriety.

It is decreed also, that if a Norman shall have charged an Englishman with perjury, murder, theft, homicide or ran (as they call open rapine, which cannot be denied), let the English-

man defend himself, in such best manner as he will, or by ordeal of iron or by duel. If, however, the Englishman be unable to do this, let him find some other in his stead, and if any one be worsted, let him pay to the king 40*s*. If, however, an Englishman shall have charged a Norman, and wish to prove his charge by ordeal or duel, I then will that the Norman clear himself by an inviolate oath.

This also we decree, that all have and hold the laws of King Edward in all things, with the addition of those enactments which we have made for the benefit of the English.

Every man who is willing to be held for a freeman let him be in a pledge; that his pledge (*i. e.* frankpledge) may have him for justice if he has offended. And if any one shall have made his escape, let the pledges pay the damages, and purge themselves from having connived at the escape. Let the hundred and the county be responsible, as our predecessors enacted, and those who are bound to appear and refuse, let them be summoned once, and if at the second time they come not, let one ox be taken, and at the third time, another ox, and at the fourth, let there be levied from the goods of the accused what is called "ceap-ȝylð," and the King's forfeiture besides.

And we prohibit any one from selling a man out of his country. If any wishes to free his slave, he shall deliver him to the sheriff by the right hand, in full county (*i. e.* shire-mote); and he ought to quit claim him from the yoke of slavery by manumission, and let him point out to him the ways and gates open, and deliver to him a freeman's arms, to wit, a lance and a sword; then he is made a freeman. Also, if slaves have remained without accusation (i. e. of being runaways) a year and a day within our cities or burgs, walled towns or castles, from that day they are made free, and are discharged for ever from slavery.

We forbid any one's being executed or hung for any offence, but his eyes may be put out, and his feet, members, or hands cut off; so that, being mutilated, he may remain a living example of his treason and wickedness; according to the heinousness of the crime let punishment be inflicted on evil doers.

Let not these decrees be violated, on pain of our full forfeiture. Witness, &c.

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There was, evidently, what we should call a change of the ministry at this period, as well as an alteration in the policy of the Conqueror. The appointment of Lanfranc was opposed, we may suspect, by more than one person. Lanfranc's old adversary, Herfast*, continued chaplain or chancellor † to the king, and consequently was in close relation to him until the year 1070. In that very year, just before Lanfranc's arrival in England, he was appointed to the bishopric of Helmham, in Norfolk, at a distance from the court. In 1078, pursuant to a decree of the Council of London, his see was removed to Thetford, but he never received any higher preferment.

When the archbishopric of Canterbury was offered to Lanfranc he at once declined it. He did not feel called upon to plunge into that sea of trouble, by which William the Conqueror, through his ambition, had been nearly overwhelmed. William, however, was determined to carry his point. The queen, Matilda, and her favourite son Robert, who was a pupil of Lanfranc, came to St. Stephen's to implore him not to thwart the wishes of one who was accustomed to command rather than to entreat. They did not succeed. They were backed by the Norman nobles, who acted as the queen's council. They did not succeed. His venerable friend, the Abbot of Bec, was persuaded to exert his influence, but even Herluin did not succeed. The wish of the king, the voice of the country, the appeal of friendship having been unsuccessful, William, determined to carry his point, directed the legates who had been sent from Rome to assist at the council, which had rendered the archbishopric vacant by the deposition of Stigand, to proceed to Normandy, and there to convene an

* He is called Herfast by Stubbs, 169; by Le Neve and Hardy, Arfastus.

† Foss, i. 27.

assembly of bishops, abbots, and nobles, with a view of forcing Lanfranc into a compliance.

Lanfranc did not even then consent. He was unwilling to fail in his loyalty to William, or to offend those who entreated, and admonished him. With a heavy heart he sailed for England, in the hope that he should succeed in persuading William that the retired habits of a monk and student were not reconcileable with the active duties of an archbishop. The king combated with kindness, grace and dignity the excuses of the abbot, and at length succeeded in overcoming his reluctance.* He would probably not even, at last, have carried his point, unless Lanfranc had felt inclined to regard the wishes expressed by Pope Alexander II., who had been his pupil, as a kind of command.

He was elected in August 1070, and he proceeded to Canterbury for his consecration, which took place on the 29th of August.† It was a melancholy ceremony, though Lanfranc was attended by many of his friends. The cathedral had been destroyed by fire three years before, and the conflagration had spread over the whole city. There was no heart in the citizens to repair the damage. As the archbishop elect passed through the street, the Saxon inhabitants looked grimly at the stranger. The suffragans of the province were summoned as usual to assist at the consecration of their metropolitan,—only nine were able to attend ‡,—in a shed raised upon the site of what had once been a splendid cathedral, now utterly destroyed by the fire.

We can imagine no contrast greater than that which was presented by Canterbury to the happy home which Lanfranc had been compelled to leave. All round him was desolation. If he looked to the country at large,

* Ordericus Vitalis, lib. iv. c. 6.

† Malmesbury, Gest. Pont.; Hoveden. ‡ Ibid.

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the Normans, from fear of the Saxons, were almost besieged within the castles by which the country was garrisoned; the Saxons, incapable of vigorous or systematic action for want of a leader, were, nevertheless, always on the point of insurrection. The only hope for the country was in the successful vigour of the king. Its state may be best described by Lanfranc himself in the following letter addressed to Alexander II.:—

"I know not to whom I can explain my trouble with more propriety than to you, Father, who of these calamities are the cause. When the Duke of Normandy forced me from the monastery of Bec, and appointed me to preside over that of Caen, I found myself quite unequal to sustain the government of a few monks, and therefore it appears to me a mysterious decree of Providence that I should be appointed, compelled by you, to undertake the supervision of an innumerable multitude. When the duke became King of England, he laboured in vain to effect this object, until your legates, Hermenfrid, Bishop of Sion, and Hubert, a Cardinal of the Holy Roman Church, coming into Normandy and convening the bishops, abbots, and nobles, enjoined me, on the authority of the Holy Roman Church, to accept the see of Canterbury. In vain did I plead my own incapacity, my ignorance of the language and of the barbarous people. They would not admit my plea, and—why should I say more?—I gave my consent—I came—I took the burden upon me; and such are the unmitigated cares and troubles to which I am daily subjected, such the perturbation of mind caused by parties pulling in opposite directions, the harrowing cases, the losses, the harshness, the avarice, the meanness, the filthy conduct which I see and hear around me, such the danger to which I see the Holy Church exposed, that I am weary of my life, and lament that it has been preserved to witness such times. But bad as is the present state of things, when I look around me I fear that the future will be still worse.

"That I may not detain your Highness, whose time must be fully occupied by much business, longer than is necessary, I entreat you for God's sake, and for the Lord's sake, since it was

by your authority that I was involved in these difficulties, by the same authority to extricate me from them and permit me once more to return to the monastic life, which, above all things, I delight in. Let not my petition, I entreat you, be rejected or despised, for I only ask what is right in itself, and, so far as I myself am concerned, what is necessary to my highest interests.

"I beg you to remember what you ought never to forget, how ready I always was to entertain in my monastery, not only your relations, but all who brought introductions from Rome. I instructed them in sacred as well as secular learning, and I might mention other things in which, whenever an opportunity occurred, I endeavoured to render good offices to you and your predecessors. Do not imagine that I am saying this by way of boasting in regard to myself, or with a view of reproaching others. My conscience acquits me of any such intention. My only object is to adduce some reason why this favour should be granted me for Christ's sake. If you place your refusal to accede to my request on public grounds, instead of furthering the cause of the Lord you will probably impede it, which God forbid; for, as regards the salvation of souls, I have neither directly nor indirectly met with success, or if any, it has been so slight as not to be weighed for a moment against my discomforts. But enough of this.

"When I had the pleasure of seeing you and conversing with you at Rome, you invited me to visit you at your palace the following year at Christmas and spend three or four months with you. But I call God and the Holy angels to witness that I could not do it without personal inconvenience and the neglect of my affairs. I need not enter further upon these matters; but if my life be preserved, and if circumstances permit, my desire is to visit you and the Holy Apostles and the Holy Roman Church.* To this end I ask your prayers that long life may be granted to my lord the King of England and peace from all his enemies. May his heart and mind be love to God and His

* The visit to Rome referred to in this letter must have taken place while Lanfranc was Abbot of Caen. From internal and other evidence, we have concluded that the letter itself was written before his visit to Rome for the pall.

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holy Church. For while he lives we enjoy safety, such as it is, but after his death neither peace nor any manner of good is likely to befall us." *

The Pope refused to interfere, and Lanfranc now determined to buckle on his spiritual armour. His desire was to commence the work of restoration without delay, and he applied to the Court of Rome that the pallium might be sent to him. To do this was inconsistent with the policy of Hildebrand, who, long since, though holding only the office of archdeacon, had directed all things at Rome. He saw the importance of forcing all metropolitans to visit Rome; he thus sought to advance the Pope's claim to a spiritual suzerainty, and to afford to Hildebrand himself an opportunity of infusing his notions into the minds of persons whom he intended to bring to a subserviency to his objects. A direct denial of the request was conveyed in polite terms; Lanfranc was assured, that if a dispensation could have been conceded to any one, it would have been in favour of him.

Many of the predecessors of Lanfranc would have dispensed with the honour of the pallium rather than desert their Church at such a crisis; but the time was approaching when its possession was to be regarded as essential to the legitimate performance of metropolitan duties, and Lanfranc was not inclined to show disrespect to the Roman See while the occupant was his friend and pupil, Alexander II.

Accordingly, in 1071, Lanfranc went to Rome, attended by Thomas, Archbishop of York, and Remigius, Bishop of Lincoln, three foreigners representing the Church of England, and, like the other Normans, being at the same time at variance with each other. We shall pass over, for the present, the controversy between the Archbishops

* Lanf. Opp. i. p. 20.

of Canterbury and York, and shall merely remark that Lanfranc was received with affectionate kindness by Pope Alexander. The Norman prelates were rich in the spoils of England, and profuse in their presents to "the greedy Romans."* They were held in high estimation by the Roman Senate and people, and were regarded as admirable not only for their eloquence and learning, but more especially for their munificence.

On Lanfranc's return to England, he commenced in earnest the great work he had in hand, the reorganisation of the Church.

During what we have denominated the reign of terror, churches and monasteries had been ransacked and plundered. Although the depredators did, without doubt, purloin much plate and other valuables dedicated to the service of the altar, the pretext for attacking these sacred edifices and institutions was, to lay hands only on treasures and documents of importance, deposited by the Saxon laity in sanctuaries which they expected even the Normans to respect. But a Norman baron, when dealing with the muniments of a monastery or a cathedral, was not likely to spare the charters by which the Church property had been conveyed to them. When once he was in possession of the charters, he soon laid claim to the land they had conveyed. Much Church property had thus passed into lay hands. Lanfranc's determination to remedy this evil was shown at once by his obtaining the following brief mandate from the Conqueror: —

"William, by the Grace of God, to Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury; Geoffrey, Bishop of Coutances; R., Count of Ou; R., son of Count Gilbert; and H. de Montefort, and his other Nobles of the Realm of England, greeting:—

'Summon my sheriffs, by my mandate, and charge them

* The words are those of Ordericus Vitalis, v. 2.

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from me that they restore to my episcopal and abbatial estates all the demesne and all demesne lands which of the demesne of my bishopries and abbacies, my bishops and abbots, through easiness, fear, or cupidity, have given up, or agreed to their having, or which they themselves have violently deprived them of, and what they have hitherto possessed of the property of my churches, and unless they make restitution, as you shall summon them from me, do you compel them to do so, whether they will or no.

"If any other, or any of you, on whom I have enjoined this mandate have participated in this, let him make similar restitution of any episcopal or abbatial property which he may have, lest on account of what any of you may yourself possess, you be the less ready to enforce my command on my sheriffs or others who hold the property of my churches." *

Lanfranc had no intention of permitting this to remain a dead letter, and he demanded a restoration of the Church lands which were still retained by Odo, Bishop of Bayeux. During the suspension of Stigand, Odo appears to have been the administrator of the see. Certainly the property came into his hands. By the fire, which occurred three years before the consecration of Lanfranc, the charters of the cathedral were lost; and Odo retained many of the manors belonging to the archbishopric, contending that they were crown lands which had devolved upon him as Earl of Kent.

No greater proof could be given of the king's determination to reassert the majesty of the law, than his permission to Lanfranc to institute proceedings against the second personage in the realm. The fact also shows that, although Odo was not in disgrace, yet his influence with his brother was no longer what it had formerly been. The case was tried at a shire-mote on Penenden Heath. It is the first account on record of a lawsuit after the

* Rymer, Fœd. i. 3.

Conquest. Every reader will have read of the celebrated suit on Penenden Heath ; but unless he has the means of referring to Wilkins' "Concilia," he cannot have seen the original Report. I therefore give it in the following translation : —

De placito apud Pinendenam inter Lanfrancum, archiepiscopum, et Odonem, Bajocensem episcopum.

In the time of the great king William, who obtained the realm of England by force of arms, and brought it under his dominion, it happened that Odo, Bishop of Bayeux, and brother of this king, came into England much sooner than Archbishop Lanfranc, and settled in Kent, where he exercised extensive authority. And because, in those days, there was no one in that county who could resist so formidable a man, owing to the power which he possessed, he seized on many of the lands as well as customs of the archbishopric of Canterbury, and converting them to his own use, annexed them to his earldom. Not long after, it happened that the aforesaid Lanfranc, Abbot of Caen, also came to England, at the king's command, and becoming Archbishop of Canterbury, was, by God's providence, raised to the primacy of all England. He, after a time, finding that there were many lands wanting to his church, which had anciently belonged to it, and that by the negligence of his predecessors they had been alienated and divided, having made diligent enquiry and ascertained the truth, made a prompt and spirited application to the king. The king, therefore, issued an immediate order for a general assembly of the county, that all, those of French extraction, and more especially English, as being acquainted with the ancient laws and customs, should meet at a certain place. They met at "Pinenden," where they seated themselves together. And when there arose much litigation and dispute as to customs, between the archbishop and the Bishop of Bayeux aforesaid, and such as were royal and archiepiscopal, which could not be decided on the first day, the whole assembly was detained there three days. During which time Archbishop Lanfranc asserted his claim to many lands, which the bishop's men then held, viz., Herbert Fitz Ivo, Turold of

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Rochester, and Ralph of Crooked Thorn, and many others, with all the customs and property to those lands appertaining, over him, the Bishop of Bayeux, and over his men aforesaid, and others, s.c. Deslinges, Estores, Prestetum, Damtun, and many other small portions; and over Hugh of Montfort, he claimed Hrocinges and Broc; and over Ralph of Crooked Thorn, 60*s.* for the pasture of Ingrean (the island). And all those lands and others he proved so "liberæ et quietæ" that on that day when the suit was terminated, there was not a man throughout the realm of England who could dispute anything from thence, or even claim ever so small a right over those lands. And in this suit not only did he recover the before-named and other lands, but he also renewed and proved renewed also all the liberties of his church and all its customs, Soca, Saca, Toll, Team, Flymena-fyrmthe, Grithbrece, Foresteal, Haimfare, Infangenetheof, with all other customs equal to these or inferior to these, on land and water, in woods, ways, and meadows, and in all other things, within and without cities and burgs, and in all other places. And by all the men of probity and wisdom who were present, it was there determined, and also by the whole county agreed on and adjudicated, that as the king holds his lands "liberæ et quietæ" in his domain, in such manner does the Archbishop of Canterbury. At this suit were presen Goisfrid, Bishop of Coutances, who was in place of the king, and held that court; Archbishop Lanfranc, who, as it has been said, commenced the whole suit; the Earl of Kent, Odo, aforesaid, Bishop of Bayeux; Ernost, Bishop of Rochester; Egelric, Bishop of Chichester, a very aged man, most thoroughly acquainted with the laws of the land, who by the king's command was conveyed thither in a carriage drawn by four beasts, to discuss and point out the ancient usages of the laws; Richard of Tunbridge, Hugh of Montfort, William Dearces, Haimo, the sheriff, and many others of the king's barons, and many men of the Archbishop and of those Bishops, and others of different counties, besides those of the county in question, men of great authority, French and English. In the presence of all it was abundantly and clearly proved, that the King of England has no customs in any of the lands of the church of Canterbury, three only excepted, which are these:—First, if

any of the archbishop's men dig up the king's highway which leads from city to city. Secondly, if any one cut down a tree near the king's highway, and cast it down over that way; as to these two customs, those who may have been found guilty and detained, in the act, whether bail has been taken for them or not, yet on prosecution of the king's minister, and by security, they shall make just amends. The third custom is this: If on the king's highway any one shed blood, or be guilty of homicide, or commit any unlawful act, and while so doing he be taken and detained, he shall make amends to the king. But if he has been there taken, and once departed thence, without giving security, the king shall not be justified in making any exaction. Similarly it was shown in this suit that the Archbishop of Canterbury ought justly to have many customs in all the lands of the king, and of the earl. Also from the day in which Alleluia ends (*i.e.* the beginning of Lent), until the octave of Easter, if any one shed blood he shall be amenable to the archbishop. And at all times, both within and without Lent, whoever shall commit the crime called "cild-wite," the archbishop shall have either the whole or the half of the fine, within Lent the whole, and without, either the whole or the half. He has also in all those lands whatever appears to pertain to the cure of souls. The king when he heard of the determination of this suit, by many witnesses and arguments, approved of it and confirmed it, with consent of all his nobles, and strictly charged that it should remain inviolate from that time. Wherefore this has been written, both for the information of posterity, and that succeeding Primates of Christ Church, Canterbury, may know how great are the dignities of their church, which they hold from God, and which they should claim of perpetual right from the kings and princes of this realm.*

The wealth he secured for his see, Lanfranc expended nobly: 400 pounds a year he devoted to religious and charitable uses—a sum equal, it is said, in weight, to 1500*l.* of our money, and amounting in value

* Wilkins' Conc., i. 323.

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to not less than 7500*l.* This statement, if correct, shows not only the generosity of the archbishop, but the immense wealth also of the see. A large portion of this sum, however, was spent in the improvement of the estates, and he is said to have been especially careful to provide suitable residences for his tenants. St. Alban's Abbey was largely indebted to his liberality; and at Canterbury he erected two Xenodochia or Ptochotrophia*, one at the north and the other at the west end of the city, to which he assigned yearly pensions.

His next great work was the rebuilding of his cathedral, the destruction of which by fire we have already mentioned. One of the first acts of the new archbishop was, to adopt measures for its restoration on a scale of considerable magnificence. In most of the processes of civilisation the Anglo-Saxons had been superior to the Normans, and especially in the decorative arts, such as jewellery and painting.† But as in the science of war, and all that related to the destruction of human life, the Normans had the advantage of the Saxons, so also they were their superiors in all that related to the arrangements of architecture.

Architecture was, in fact, very little cultivated among

* Hospitals like St. Cross, near Winchester, for the entertainment of passengers, and as a home for the destitute.

† "In legislation, in the useful arts, in the arts which contribute to the embellishment of life, in learning, and in morals and piety, the Anglo-Saxons had made no mean progress, while the Normans were still mere freebooters, and a progress which the Normans of the eleventh century had but very partially reached."—*Vaughan, Revolutions in English History*, p. 344; see also Vol. I. p. 519. William of Poictiers, secretary to the Conqueror, p. 210, says, "The English women are eminently skilful with the needle, and in the weaving of gold; the men in every kind of artificial workmanship. Moreover, several Germans, most expert in such arts, are in the habit of dwelling among them, and merchants, who in their ships visit distant nations, introduce curious handiworks."

the Anglo-Saxons. Their nobles and warriors avoided the towns, and their princes had seldom any fixed place of residence. They moved, as in encampments, from vill to vill, and their taste was exhibited in internal arrangements rather than in exterior magnificence. As regards their churches, William of Malmesbury tells us that Ina, who died in 727, "caused a chapel to be formed of gold and silver, with vessels and ornaments of the same precious metals, within the church of Glastonbury.* For the construction of this chapel he gave 2640 pounds of silver. The altar was of gold, weighing 264 pounds. The cup and paten were of 10 pounds of gold. The censer was of gold, 8 pounds and 20 mancusses. The candlesticks of gold, 12 pounds 9 mancusses. The holy-water stoup was 20 pounds of silver. The images of our Lord, and of the blessed Virgin Mary, and of the Twelve Apostles, were of 175 pounds of silver and 38 pounds of gold. The altar-cloths and the sacerdotal vestments were all wrought with gold and jewels. The mancus was of the value of 30 pence, and in weight 55 grains Troy."† But their ecclesiastical edifices were for the most part log houses, built of the trunks of trees. The construction of the few stone churches which they erected was of the rudest character, consisting of what is called "long and short work," bearing such analogy to wooden buildings as to have been called "stone carpentry." The Saxon kings ruled over freemen, and were not surrounded by rebellious nobles. Until the last period of Anglo-Saxon

* Antiq. Glast. Eccles., quoted by Poole, p. 67. "When the Kings of France went to war, they were accustomed to carry with them St. Martin's cope (cappa) into the field, which was kept in a tent where mass was said, as a precious relic, and thence the place was called Capella, or chapel." — *Du Cange.*

† Poole, p. 69. Westminster Abbey and Waltham, were Norman works executed just before the Norman Revolution.

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history, there was no hereditary aristocracy beyond the royal family. The nobles were merely officers of the king; castles were not needed to keep a contented population in order. The Danes, before they appeared in the shape of Normans, were at first pirates and depredators; afterwards they were amalgamated with the Saxon people.

But it had been different in France. The Frankish people in Neustria had been as entirely conquered by the Danes, calling themselves Normans; as by the same people the conquest of the Anglo-Saxons was afterwards effected. There, as afterwards in England, they were conquerors situated amidst a hostile population. They were obliged to intrench themselves within their strongholds, and the genius of architecture was invoked to render strong, and not devoid of comfort, the castles to which they had to fly when attacked, and from which they seldom wandered far unarmed. The abbots erected their monasteries with a view to strength, and for purposes of protection as well as devotion. The parish church was so constructed, that to it the population might fly, as to a castle, in the event of some sudden attack from a freebooter or a robber baron. Thus was the science of architecture invoked, and the genius of the architects soon displayed itself in cathedrals and halls and palaces, as well as in castles.

Lanfranc brought his experience and his good taste from Bec and Caen to bear upon Canterbury; and though his edifice was destined, like its predecessor, not to be of long duration, there is an interesting description of it in Gervase, from which we perceive it to have been worthy of the great man who excelled in every work to which he applied his mind.*

* The account by Gervase is translated and illustrated with his usual accuracy by Professor Willis, in his Hist. of Canterbury Cathedral, p. 13. Portions of Lanfranc's building survived the fire of 1174, but

The episcopal palace he also found to be in ruins, and he rebuilt it. Over his household he placed Gundulf, a monk of Bec.

Gundulf, who afterwards became Bishop of Rochester, was a remarkable man. He had made a pilgrimage to Palestine, and on his return, in compliance with a vow made under the terrors of conscience excited by a storm at sea, he became a monk at Bec, where he was honoured by the friendship of Anselm. He was skilled in domestic business; he was generous and discriminating as an almoner; he was a learned ritualist; he was particularly useful to Lanfranc at this time by his great ability as an architect *; he was a man of unimpeachable morals and of fervent devotion.

While Lanfranc was completing the exterior edifice, he laid the spiritual foundation of a Benedictine monastery in connexion with the cathedral. We have seen, throughout the Saxon period, the frequent attempts which were made to supplant the secular canons in the chapter of the metropolitan church of Canterbury, and to supply their place by regular monks. This was partly accomplished by Lanfranc; and, to the time of the Reformation, the chapter of the cathedral consisted of regulars. Henry, the last dean of the old foundation, became the first prior of the new. Lanfranc provided the chapter with those statutes, of which an account has been already given. As a practical man, while adhering to the principles

as a whole it was destroyed. Westminster Abbey had been already erected, on a scale of great magnificence. But Edward the Confessor, educated abroad, was more than half a Norman, and employed Norman artists.

* Vit. Gundulfi, Ang. Sac. ii. 273. Stowe, in his Survey, informs us that Gundulf was the architect of the Tower of London; and the Textus Roffensis mentions his having built the Stone Castle at Rochester at his own cost.

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of the Benedictine system, he adapted the details to the circumstances of the new establishment which he founded.

In 1077, Lanfranc received an invitation from Herluin to assist at the consecration of the new church attached to the Abbey of Bec. He gladly obeyed the summons; and we have an interesting account of his proceedings.

As the archbishop approached his former and his happiest home, he was overpowered by his feelings. Localities are dear to the heart and become almost sanctified, when they are associated in the mind with past blessings; with friends "not lost but gone before;" and with the first awakening of piety in the soul. In the retrospect, all that may have given pleasure is gratefully remembered, and even, in the recollection, magnified; while everything unpleasant is forgotten. Lanfranc had been forced against his will from Bec; he had been compelled to assume one of the highest positions in society; but his heart went back to the time when he was prostrate, as a penitent, at Herluin's feet, and was led by the good old abbot to seek the peace he longed for, by prayer to Him who alone can speak comfortably to the soul.

The new monastery of Bec was in a valley between two hills, surrounded by trees then lately planted, some of which are said to be in existence still. Lanfranc had come with few attendants, and without any of the parade or pomp with which great prelates, in that age, thought it expedient to surround themselves. As he looked down upon his former home, from the hill which overtops the convent, his feelings of self-humiliation increased. The only ornament which he had reserved, by which he could be distinguished from an ordinary monk, was his episcopal ring; he now took it off, and never resumed it, except when officiating in the public offices of the church. He

was determined to be a monk among monks. As he drew near, he saw the venerable Herluin, bent down by the weight of more than fourscore years, standing at the foot of the path, ready to embrace him.* They passed the bakehouse where first they met. They entered the new and magnificent cloister. Here the archbishop talked familiarly with the brethren; and felt as a modern prelate might be expected to feel, on revisiting a college, where his eminence as an instructor of youth, and as a maintainer of truth, first recommended him to the notice of his superiors. Lanfranc would permit no deference to be shown to his rank. It is told, as a thing remarkable in those days, that in the refectory he sat in the midst of the brethren, eating at the same table, drinking from the same cup, and served from the same salver. All were fascinated by his condescension. An episcopal throne was raised for him in the choir, but he declined to occupy it. He took his seat in the prior's stall, on the left side, opposite to that of the abbot; and, with that polite facetiousness for which he was celebrated, he pleasantly remarked that it was his by right of prescription. He was invited to consecrate the new church or chapel; and, with the King's consent, he did so. The consecration took place on the 23rd of October. The venerable abbot, overcome by his late excitement, had been, for eight days, confined to his apartment. But the morning was bright and clear, and he was able not only to assist at the service, but to preside at the entertainment given to the bishops, abbots, nobles, and clergy, pupils of Lanfranc, who had flocked to the reunion, and sought to obtain from their former master an archbishop's blessing.

Tears were shed on both sides when the time of parting came. Herluin was able to accompany the arch-

* He died the following year.

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bishop for two miles on his journey, and then the two friends parted—the one to sing his "Nunc dimittis;" the other to plunge once more into the politics, turmoils, and controversies of the world, which offered a painful contrast to the abode of peace and piety, which he had now visited for the last time.

Lanfranc, who, unlike some of his successors, had no desire to exalt the Church above the state, had felt no reluctance in acting as the minister of William in civil affairs. There can be little doubt that he was appointed justiciary * in conjunction with Robert, Earl of Moreton, and Geoffrey, Bishop of Coutances, during some part of the Conqueror's reign. There are two of his letters which are addressed to the king, during his absence from England, one of which I translate, as it is characteristic: —

"To his lord, William, King of the English, his faithful Lanfranc sends his faithful service and faithful prayers. Gladly would we see you, as an angel of God, but we are unwilling that you should take the trouble of crossing the sea at this particular juncture. For if you were to come to put down these traitors and robbers you would do us dishonour. Rodulph, the Count, or rather the traitor, and his whole army have been routed, and ours with a great body of *Normans and Saxons* are in pursuit. Our leaders inform me that in a few days they will drive the e perjured wretches into the sea, or capture them dead or alive. The details I send you by this monk, who may be trusted as he has done fealty to me. May the Almighty bless you." †

Lanfranc's influence with the king, and his devotion to the cause of the Normans, are certain facts; and from

* From certain precepts which Dugdale had seen addressed by the Conqueror to Lanfranc (Dugdale, Orig. Jurid. 20), he inferred this fact, which is fully corroborated by the letters.

† Lanfranc, Opp. i. 56.

the account which has reached us of a circumstance attending the disgrace of Odo, Bishop of Bayeux, we have an indication of the tone of Lanfranc's mind, when his opinion was asked. It being no part of his policy, as we have already remarked, to elevate the spiritual above the temporal authority, his endeavour was to bring the two powers to act harmoniously, and to keep the church an "imperium in imperio." He was an Italian, but he had been bred an imperialist, not a papist.

Odo had made himself and his countrymen unpopular by the extortions of which he was guilty, in order that he might amass wealth. The wealth he amassed was enormous; and, in amassing it, he had a special object in view. He had already purchased a house in Rome, and was expending his money liberally, with a view to secure his election to the papal throne. This gave offence to the king. We do not see clearly the reason why the conqueror of England should prevent his brother from becoming the purchaser of Italy; but feelings of hostility against William had evidently rankled in the mind of Odo ever since the nomination of Lanfranc to the see of Canterbury. The brothers, gradually estranged from one another, had now become enemies. William accused Odo of high treason. He arrested him in the Isle of Wight. Odo was tried by his peers, and found guilty. When William determined to apprehend him and commit him to custody, the Bishop of Bayeux pleaded his priestly character. The king consulted the Archbishop of Canterbury. Lanfranc acutely remarked that he was to be apprehended not as Bishop of Bayeux, but as Earl of Kent.* He said this with a smile, which shows that, in

* W. Malmesbury, iv. 306. If William of Malmesbury be supposed to have recorded only a traditional *bon mot*, the fact that such a story could be believed when told of Lanfranc, confirms the assertion that he had no wish to render the Church independent of the State. The

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consulting him, the king was aware of the kind of answer he would receive. Most undoubtedly this advice would not have been given by Anselm, nor, after his consecration, by Becket.

When an attack was made on the rights of the crown by no less a person than Gregory VII., we find Lanfranc acting in a similar spirit. In pursuance of the policy which we have noticed in the preceding chapter, by which Gregory VII. attempted to assert his suzerainty over all the powers of Europe, that Pope demanded of William the homage due from a vassal to his lord, and an oath of allegiance. This demand of the Pope was conveyed to the king by the Pope's legate, Hubert, who was also directed to complain of the non-payment of the Peter-pence.

The Pope of Rome received the following curt answer from the King of England:—

"Thy legate, Hubert, Holy Father, hath called upon me in thy name, to take the oath of fealty to thee and to thy successors, and to exert myself in enforcing the more regular payment of the money which my predecessors were accustomed to remit to the Church of Rome. One request I have granted, the other I refuse. Homage to thee I have not chosen, nor do I choose to do. I never made a promise to that effect; neither do I find that it was ever performed by my predecessors to thine. The money in question, during the three years past, owing to my being frequently in France, has been negligently collected.

Conqueror relished a joke. We have seen how kindly he took the pleasantry of Lanfranc, on their first meeting. When, on landing in England, he chanced to fall, he rebuked superstition by exclaiming, "I have now taken seizin of the land with my hands, and by the splendour of God, all it contains is ours." When, in founding Battle Abbey, fear was expressed that there would be an insufficient supply of water, he said, in a jovial tone, "There shall be more wine among the monks of Battle than there is water in all the wells of London."

"Now, as I am by divine mercy returned to my kingdom, the money which has been collected is transmitted by the aforesaid legate. As for the rest, it shall be sent as opportunity shall occur, by the legates of our trusty Archbishop Lanfranc. Pray for us, and for our kingdom, for we always respected thy predecessors, and we would fain regard thee with sincere affection, and be always thy obedient servant." *

Gregory was not a little irritated at the significant and haughty tone of this epistle. He recalled his legate, and desired him to take no further steps about the Peter-pence, as this, without the homage, was valueless.† Such an insult as that offered by this Christian prince to the apostolic see, in forbidding the prelates of his kingdom to approach its threshold, he said had never been offered even by Pagan kings. He directed Hubert to warn William once more of his evil ways, to reproach the prelates for obeying the king rather than the Pope, and to depart from his kingdom.

William had, in truth, yielded too much, rather than too little. If he had had an Anglo-Saxon adviser at hand, he would have known that the Peter-pence had never been a tax levied upon the whole kingdom, but simply a charge laid upon the private estates of the king; that it was paid, not as a tribute to the Pope, but for the sustentation of the English College at Rome. ‡ But William claimed the lordship of the entire soil of the country; what, therefore, was due from himself, he regarded as

* Opp. Lanf. i. ep. 10.

† Epp. Greg. VII., lib. vii. ep. 1.

‡ This subject is alluded to frequently in Book I. The payment continued from the reign of the Conqueror till that of Edward III., when it was prohibited. It was abrogated by statute 25 Henry VIII. c. 21, which was reversed by statutes 1 and 2 Philip and Mary, c. 8. It was finally abrogated by statute 1 Eliz. c. 1. See Jacob's Law Dictionary, vol. ii. See also Cowell's Law Dictionary, 1727; art. Romefeoh; Rom-scot.

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due from all his subjects, and he was probably glad to offer this compromise, which, however troublesome to his people, would not impoverish the king. Hubert did not leave England without urging Lanfranc to use his influence with William to yield to the Papal demand, for not exercising which, the archbishop was reproached by Gregory himself. This produced the following epistle from Lanfranc, which appears to be the model of a polite letter, refusing compliance to an unseasonable requirement on the part of one whom it was impolitic to offend. It is addressed to Gregory VII. :—

"I have received, with due humility, the letter which your Excellence caused to be conveyed to me by the learned Hubert, sub-deacon of your palace. The purport of the letter was, with paternal kindness, to find fault with my conduct, for that having been advanced to the honour of the episcopate, I have no longer that respect for the Holy Church of Rome, and for yourself in particular, which I professed before my elevation to the post of honour, for which, as is well known, and as I do not deny, I was indebted to the Apostolical See.

"I ought not to misrepresent your words, venerable father, neither do I wish to do so, but I must say, that I cannot understand what absence, or distance of place, or exalted station, be it ever so great, can have to do with this matter. I am ready to yield obedience to your commands in everything *according to the canons;* and if, by God's blessing, I shall have at any time the pleasure of conversing with you personally, I will endeavour to make it evident, by deeds rather than words, that my affection for you, instead of being diminished, has, on the contrary, increased, although yours, excuse me for saying so, is evidently not towards me what once it was.

"I did what I could for your legation and legate. I laid the case before my lord the king. I advised him to comply with your wishes, but I did not succeed. The reason why he utterly rejects your proposal he has himself made known to you, by word of mouth to your legate, and by letter to yourself." *

* Lanfranc, Opp. i. 56.

The advice given was only professional, and was probably given, as Malmesbury says, "lepidâ hilaritate," without any intention that it should be followed. This diplomatic letter had been well considered, and probably had afforded amusement, in its composition, both to the king and the prelate. Gregory was much too politic to quarrel with such a man as William. He did, indeed, say that the king should be made to feel the resentment of St. Peter; but either St. Peter was not so vindictive as his reputed successor, or King William was beyond his reach. Gregory, nevertheless, conscious of his powers of persuasion, endeavoured to compel Lanfranc to visit him at Rome, but in vain; Lanfranc's loyalty to the king was greater than his reverence for the Pope. His determination and silence were resented by Gregory, who at last addressed to him the following threat*:— 1081.

"Often, my brother, have I invited you to come to Rome for the confirmation of the faith and of the Christian religion, but hitherto, as it would seem, through pride, or through negligence, you have disregarded our summons until you have exhausted our patience. You have not even pretended to advance any canonical reason for refusing to come; for such excuses as the fatigue and the difficulty of such a journey are utterly insufficient. It is well known that many from a long distance, invalids infirm of body, some scarcely able to rise from their beds, influenced by an ardent zeal for St. Peter, are accustomed, when summoned, to hasten, through means of carriages or litters, to the threshold of the Apostle. Now, therefore, we charge you by our apostolical authority, that, setting everything else aside, without waiting for a fit opportunity, without pretending fears which are utterly idle, you take care to make your appearance at Rome, within four months from this date,

* Lib. ix. ep. xx. This letter is addressed ad Episcopum Cantuariensem. Whether the Episcopum, instead of Archiepiscopum, was intentional, or whether it was an oversight, it is observable.

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on All Saints' Day, in the present year. Thus may you make amends for a disobedience we have so long overlooked. If these apostolical mandates are unheeded, if you do prefer, notwithstanding your professions of respect, to persevere in your contempt, and do not blush to incur the peril of disobedience, a sin, according to Samuel (1 Kings xv.), as heinous as idolatry, know this for certain, you shall be severed from the grace of St. Peter, and utterly stricken by his authority. In other words, if within the time specified you shall not come unto us, you shall be suspended entirely from thy episcopal office."

The Archbishop of Canterbury did *not* go, and Lanfranc was *not* suspended from his episcopal office. The time had come when a Pope could use this threat; but the time had not yet arrived, when he could defy a potent king and carry it into effect.

Lanfranc acted with decision, but with caution. He was much in the position of an ecclesiastic at the present time, who, holding decidedly the doctrine of the apostolical succession, nevertheless feels himself to be justified in resisting the despotism of a diocesan, when the bishop acts rather as a civil magistrate than as a father in God. Of Lanfranc's caution, together with his feeling towards Gregory, we have an instance in his letter to Hugh.

In 1080, Gregory VII. was deposed at Councils held at Mentz and at Brixen in the Tyrol; and Guibert of Ravenna was elected in his place, under the title of Clement III. We are not concerned with the legality or the illegality of the proceedings; we only notice the fact, as adding to the confusions in which the Church was involved.

Which was Pope, and which was Anti-Pope, was a question which men decided according to their inclination, their interests, or their wishes. Among the charges brought against Gregory one was, that he was "an old disciple of the heretic Berengarius," * and Lanfranc's correspondent,

* Milman, book vii. c. 3.

Hugh, evidently expected to find favour with Lanfranc, the adversary of Berengarius, by advocating the cause of Pope Clement III. Lanfranc's answer was as follows:—

"I have received your answer to my letter, and I cannot concur in all that you advance. I do not approve of your disparagement of Pope Gregory, whom you speak of as Hildebrand, calling his legates pettifoggers*; neither do I approve of your praising Clement so frequently, so highly, and so prematurely. It is written that we should not praise a man while he is living, or speak disparagingly of our neighbour. What men are, and what they will be in the eyes of God, is at present unknown to man.

"Nevertheless, I fully believe that the illustrious Emperor would not have embarked in an affair of such importance, (the deposition of the Pope,) without good reason, nor can I suppose that he could have effected his purpose except by the Divine assistance.

"Still, I do not think it expedient for you to come to England without first obtaining the king's permission. Our island has not, as yet, rejected Gregory: it has not decided upon tendering obedience to Clement. When both sides have been heard, we shall be better qualified to come to a resolution of the case."

These circumstances are mentioned here, to show that we are to attribute the ecclesiastical polity of William the Conqueror, to a considerable extent, to the advice, the influence and the wisdom of Lanfranc. Lanfranc's resistance to the papal aggression was the result of that ecclesiastical system, of which he had already laid the foundation. He laid down the fundamental principles of the Church of England during the Anglo-Norman period; which the successors of the Conqueror endeavoured to enforce, and which some of the most distinguished of the successors of Lanfranc, such as Anselm and Becket, endeavoured to put aside.

* "Spinulosos," using subtleties in speaking.

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The first thing that William did, with the concurrence of Lanfranc, was to change the spiritual tenure of frank-almoign, or free alms, under which the bishops held their lands during the Saxon government, into the feudal tenure by barony; which not only subjected their estates to all civil charges and assessments (to which, indeed, under the Saxon dynasty they were liable), but constituted bishops the vassals of the crown. William plainly told Lanfranc that he intended to have all the crosiers in England in his own hands. This was a wise regulation; and if it had been strictly observed by his successors, the independence of the Church of England would have been secured.

The next step was to assert the royal supremacy. The Church of England, in council assembled under its primate, might pass no laws or canons but such as were agreeable to the king's pleasure; no bishop might implead or punish any of the king's vassals, even for incest or adultery, without the king's precept.

William and Lanfranc could not, of course, be very far in advance of the age in which they lived. The forged decretals were supposed to be as true as the Gospel. That the alleged inheritance of the rights of St. Peter devolved upon the Pope, whatsoever they might be, was not denied. But, this error being conceded, the wisest measures were taken that, under the circumstances, could be devised, to preserve the independence of the Church of England. When there were two or more Popes in existence, as was frequently the case in the miserable schisms of the age, the right of choosing his Pope was vested in the king; so that the clergy were not permitted to acknowledge any one as Pope until the royal consent had been obtained. When the Pope had been acknowledged, no letters from Rome might be published until they had first been approved by the king. Moreover, it was enacted that no

ecclesiastic should leave the country at his own pleasure.*

The ecclesiastical polity of this reign should be carefully observed, by those who desire to understand the ground of resistance offered by the kings and prelates of England to the papal aggression.

These principles were, as we have seen,

I. That the clergy should not be permitted to acknowledge any one as Pope, until the royal consent had been first obtained.

II. That no letters from Rome should be published, until they had first been approved by the king.

III. That the Church of England, in council assembled under its primate, might pass no laws or canons but such as were agreeable to the king's pleasure, and were first ordained by him.

IV. That no bishop might implead or punish any of the king's vassals, even for incest or adultery, or any other great sin, except by the king's precept.

V. That no ecclesiastic should leave the country at his own pleasure.

Thus did these great legislators lay a foundation for the liberties of the Church of England, at a time when Gregory VII. was on the papal throne. One great error, however, was committed; through which it became difficult, and finally impossible, to observe the principles so clearly asserted, and which the Conqueror himself so resolutely maintained.

In our history of the Anglo-Saxon period, we have shown that there was no distinction between lay and ecclesiastical jurisdiction. The county court was a spiritual as well as a temporal tribunal; where, on the same

* Blackstone, book i. c. 2. Seldeni notæ ad Eadm. 104. Eadmer, Hist. Nov. p. 29.

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bench, sat the bishop and the ealdorman. There was a perfect union between Church and State. William and Lanfranc introduced the continental system, and separated the ecclesiastical court from the civil.* We have scarcely yet, by very recent legislation, been extricated from the difficulties resulting from the co-existence of two systems of law,—the canon law in the spiritual court, and the common and statute law in the temporal,—and we shall have occasion to remark, in our history of the past, that, from this circumstance, controversies frequently arose by which society was convulsed.

Lanfranc proceeded to legislate in accordance with these principles, and to restore discipline to the distracted Church in a series of six councils, which, according to the Chronicle, were held at the following times and places:—

I. Winton, 1072.
II. London, 1075.
III. Winton, 1076.
IV. London, 1078.
V. Gloucester, 1081.
VI. Gloucester, 1086.†

The popular cry was against simony. It was one of those offences which, like bribery at elections in our own time, was universally condemned, but unblushingly practised. Stringent regulations were made against simony, whether in the sale of bishopries to presbyters, or in the purchase of orders from bishops.

With a view to terminate the reign of terror, and to aid the law in maintaining the security of life, canons were passed which subjected homicides to penance.‡ This

* Blackstone, iii. 5. William's mandate may be found in Spelman, i. 14. Wilk. Conc. i. 368.

† Gervas. Chron. Sax. ad ann.

‡ Mansi, tom. xx. p. 408, cap. 5. Milman, lib. vii. c. 1.

extended even to soldiers, who slew an enemy on the field of battle, and to archers, who knew not the amount of slaughter they might have occasioned when drawing their bow at a venture. The penance inflicted on soldiers was extended to plunderers. In an age, when every man's hand was against his brother, and almost every man was a robber, such an enactment surprises us. This was, indeed, one of those laws which could not be fully enforced, and, for the penance, a dispensation was easily procured. Its existence, however, was important, for it enabled the king to call for the interference of the Church in certain cases, and it was a protest, on the part of the Church, against the iniquity of the times.

No council could meet in the Western Church at this time, without legislating on the celibacy of the clergy. It was a subject, upon which the religious world was fanatical, and the profane world, as usual, was on the side of that greater strictness, when it was applicable to the clergy and not to itself. Pope Gregory VII. had decreed that all married clergy should cease from their clerical office, and that the people should avoid the ministration of those, who contravened his injunctions. The Church of England, under the direction of Lanfranc, pursued a wiser and a milder course. Among the clergy of the Church of England, before the time of Dunstan, as Dean Milman justly observes, marriage was the rule, celibacy the exception: and still in those cathedrals, which were served by the secular clergy, the canons were generally married men. Under these circumstances, all that the synod of Winchester, in 1076, decreed was, that none, who were now in priest's orders, should be permitted to marry, and that no married man should hereafter be ordained priest or deacon. The married men, who were already in holy orders, were not required to dismiss their wives. It was, probably, with a view to put a stop to clerical marriages,

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that it was enacted that no marriage should be valid, without the priest's benediction. Hitherto the secular form was sufficient for the legality of the marriage contract, and the benediction of the priest was optional; but henceforth, unless there were the intervention of a priest, the marriage was to be deemed fornication. It was also decreed that, "no man should marry any of his own kindred, or of the kindred of a deceased wife, or the widow of a deceased kinsman within the seventh degree."*

Another regulation of great importance was also made, which might be acted upon with advantage to religion, at the present time. It was decreed, by royal favour and the authority of the synod, that certain bishopries should be removed from villages to cities. Accordingly, the following changes took place; Sherborn and Ramsbury were removed to Old Sarum in 1075†; Wells to Bath in 1088; Selsey to Chichester in 1075; Lichfield to Chester in 1075‡; Dorchester to Lincoln in 1095; Elmham to Thetford in 1075.§

The insignificant question of precedence, which has, at all times, created misunderstandings and heart-burnings was settled at the same synod, that of London, in 1075. It was decreed, according to the general custom of the Church, that bishops should take precedence according to the date of their consecration, unless their sees had the privilege of precedence by ancient custom. A committee was appointed to ascertain, what had been hitherto the custom of the Church of England. The next day, the committee reported, that the Archbishop of York should occupy the seat at the right hand of the primate; the Bishop of London was to sit on the left hand; and

* Wilk. Conc. i. 367.

† The see was afterwards removed to Salisbury in 1219.

‡ It was removed to Coventry in 1095.

§ To Norwich in 1094.

next to the Archbishop of York, the Bishop of Winchester, the ancient metropolis of Wessex. In the absence of the northern metropolitan, London was to rank next to Canterbury, and Winchester next to London. It was also decreed that in synods only bishops and abbots might speak.

There are several facts incidentally made known to us, by the action of these synods. The sacrament of the Lord's Supper had been sometimes administered in beer, and sometimes in water; it was henceforth ordained to be administered in wine mixed with water. Altars of wood were found in the churches; it was decreed that they should be always of stone. Chalices were sometimes of wax or wood; this was prohibited, but no rule was laid down as to the material of which they were to consist. Intra-mural burials were prohibited.

In reference to the prevalent superstitions of the people, it is enacted that the bones of dead animals be not hung up to drive away the pestilence from cattle; and that sorcery and soothsaying, divinations and such like works of the devil, be not practised.

The Archbishop of Canterbury seems to have been regarded, at this time, as a kind of Patriarch of the West, to whom distant churches in distress applied for counsel and assistance. Lanfranc received the following letter from Ireland:—

"To Lanfranc, the Reverend Metropolitan of the Holy Church of Canterbury, the clergy and people of Dublin tender their due obedience. You are not unacquainted, most reverend father, that the Church of Dublin, the metropolis of Ireland, is unprovided of a governor. To supply this vacancy, we have made choice of a priest called Patrick, whom we all know to be nobly descended, and educated suitably to his quality, and skilled in ecclesiastical learning; orthodox in his belief; of great sufficiency and judgment for expounding the Scriptures,

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and thoroughly acquainted with the doctrine and customs of the Church. Our request is, that this person may be ordained our bishop, as soon as possible, that so we may be furnished with one under God to instruct and govern us, and that under his government we may fight securely; forasmuch as the safety of those that are subject consists very much in the good qualities and integrity of him that governs." *

This Patrick was consecrated. At his consecration he made a profession of canonical obedience to the Archbishop of Canterbury in the form following:—

"Whosoever is placed in a post of government over others, provided he does not stand in the supreme station, ought not to be backward in paying a regard to those above him; but rather with all humility, in obedience to God's commands, give the same deference, in every respect to his superiors, which he expects from those under his own care and jurisdiction. For this reason, I, Patrick, Bishop of Dublin, the metropolis of Ireland, deliver this instrument of my profession and acknowledgment to you, most Reverend Father, Lanfranc, Primate of the British Isles, and Archbishop of the Holy Church of Canterbury, and do promise that I will be obedient to you and to your successors in all things that may concern the Christian religion."†

How far Lanfranc was justified in this action we are not able, in our ignorance of all the circumstances, to decide. We have only to remark that all the applications for bishops, which, as we have seen on several occasions, came from Ireland, came not from the natives, but from the Easterlings or Scandinavian invaders.

The relations between the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Anglo-Saxon clergy were friendly. We do, indeed, find Lanfranc acting harshly on certain occasions, for he was, in politics, a decided party man. He was loyal to William, whom he regarded as the legitimate King of

* Opp. Lanf. i. 57.

† Ware, de Præsul. Hibern. in Episcop. Dublin; M.S. Cotton, Cleopatra, E. 1.

England, holding the crown by the nomination of Edward, and the election of the Witenagemot, as well as by right of conquest. He regarded, therefore, an insurrection as a rebellion; and treated those, who were in arms against the Norman aggression as rebels. But, in the administration of the Church, he appears to have acted with prudence and justice. The bishops appointed by William, acting under the advice of the archbishop, were for the most part men of learning and piety; who, in the two following reigns, nobly sustained the principles of Lanfranc against Anselm.* They were Normans, because among the few Anglo-Saxon ecclesiastics of distinction who had not fled the country, scarcely any could be found, whom William ventured politically to trust. Besides, while the inferior clergy still remained to instruct the people, it was important to have, among the bishops, persons who would, by their intercourse with them, lead the barons to respect religion, even though they neglected its precepts. We are too apt to forget that the noble and the rich have souls to be saved, as well as the poor; and that the learned and the great, amidst their worldly wisdom, are often profoundly ignorant of the truths of the gospel.

Very few of the Anglo-Saxon bishops and abbots were deposed—among the prelates, only three, besides Stigand; a very small number considering that the country was in a state of revolution.

We cannot suppose it possible, that Lanfranc could have been a persecutor of the Anglo-Saxons as such, when we find him writing the following letter to the sister of Edgar the Atheling. Margaret, Queen of Scotland, may be regarded as, next to Edgar, the head of the Anglo-Saxon

* Walter, the vicious Bishop of Hereford, was appointed by Edward the Confessor. It was not till after Lanfranc's death that the reign of simony began. Under William Rufus and Henry I. the evil came to its height.

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race, to whom she and her husband had, under circumstances of persecution, not unfrequently offered an asylum:

Lanfranc to Margaret Queen of Scots.

"Lanfranc, the unworthy Primate of the Holy Church of Canterbury, to Margaret, the illustrious Queen of Scots, greeting and benediction.

"The small compass of a letter is insufficient for declaring with what joy you have filled my heart, O Queen, well pleasing to God, by your excellent epistles which you have sent me. With what pleasantness do your words flow forth, proceeding from the inspiration of the divine Spirit! I believe, indeed, that what you have written is said not by you, but for you (i.e. by divine inspiration). Truly by your mouth has he spoken who said to his disciples, 'Learn of me, for I am meek and lowly in heart.' From this teaching of Christ it has proceeded, that, born of royal ancestors, royally educated, and nobly wedded to a noble king, you choose me, a man of foreign extraction, vile, ignoble, involved in sins, as your father, and pray me to consider you as my spiritual daughter. I am not what you think me to be, but may I become so! Lest you remain deceived, pray for me that I may be worthy as a father to pray to God and to be heard for you. May there be between us an interchange of prayers and benefits! I bestow little, indeed, but I hope to receive much more myself. Hence, therefore, may I be your father, and you my daughter. I send to your illustrious husband and to yourself, our dearest brother Master Goldewin, and two other brethren, according to your request, because he himself would not be able to accomplish alone what is requisite for God's service and your own. And I beg and intreat that you may endeavour quickly and perfectly to complete what you have undertaken for God and your own souls. If you are able, or are desirous to finish your work by means of others, we greatly desire these our brethren to return to us, because they are very necessary to us in the offices of our Church. Your will, however, be done, since in and for all things we desire to obey you. May the Almighty God bless you, and mercifully absolve you from all your sins!" *

* Lanf. Opp. i. 59.

The prelate who stood highest, in public estimation, next to Lanfranc himself, was Wulfstan the Anglo-Saxon Bishop of Worcester. Between him and the Archbishop of Canterbury, there was a good understanding, if not a cordial friendship. When application was, on one occasion, made by the Archbishop of York to the Primate of all England, to send two of his suffragans to assist at a consecration, one of the two prelates selected by Lanfranc was the Bishop of Worcester, to whom he addressed the following letter: —

"Lanfranc, by the grace of God Archbishop of the holy Church of Canterbury, to his venerable brothers Wulfstan, Bishop of Worcester, and Peter, Bishop of Chester, greeting. — Our venerable brother Thomas, Archbishop of York, has intimated to us that a certain clergyman from the Orcades has come to him, whom he states to have been chosen to the episcopate of that country, at the nomination and recommendation of Earl Paul, and since of ancient custom the right of consecrating the bishops of those islands is his, he has begged me to send him two of my suffragans that they may be able with him to celebrate so great a sacrament. We intreat and command you, therefore, to proceed thither without any delay, and in pursuance of our order, as is proper, complete so solemn a mystery. For it is not fitting that one coming hither for consecration, and with all humility requesting it, should, through want of coadjutors, depart from such a realm as this unconsecrated. The term of this consecration the bearer of these presents will point out. And that you may not be solicitous in thinking that either he or his successors should from this precedent, at some time or other, endeavour to seize prelatical jurisdiction over your churches, having regard to the future, I have taken care to transmit to you the letter which he sent to me, and I charge that this, as well as the present which I send to you, be preserved among the archives of your church for future reference." *

At a subsequent period, we find Wulfstan co-operating with the archbishop, to carry into effect the last wishes of

* Lanf. Opp. i. 35.

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the Conqueror, with respect to the succession to the crown.*

The two following letters, addressed to his old adversary Herfast, are presented to the reader, as showing the manner in which he administered the discipline of the Church: —

"Lanfranc, by the grace of God, not through his own deserts, an archbishop, to his brother and fellow-bishop, Herfast, greeting.

"That clergyman of yours lately came to me and told me the cause of his unhappiness. He said that what was testified in your letter was true, and declared that he had not been ordained according to order; for when of no order he had been admitted deacon by your Fraternity. On being asked by me, whether he had a wife, he replied that he had, and that he was unwilling to put her away. Wherefore, since in such a case provision must be made for him, supported by divine authority I pronounce a decree. Remove him from the diaconate. On proper opportunities, promote him to the other inferior orders, but to the order of deacons admit him not, unless he live chastely, unless he promise canonically to live in chastity for the future. If indeed he shall have lived in celibacy, and wished to make declaration of so living in future, you shall not ordain him deacon a second time, but shall restore him to his office, either on the book of the holy Gospel, or in synod, or in a numerous assembly of the clergy." †

"Lanfranc, by divine mercy, the unworthy Archbishop of the Church of Canterbury, to Bishop Herfast‡, knowledge with

* It will be seen that I do not give credit to the legendary tale of Ailred of Rievaulx, or believe the miracle, according to which Wulfstan's pastoral staff remained fixed in the tomb of Edward the Confessor. It is at least not consistent with what is told by William of Malmesbury, in his life of Wulfstan. Gest. Reg. iii. § 269. Gest. Pontif. p. 153.

† Lanf. Opp. i. p. 46.

‡ In Giles, the name is Herebert, which I presume to be a mis-reading for Herfast. Herfast is undoubtedly the bishop referred to, as in his diocese St. Edmund's lay.

humility, and understanding with sobriety. — Berard, a clergyman, and one of the household of Abbot Baldwin, delivered to you our letter relating to his affairs, which, as he afterwards informed me, you impudently ridiculed, and in the hearing of many spoke very vilely, and said much that was unworthy of me, declaring most positively that for me you would do nothing in that matter. For this at another time and place account shall be rendered. I now charge you, however, not to grasp at anything belonging to St. Edmund, unless you can show, by authentic documents, that it has been sought by your predecessors. Dismiss the said Berard in peace and uninjured until the matter come to our hearing, and receive a decision agreeable to canonical authority and our judgment.

"Give over dice playing, not to speak of graver misconduct, and worldly sports, in which you are said to waste the whole day; and study theology, the decrees of the Roman Pontiffs, and give especial attention to the sacred canons; there, indeed, you will find what you are ignorant of. In reading through these you will discover how vain is your expectation of escaping ecclesiastical discipline.

"In the decrees it runs thus: In every province let him attend to the regulations of his metropolitan in all things. At the Council of Nice: The confirmation of everything done in each province is to be left to the metropolitan by the bishop. At that of Antioch: In every province it is fitting that the bishops acknowledge the metropolitan bishop as having charge of the whole province, for since all who have any business resort from all parts to the metropolis, it is right that he have the precedence. At the Council of Toledo: It is proper that each should receive rules of discipline from the place where he received the honour of consecration, that in accordance with the decrees of the fathers, the see which is the mother of each one's priestly dignity should be the mistress of his ecclesiastical rule. And a little after: If any one violate these decrees, let him for six months be debarred from the communion, and undergo penitential correction as the metropolitan may direct.

"There are very many other passages on the precedence and power of primates and archbishops, both in the aforesaid writings and in other authentic books of orthodox fathers, which, if you

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would read more studiously, and when read, remember, you would not think disrespectfully of your mother Church, nor have said what you are reported to have said; indeed you would wholesomely reprove what has been said by others. Nor would any one in his senses have considered this to be a rash presumption in another's diocese, when through God's mercy, this one island which they call Britain is evidently the diocese of our single church.

"Remove from your company, and from your house altogether, Herman the monk of whose life so many scandalous reports are circulated, for I desire that he live regularly in a monastery subject to rule, or, if he refuse, depart from this realm of England."*

We have seen, in his controversy with Berengarius, that Lanfranc could use strong language, according to the custom of the age, when the occasion seemed to require it. Like his contemporaries generally, he was peculiarly sensitive of every invasion of his rights; and he was determined to maintain his episcopal authority over the inhabitants on his several estates, in whatsoever diocese they might be locally situated. Wulfstan bore testimony that this had been the custom in our Church, during the Anglo-Saxon period; and the peculiars existed down to our own age, when they have been abolished by a late Act of Parliament. There were many such in the diocese of Chichester; the secular duties, devolving upon the Primates of all England, having frequently called them to the Sussex coast. It would seem, that Stigand, Bishop of Chichester, had in some way invaded the archbishop's rights, and he received the following strong remonstrance from Lanfranc: —

"The clergy on my estates in your diocese have complained to me that, on certain occasions, they have been mulcted by your archdeacons, and that some of my tenants have paid the fine which has been imposed on them. Your fraternity ought

* Lanf. Opp. i. 47.

to remember that, contrary to the custom of my predecessors and yours, I made to you certain concessions, and gave direction that they might attend your synods to receive religious instruction and advice, though not to discuss or debate. Should any, however, be guilty of any crime, we especially provided that punishment should be delayed until we had ourselves examined the case, that we might determine whether to pardon the offender or to punish him.

"We lay our commands upon you, therefore, that restitution be made at once, and that you warn your officials that they presume not so far hereafter, and that they take care a good feeling be preserved.

"We expressly enjoin those of our presbyters who are located beyond the boundaries of Kent, never more to attend any synod, whether held by you or any other bishop, and not to hold themselves responsible to you or to your officials for any crime they may commit. For we, when we visit our estates, are bound in the exercise of our pastoral authority to make inquiry with respect to their character, both moral and intellectual.

"The chrism only they may receive of you, and what fees have been customary for the same they may pay. For while we are determined to preserve unimpaired those rights which have been handed down to us from our predecessors, we do not wish, God forbid, to withhold from others what is their due." *

There were other controversies, in which the archbishop was involved. The first occurred, almost immediately after his consecration, with Thomas, Archbishop elect of York. Lanfranc demanded and Thomas refused the oath of canonical obedience. I shall not involve the reader in the intricacies of the controversy, to the whole of which we may apply the remark of William of Malmesbury, when giving a long-winded letter from Lanfranc, that it is very wearisome. The controversy terminated in 1072, in a compromise, through the interposition of the king. It was determined, in a synod of fourteen bishops, that the Archbishop of York should be subject to the Archbishop

* Lanf. Opp. i. 50.

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of Canterbury in things pertaining to religion, and be required to obey his summons to a synod. The province of York was to extend from the Humber to the extremity of Scotland, the rest of England being within the province of Canterbury.* The prelate elect of York, after having received the archbishopric as a gift from the king, was, with the other bishops of his province, to go for consecration to Canterbury, or wherever the archbishop of that province might require his attendance. The Archbishop of York, as a general rule, was to swear obedience to the Primate of all England; although Lanfranc waived the oath, with respect to Thomas himself and was contented with his subscription. This was the concession made by Lanfranc, arising probably out of circumstances, which occurred, during the controversy; but, as we should suppose, knowing Lanfranc's relation to the Conqueror, the Archbishop of Canterbury carried all his points.†

There is extant, among the works of Lanfranc, what is called a speech made on this occasion; but it is merely the outline of a speech, or rather a report of the substance of what he said. There is nothing in it remarkable, except a reference to the loss of authentic documents, bearing upon the subject, in the conflagration of Canterbury Cathedral, which he mentions as having happened four years before. It is evident from a statement made, in connexion with this speech, that the king had come forward to enforce the claims of Lanfranc. The king is represented as having reproved Archbishop Thomas, in mild terms, for having ventured to raise the question with such a scanty show of evidence in his favour. Thomas knew what a royal admonition, from the mouth of Wil-

* Spelman, ii. 5, 6. Wilkins, i. 324-5; "Ex. MS. Cott. Domit. A 5 fol. 13, et Regist. Arundel, fol. 13, 14, et MS. Cant. Eccles. A. 5, 6." Cf. Will. Malmes. De Gest. Pontif. lib. i. p. 206-7.

† Thomas had claimed the Bishops of Lincoln and Worcester as suffragans to York.

liam, meant, however gently expressed, and he besought the king to request the Archbishop of Canterbury not to bear him ill-will on account of this affair, but to maintain peace and concord, and kindly to concede those points, which, by admitted right, pertained to the see of York.*

There appears to have been, ever after, a good understanding, between the two metropolitans; although Thomas was inclined to re-open the question in the time of Anselm.

Lanfranc was engaged in another controversy in the year 1088, where he certainly does not appear in the most amiable colours. We are not acquainted with all the grounds of provocation, but the conduct of the archbishop appears to have been arbitrary and harsh.

From a very early period, a jealousy had existed between the rival establishments of St. Augustine's and Christ Church. The chapter of the cathedral boasted of having at its head the Primate of all England; the brethren of St. Augustine's were equally proud of the rank held by their convent, as the first of the English monasteries. By the monks of St. Augustine's, the final institution of a Benedictine monastery, in connexion with the cathedral, was not regarded with friendly feelings. The misunderstandings between the two corporations, increased, until they came to a climax, at the time just mentioned. Provoked, we may presume, by many years of opposition and ill will, the archbishop determined upon a despotic act which the monks resisted. He nominated an abbot whom he desired the chapter of the monastery to elect. The monks sturdily refused to elect the archbishop's nominee. There was, probably, some political feeling mixed up in the dispute. The monastery may have given sanctuary to Anglo-Saxons, concerned in insurrectionary movements; and therefore the military forces of Kent were placed at Lanfranc's

* Lanfranci, Opp. Ep. 5. Malmesbury, G. P. lib. i.

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disposal. At their head, the archbishop appeared before the gate of the monastery; and peremptory orders were issued that the brethren should receive Wydo as their abbot.

Resistance was now vain; and, in obedience to the command of the archbishop, every brother, who refused to vote for Wydo was required to leave the monastery, not in force, but one by one. One by one, they went, and then the archbishop took possession of the building. With considerable state, he entered the church; he installed Wydo, and made over to him the monastery. The unfortunate prior and those whom the archbishop regarded as ringleaders in this act of rebellion, Lanfranc put into claustral imprisonment in Canterbury. He adopted conciliatory measures, however, with partial success, towards the others. He heard, that they had taken refuge in St. Mildred's church, and he sent to them a messenger to say, that if they returned to the church of St. Augustine's by the ninth hour, they should be readmitted into the monastery; but that, if they refused, they would be treated as renegadoes. Having heard this message, says the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, they doubted whether to return or to remain; but, at the hour of refection, when they were pressed by hunger, many, repenting of their obstinacy, went to Lanfranc and promised submission. They were treated with courtesy, ate a good dinner, and took the oath of obedience to the Abbot Wydo. The more noble minority were imprisoned in different monasteries; and one who bore the illustrious name of Alfred, who attempted to fly, was loaded with irons at Canterbury, and, with some others, who were guilty of the same offence, was treated with the utmost severity.

The archbishop soon found that the baser sort, who had yielded to the force of circumstances, were not to be depended upon, for they were discovered plotting the death of their abbot. One of them named Columban

was brought before Lanfranc, who demanded of him whether he designed to murder his abbot. "Yes," was the reply; "if I could, I would certainly kill him." Then the archbishop commanded, that he should be tied up naked to the gates of St. Augustine's and suffer flagellation in the sight of all the people. When this part of the sentence was completed, the man's cowl was torn off, and he was driven out of the city. Thenceforth, says the chronicler, during Lanfranc's life, sedition was repressed by the dread of his severity.*

This is a sad picture of the times. Another transaction of a similar character, but attended by more important consequences, may here be narrated in juxtaposition. It occurred a few years before.

Among the victims demanded by the policy or the cupidity of the Conqueror, was the Earl Waltheof. He was not a faultless character, but the Normans (the vile Norman woman included whom the Conqueror had compelled him to marry), plotted against him, and Waltheof was executed privately, for fear of the people, at Winchester. The whole Anglo-Saxon population were in a state of indignation, and Waltheof was regarded as a martyr. His body had been ignominiously thrown into a hole between two roads, and hastily covered with dust. At the end of a fortnight the people discovered where the body lay; they declared that the bloody corpse exhibited no signs of decay, the blood being as fresh, as if the earl was just dead. Followed by the lamentations of vast crowds of people, they translated it to the Abbey of Croyland, and there gave it honourable interment in the chapter-house of the monks.

Wulfketul, the abbot, was a strong and decided party man. He sought to rouse the Anglo-Saxon spirit by declaring that miracles were daily wrought at the shrine of the new saint.

* Chron. Sax. Elmham, 345.

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Lanfranc had been well aware that, at the shrines of Anglo-Saxon saints, the old patriotic feeling was sustained and aroused, and he had on several occasions depreciated the ecclesiastical heroes of the Anglo-Saxon period, and declared them to be no saints. He even denied to Elphege the title of a martyr, until his right to the distinction was asserted by Anselm. Lanfranc now accused Wulfketul of idolatry. For the wrong reverence, says Ingulf, which he had shown for the holy martyr, the abbot was condemned as an idolater at a council held in London. He was degraded from his ecclesiastical dignity, and sent as a simple monk to be under the custody of Thurstan, the Norman abbot of Glastonbury.*

Thurstan was a man who, in the words of Roger of Hoveden, "is not worthy to be named." He had been a monk of Caen, and to procure him the abbey of Glastonbury the Saxon abbot Egelnoth had been deposed.

The Christian spirit, displayed by the Anglo-Saxon monks of Glastonbury, stands in striking contrast to the spirit evinced by the monks of St. Augustine, to which we have just referred. The monks of Glastonbury endured with patience and meekness, the insolence, the tyranny, and the injustice of the proud Norman. In order, as he said, to keep down their high spirit, but in reality to fill his own coffers, Thurstan almost starved the community. Their conduct is thus described by a contemporary, in terms affecting from their simplicity: "They were lovingly-minded towards their abbot and begged him to govern them in right and in kindness, and they would be faithful and obedient to him. But the abbot would none of this; but wrought them evil and threatened worse." †

But patience and forbearance have their limits. He

* Florence of Worcester. Matt. Paris. Ordericus Vitalis, book iv. c. 17. Chron. Anglo Normand. ii. 119.

† Chron. Sax. ad ann. 1083.

robbed them of their food; he kept them out of their library, and sold their books. They were physically and intellectually reduced to the last extremity. But they found consolation in the services of their church, where they worshipped God, as their fathers had worshipped, according to their old service books and with the Gregorian chant. The shameless abbot, as Ordericus calls him, determined to drive them from this their last resort. He was a musician, and an anti-Gregorian. He was delighted with a new system of church music, of which William of Fescamp was the author. He ordered its introduction into the choir of Glastonbury.

Then, at length, was aroused the Anglo-Saxon spirit, and the determination, "Nolumus leges Angliæ mutari." The monks, in full chapter, decided against the innovation and refused obedience to the abbot. Thurstan was not, however, the man to yield. To enforce his orders he threatened to call in the military. The monks fled from the chapter-house to the church and closed the doors. They were followed by the soldiers, who, under the direction of the abbot, — a hireling whose own the sheep were not — scaled the buttresses of the church, and announced their arrival upon the rafters, at the top of the choir, by the discharge of a volley of arrows upon the defenceless monks below. The reredos, behind and above the altar, was pierced full of arrows. Meantime the monks, thus assaulted, were unable to defend the doors, through which another party of soldiers entered, headed by the abbot. The defeated brethren clung to the altar, but this was no protection. The abbot, who was not born with any peculiar mark of reverence on his head, rushed forward and speared one of his brethren, and killed another who, pierced with arrows, lay groaning at his feet. The monks, compelled by necessity, now bravely defended themselves with the benches, the candlesticks, and with

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whatever else they could lay their hands on, and succeeded in driving back the soldiers out of the choir, with the loss of two killed and fourteen wounded.*

The report of the scandal rendered a judicial investigation necessary, and the abbot was so notoriously the aggressor, that the king removed him from his post; but, consigning him to the monastery of Caen, did not subject him to that amount of punishment which he deserved. He was afterwards restored by William Rufus, on the payment of a fine.†

By the overruling providence of God, good is educed from evil; and, from the occurrences just stated, attention was called to the importance of some approach to uniformity in the ritual and offices of the Church.

Hitherto each bishop arranged the rubrics of his diocese, and ordered the details, to be observed in the performance of public worship, according to his will. The abbots claimed a similar authority, in the regulations of their several monasteries. With this privilege the archbishop had not the power, if he had the inclination, to interfere. But a model of what was regarded, at the time, as decorous in the celebration of divine service, was provided in "The Use of Salisbury." This work was drawn up about the year 1085, to prevent the repetition, in his diocese, of scandals, such as had occurred at Glastonbury, by Osmund, the bishop of the see just mentioned. Osmund was a man of note. He had fought for the Conqueror, and had been created Earl of Dorset. He was the second chancellor whom William appointed after his accession to the throne. He became Bishop of Salisbury in 1078, when he applied his powerful mind to ecclesiastical affairs. Having settled his see at Old Sarum, he built his cathedral; he collected together clergy dis-

* Florence of Worcester, ad ann. 1083.

† Malmesbury, Hist. Glaston. col. 1731, ed. Migne.

tinguished for their learning and their skill in chanting; and, with their assistance, he ascertained all rubrics, which were not sufficiently determinate, or where books, through the inaccuracy of transcribers, were inconsistent with each other; he adjusted and settled the ceremonial on points, which had been previously left to the discretion of the officiating minister; in fine, he produced a "custom book," which was, wholly or partially, adopted in various parts of the kingdom, especially in the South of England. With several interpolations introduced from time to time, it became the model ritual of the Church of England, until the reign of Philip and Mary, when many of the clergy received licenses from Cardinal Pole, to say the Roman breviary. In the reign of Edward VI., and in that of Queen Elizabeth, it became the basis of our present Book of Common Prayer.

The sanction of the Archbishop of Canterbury and of his suffragans was given to these proceedings, by the appointment of the Bishop of Salisbury to act as precentor of the Episcopal College, and to conduct the services, whenever the prelates assembled in synod. The title is still retained by the indefatigable, learned, and pious prelate who occupies the see of Salisbury, at the present time; who has, indeed, proved himself to be the worthy successor of Bishop Osmund, by helping to prepare, and by giving his sanction to a Hymn Book for his diocese, which is likely soon to become the Use of the whole province.

In 1087, Lanfranc received a letter from the death-bed of the Conqueror, requiring him to anoint his second son, William Rufus, as his successor. The Norman law seems, at this time, to have given the power of nominating his successor, to the reigning prince. The Conqueror himself, though a bastard, succeeded to the dukedom on the authority of his father's nomination. The

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Anglo-Saxon constitution gave to the Witenagemot the right, if not of electing any one of the royal family to the throne, at least of rejecting the eldest born. When the Conqueror's will was known, therefore, it did not occur to either Lanfranc or Wulfstan, to suppose that any wrong was done to Robert Curthose; of whose unfitness for the throne there could be but one opinion; or that there was any irregularity in the proceeding.

To the sagacity of the Conqueror the policy of separating the dukedom of Normandy from the kingdom of England had become apparent. He had himself experienced the difficulty of maintaining the interests of the two states, which could never be amalgamated, and might often become divergent.

But this separation was the very thing, to which all the Norman interest would be most resolutely opposed. The Norman barons, who had estates in England, possessed, most of them, estates also in Normandy. To them it was most important, that they should have one and the same sovereign. If the kingdom and the dukedom were separated, between the king and the duke there might be war; and the barons, who adhered to the king would lose their estates in Normandy, and the estates in England would be confiscated of those, who gave their support to the duke. It is by bearing this in mind, that we can account for several facts. We see the reason why the Conqueror, when, determining to place his second son on the English throne, did not consult his barons. We see why the barons were opposed to the accession of Rufus; we see, also, why the Red King, and afterwards his brother Henry, were so anxious to obtain possession of the dukedom, in addition to the English crown.

On the other hand, nothing could be more agreeable to the Anglo-Saxon population than the separation of the two realms. If England were separated from Nor-

mandy, the independence of the kingdom, under any dynasty, would be re-established. Wulfstan, therefore, as a patriot, acting throughout his career not from passion, but from principle, cordially co-operated with Lanfranc; and Lanfranc, in love to the country of his adoption, manfully maintained the Anglo-Saxon cause. A proclamation was issued, appealing to the feelings of the Anglo-Saxon population; and from the forests and fens, from the morasses and the woods, as well as from the towns, there came forth an army which enabled Rufus to intimidate his barons; until, having carried his point, he was enabled to unite with them in the renewed oppression of his benefactors.

The wonderful power, which Lanfranc possessed in the management of men, is evinced in the fact, that, so long as he lived, William Rufus was, to a certain extent, kept under control. But the life of Lanfranc was now drawing to a close, and in his death the realm and church suffered a loss which was irreparable.

In the month of May, 1089, Lanfranc retired to his new monastery at Canterbury. He exercised there the office of abbot, which was always more congenial to his feelings than that of the episcopate. He was still a man of letters, and was not only devout, but scrupulous in his devotions. He was enjoying his retirement, when he experienced a slight attack of fever. This, at his advanced age, was not to be neglected. The infirmarer prescribed a remedy, and directed it to be taken immediately. But the archbishop had determined to receive the holy communion, and delayed taking the draught, lest it should break his fast. The delay, as the physician stated, was fatal; and on the 24th of May, he expired. His former adversary, Thomas, Archbishop of York, attended the funeral, which was honoured by the presence of many of the suffragans of Canterbury.

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Lanfranc was buried in Trinity Chapel, at the east end of the Cathedral, on the south side of the altar. When the chapel was replaced by the present edifice, his body was removed, and buried at the altar of St. Martin; but no trace of it remains, nor is there any monument extant, erected to the memory of this consistent assertor of the liberties of the Church of England.

CHAP. III.

ANSELM.*

Born at Aosta. — Early piety. — Lapse into immorality. — A Pupil of Lanfranc. — I. Cloistral Life. — A monk at Bec. — Prior of Bec. — His Wisdom as a Preceptor. — Abbot of Bec. — Receives lay investiture. — Anecdotes. — Female friends. — Ghost story. — II. State of the Church of England. — William Rufus. — Anselm in England. — Visits the King. — Anselm's want of tact. — Rufus offended with Anselm. — Singular form of Prayer drawn up by Anselm. — Illness of the King. — Curious scenes. — Anselm Archbishop. — Receives investiture from the King. — Does homage. — Interruption at consecration. — Archbishop of York. — Anselm offends the King by offering only five hundred Pounds. — Anselm at Hastings. — Foppery of the young men rebuked. — Anselm again offends the King. — Bishops in vain interpose. — Anselm impracticable. — Illegal Conduct in accepting Urban as Pope. — Council at Rockingham. — Anselm's perverseness. — Bishops loyal to the King. — Violent discussions. — Anselm's Insolence. — King's mean-spirited conduct. — King acknowledges Urban. — Pall brought by Bishop of Albano. — Reconciliation of King and Archbishop. — Anselm receives the pall at Canterbury. — Bishop of Dublin consecrated. — Anselm negligent of feudal duty.

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* Authorities: — S. Anselmi Opera; Ed. Gerberon; Paris, Migne, 1854. Eadmer, Vita Anselmi and his Historia Novorum, in appendix to Anselm. These two most interesting works of Eadmer, highly valuable as illustrating both the mind and the manners of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, supply the materials of all the subsequent biographies of Anselm, from William of Malmesbury to the present time. Hasse, Anselm von Canterbury, 8vo. Leipzig, 1843, translated and abridged by Turner; Möhler, Anselm von Canterbury, translated by Cox; Anselme, Notice Biographique, par M. A. Charma; S. Anselme de Canterbury, par M. Charles de Remusat; Church's Essays.

—Accused by the King.—Applies for Leave to go to Rome.—Permission refused.—Council at Winchester.—Anselm fanatical.—Good and loyal conduct of the Bishops.—Bishops unable to persuade Anselm to obey the laws of the Church and Realm of England.—King's rage.—III. Anselm leaves England without Permission.—Divided state of the Church on the continent.—Two Popes.—Anselm at Rome; at San Salvator.—Council of Bari.—Eloquence of Anselm.—William of Warelwast's bribery at Rome.—No redress for Anselm.—Goes to Lyons.—Literary labours.—Summoned to England by Henry I.—Joyful return.—Good conduct of the King.—Anselm raises the investiture controversy for first Time in England.—Prudent conduct of the King.—Bishops and Clergy loyal.—Church of England still independent.—William of Warelwast at Rome.—King and Archbishop friends.—Henry seeks Delay in the Investiture controversy.—Anselm will not permit Papal legate to come to England.—Synod at Westminster.—Anselm goes again to Rome.—Roman authorities bribed.—Vacillation of the Pope.—Anselm at Lyons.—Anselm threatens to excommunicate the King.—Compromise about investitures.—Henry's sound policy.—IV. Anselm's return to Canterbury.—Triumphant reception.—Henry's kind treatment of him.—Synod of London.—Anselm's various Works.—Scholasticism.—Death.

CHAP. III. Anselm. 1093—1109.

At the foot of the Alps, in Aosta, a city of Piedmont, in the year 1033, was born Anselm, one of the most remarkable men of his age; whose influence extends to our own times, through the theological system he devised, and to which by some sects is assigned, exclusively, the title of Evangelical. He is an object of admiration equally to the Roman Pontiff and to Joseph Milner.

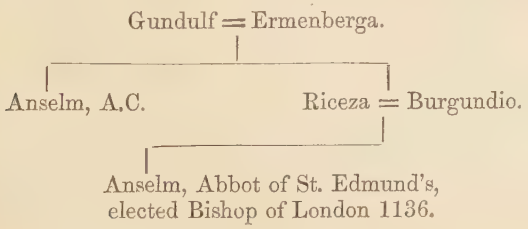
Anselm was of noble birth. His father, Gundulf, was a Lombard; his mother, Ermenberga, was a Burgundian. He had a sister, named Richera or Riceza, with whom, in after life, he corresponded. Three of his meditations, and four of his letters, addressed to her, have come down to us, and are preserved in his works.*

* Meditations xv—xvii. lib. iii., epp. 43, 63, 66, 67. In lib. i. there is an epistle (18) addressed to his maternal uncles, Lambert and Folcerald.

By these excellent women, his affections were tenderly educated, while he received instruction from the best masters in the conventual schools. The magnificent scenery, by which he was surrounded, elevated his imagination, which was sanctified by the bright example of Christian meekness, prudence, and piety, constantly set before him at home, by his gentle and loving mother. To her he opened his heart, and she loved to narrate the following anecdote: Anselm, while yet a child, dreamed that on the summit of one of those mountains, which taught the youthful dreamer to look from nature up to nature's God, he saw enthroned the King of kings. It was the time of harvest, and he saw the reapers in the valley neglecting their work. He determined to complain of them to his Lord and their Lord. As he approached the throne of glory, he heard a still small voice asking, in sweet accents, the young child's name. Unintimidated, Anselm approached his Heavenly Father, and narrated every remembered incident of his short life. He received a piece of pure white bread, and departed, strengthened and refreshed. The truth of the anecdote is discernible in its childlike simplicity; and it will be read with interest by those who regard the child as father to the man.

A child so trained, in the eleventh century, was sure to imagine, that a monastery was a very heaven upon

Another Anselm appears in the history of our Church; whose connexion with the Archbishop appears as follows: —



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earth; and, at the age of fifteen, Anselm applied for admission into a convent. The abbot, a man of piety and wisdom, refused to receive him until he had first obtained the consent of his parents.

His mother's consent could be easily procured, but his father, a worldly man, a tyrant at home, and a spendthrift in the city, refused to yield to a childish caprice. He had views of ambition for a son, by whose mental powers he was already impressed. Anselm prayed for sickness, supposing that, if his health failed, his father would yield his consent. It is a prayer which, when rendered by a mind, either grieved by disappointment, or made perverse by want of self-control, is often granted as a punishment. Anselm sickened: he once more waited upon the abbot, and was again refused admission into the monastery. The abbot, knowing the antecedents of the youth, probably perceived, that Anselm had yet some wild oats to sow. If Anselm inherited a sweet disposition and a kind and gentle heart from his mother, the abbot knew how often that mother's heart was almost broken by the selfishness and dissipation of her husband, Gundulf. He suspected, that there was something of Gundulf in the nature of Anselm.

When Ermenberga died soon after, the suspicions of the abbot proved to be correct. As Eadmer expresses it, the ship of Anselm's heart was tossed anchorless on the wide sea. Corrupted by the example of a careless and profligate father, the young man was hurried into acts, rather than habits, of dissipation. In after life Anselm deplored the immoralities of his youth.*

* Anselm says of himself, when addressing his sister: — "O Soror, fera pessima devoravit fratrem tuum. In me ergo cerne, quantum ibi contulerit qui te a tali bestia conservavit illæsam. Quam miser ego sum, qui meam pudicitiam perdidi, tam beata tu cujus virginitatem misericordia divina protexit." — *Meditatio* xvi.

Eadmer passes over the next three or four years of Anselm's life, with a wise discretion; and we know little of his proceedings, until he is brought under our notice as a pupil of Lanfranc, in the monastery of Bec.

It did not escape the discernment of Lanfranc, that his pupil was equally skilled to acquire and to impart information; and Anselm was employed as a teacher of others, while yet receiving instruction himself. His success excited his ambition. In the depths of his nature, there was much of ambition and pride, now detected in the searchings of his heart. These passion afterwards retained a visible influence upon his conduct;—a fact, which was the more injurious to his character from his being unconscious of its existence. When, by his father's death, Anselm had come into his fortune, and felt called upon to decide finally on the course of life he should pursue, he was, for some time, in a state of perplexity. He felt his superiority to Lanfranc, as a deep thinker and a scholar; and his pride revolted from the occupation of only a second position, in the schools of Bec. He thought of opening a school, to be supported by his own resources; and in Lanfranc's success, at Avranches, he found encouragement to the project. He had some inclination to connect himself with the celebrated Abbey of Clugny. But he finally settled down as a monk of Bec. If Lanfranc was inferior to Anselm, as a metaphysician, he was, beyond measure, his superior in practical wisdom; and he was unwilling that the infant establishment of Bec should lose a man of genius, or that he should himself be deprived of the assistance of one, too young to be a rival, and yet old enough to be his companion, counsellor, and friend. Over the will of Anselm the stronger will of Lanfranc prevailed. Lanfranc persuaded Anselm to consult the Archbishop of Rouen; and the Archbishop of Rouen decided as Lanfranc wished.

CHAP. III. Anselm was in his twenty-seventh year when he assumed the cowl.

Anselm. 1093—1109. We shall proceed, in several sections, to give a brief account of Anselm's cloistral life; of his episcopate under Rufus; of his first exile; of his episcopate under Henry I.; of his second exile; of his return to England: we shall conclude with a brief reference to his works.

I. When Lanfranc was appointed Abbot of Caen, Anselm succeeded him in the offices he vacated at Bec, and became the Prior.*

The election of the prior was, by no means, a unanimous one; and Anselm was exposed, at first, to much irritating opposition. We shall, afterwards, find him declining the appointment to the higher office of abbot; and we must attribute his desire to obtain that of prior to his consciousness, that, for the one office he was, and for the other he was not, duly qualified. For an abbot, it was important to select a man of business, who was versed in the affairs of the world; but a prior, in a monastery, where the abbot was resident, was chiefly employed in the cure of souls, and in directing the studies of youth. The wisdom, which Anselm displayed in the discharge of these duties, has never been questioned. He was accustomed to compare the human mind to wax, which receives the impression of a seal and retains its form from the mixture of hardness and softness in its nature. If it be too hard, the wax receives no figure at all; if it be too soft, it retains no distinct impression. Upon the proper quality of the wax depends the durability and distinctness of the figure of the seal. So is it, he would say, in human nature. If we speak of things spiritual

* There is some little doubt as to the date of Anselm's elevation to the priorate. Ordericus Vitalis (iii. 12) fixes Lanfranc's appointment to Caen in 1066, but in another place (v. ii.) he says that Anselm was prior for fifteen years, 1064—1079.

and heavenly, to one, who, from, youth to manhood, has been trained in the ways of vanity and worldliness, we are unintelligible, for the wax is too hard. Equally unsuccessful are we, in making a lasting impression, when we discourse of the sacred mysteries to a child, — the wax is too weak, too flexible, — all impressions soon disappear. Therefore, the course pursued by Anselm was, to prepare the mind for future instruction, rendering it strong by the eradication of vice, and soft by the cultivation of Christian tempers; so that it might be prepared to receive, when arrived at maturity, the stamp and image of the spiritual man.

Anselm's own training, under the tenderness of a gentle mother, was not lost upon the great instructor, as the following anecdote will show. I have selected it, because it throws light not only on the principles but also upon the manner of Anselm: it is a specimen of his table-talk. A visitor came to Bec; an abbot renowned for his austere piety. His subject was that, which is the theme, in all ages, chosen by unpractical men, who, delighting in their dreams of an imaginary past, are forgetful of the duty of making the best of the present. He complained of the youth, so different from what they were, when he was himself a boy. His abbey was, he said, a celebrated school for education; but alas! the boys remained incorrigible, although there was no sparing of the rod, but flagellation was going on day and night. "Do I understand you right?" inquired Anselm, in his usual Socratic style; "you never cease to flog them, and yet no good results?" "They grow up stupid and brutish," was the reply. "It is certainly no encouraging effect of your training, to turn human beings into brutes," continued Anselm, with unimpassioned and scarcely perceptible sarcasm. The abbot was too dull to be provoked, or even to understand the censure implied: he repeated his

CHAP. III. Anselm. 1093—1109.

assertion: "The blame does not rest with us; our discipline, I assure you, is most severe,—so severe, that the youths are allowed no liberty, they are under constant restraint, and yet, as I have said, we make no progress whatever."

"You keep them," said Anselm, "under restraint, and allow them no liberty! But tell me, my lord Abbot,—suppose you were to plant a tree in your garden, suppose you were to hedge it in, so that its branches could not extend in any direction, what kind of tree would it become, if, in the course of a few years, you were to restore it to freedom?" "Of course," replied the abbot, "it would be crooked, stunted, good for nothing." "And who would be to blame, my lord Abbot, but yourself? And what are the boys committed to our trust, but trees planted in the garden of the Church, in order that they may grow and bring forth fruit unto the Lord? If, hemmed in by fear, threats, chastisement, their faculties are not permitted to expand through freedom, evil thoughts, like weeds, will spring up within them. These thoughts they will cherish, and when opportunity occurs, they will be only bent upon evil. Having experienced no love, no gentleness, no mildness from you, their evil passions will not be counteracted, and they will be ripe for mischief." He then proceeded to show, how discipline should be tempered by love, in the education of youth; and on this principle he was himself accustomed to act. The one monastic virtue, obedience, he exacted; but, when there was a readiness to obey, he was so ready to relax the discipline of his house, that he exposed himself to the censure of persons, who, in enforcing the letter of the law, not unfrequently violated its spirit. He professed to make love his principle of action; and among his apophthegms we find him to assert, that "to give love, is better than to receive from others the proofs of love; for

all gifts are of a perishable nature, whereas love is, in itself, well pleasing to God, and eternal." *

It was in the same gentle and truly Christian spirit, that he met the opposition, which he had to encounter, when first assuming the office of prior. His elders, indignant at his having been placed over their heads, encouraged the younger scholars of the house in their acts of insubordination. Anselm, like most hard students, had his peculiarities; and a young man, Osbern by name, and an Englishman by birth, full of talent, wit, and fun, delighted himself and his companions by turning his preceptor into ridicule, and by playing upon him many practical jokes, while setting his authority at defiance. Anselm took care to let the young man know, that he was aware of his being the ringleader in all the mischief of the convent; but, instead of punishing him, he treated him with a forbearance and kindness, which soon had the proper effect upon a good heart; and Osbern, becoming a monk, had the honour of being admitted to the friendship of Anselm. When Lanfranc became Archbishop of Canterbury, and wished to establish the Benedictine rule in his cathedral, he demanded Osbern as his subject. Anselm says, in a letter to the archbishop: "Osbern is so bound in love to my heart, that I feel severely the prospect of being separated from him." And when they parted, Anselm wrote to the prior of the monastery, in which he was about to reside, to state that he had ground for believing that Osbern was now a converted person; adding, "It cannot escape your wisdom, that, at no time, is there required a greater degree of mildness and forbearance, than when a man begins to become a new creature, lest the good fruits, which must be planted and brought to maturity by love, be by harshness choked and

* Epp. lib. iii. 146.

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destroyed. I entreat you, therefore, in accordance with the prudence becoming your situation, and as it may advance the salvation of our much loved brother, not to reproach him with his former misconduct, but to nourish the childhood of his better resolutions with the milk of a peculiar love."*

Under these circumstances, we are not surprised when we are told, in the grandiloquent language of Ordericus Vitalis, that the "western world was filled to inebriation with the nectar of Anselm's exalted character;"† and that Bec became the resort, not merely of students and of learned men, but of the weak, the penitent, the oppressed in spirit, and the self-tormentor, who came, in crowds, to seek spiritual comfort and counsel from one, who was regarded as a holy man, gentle as well as wise.

All opposition was overcome by conduct such as this; and when Herluin died, in 1078, the monks, without a dissentient voice, elected Anselm to be his successsor. The scene which, on this occasion, ensued, is so contrary to modern habits, that it is difficult to picture it to the mind. The congregation prepared, by prayer and fasting, to elect an abbot. The choice fell unanimously upon Anselm. When this was announced to him, he declined the offer. The assembled monks declared their determination that Anselm should be the successor of the venerable Herluin. Upon this Anselm threw himself upon the ground, and, with his face towards the earth, sobbed out his petition to the brethren, that they would not force upon him a trust so onerous. Whereupon the brothers followed his example; they also threw themselves on the ground; and, prostrate on the earth, they implored their prior, to have compassion upon the es-

* Eadm. v. Ans. I. ii. 13. Epp. i. 57, 58.

† Ordericus Vitalis, iv. 11.

tablishment and upon themselves. It was an awkward position, in which to carry on a debate, and we must presume that they remained upon the ground until they fell asleep. When they woke, they must have been too fatigued to proceed further in the business, and, on several occasions, the scene was re-enacted, until at length the petitions of the brethren prevailed.*

After some delay, Anselm accepted the abbot's staff from the hand of William the Conqueror; and on the 22nd of February, 1079, received the benediction from Giselbert, Bishop of Evreux.

It was not without a consciousness of his unfitness for the office of abbot, that Anselm wished to decline the honour. It was required of an abbot, the superintendent of various subordinate monasteries, as well as the ruler of the great abbey in which he himself resided, that he should be a good man of business,—a man versed in the affairs of the world; and such Anselm was not. He was, however, given to hospitality, and the hospitality of Bec was known to every one, whether residing in the neighbourhood or coming from a distance. To all comers, from whatever nation, the doors were open, night and day. But from Eadmer we learn that, for the entertainment of the guests, the monks were often obliged to contribute their commons; and that the guests were compensated for scanty fare, by the agreeable conversation of Anselm. It frequently happened, that the servants in the monastery were at a loss for provisions for the following day; and we pity the poor "cellerarii, camerarii, et secretarii," when, coming, one after another, to the abbot, to inquire what was to be done, they were received with his commonplace, "Trust in the Lord, He will make provision for us." On one occasion, Lanfranc sent him

* Ord. Vit. lib. iv. c. 11, Chron. Beccense.

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twenty pounds sterling, and Anselm welcomes the gift, because he says "oats and pulse are dear, and since our beloved Herluin's death, the purchase of land has exhausted our funds." On one occasion, the resources of the monastery were so reduced, that he was obliged to pawn a golden chalice, which had been presented by Lanfranc. But these were, of course, only occasional difficulties, and the friends of Anselm, knowing his incompetence in these respects, were continually anticipating his needs. The bewildered officials sometimes obtained alms from their neighbours; at other times they heard with joy of a ship from England in the Seine, bringing them the conveniences of life; or else they saw some penitent entering the monastery with all his property; and then, when the cellar was replenished, the chamber refurnished, and the ledgers in a satisfactory condition, the cellerarius, the camerarius, and the secretarius would discourse of the piety of the abbot, and the wonderful Providence which seemed to mark him as an especial object of Divine favour.

However inconvenient it may have been to live under the government of an abbot, who had no regard himself for creature comforts, the character of Bec, as a school of learning, high as it had been under Lanfranc, was raised still higher by the superior literary genius of Anselm, until it was regarded as an assembly of philosophers.

There is an anecdote told of Anselm, by his affectionate friend and biographer Eadmer, which illustrates the character of the man and of his times. When Anselm was a student, he often preferred his books to his meals, and, when he became a monk, he encouraged in himself habits of asceticism. This resulted in a general loss of appetite, which affected his health. When seated in the common hall, at meal time, if no strangers were present, or his companions failed to provoke conversation, he would

scarcely partake of food, but would be absorbed in attention to the lector, who was appointed to read a chapter of the Bible. But he was easily interested in conversation; and, in mere absence of mind, he would swallow anything that might be placed in his way. It was a friendly amusement, on the part of the monks with whom he was intimate, to push towards him first one piece of bread and then another, until he had made, for him, a tolerable dinner.

But, though abstemious to a fault in himself, he had no moroseness about him; he was a man of wit, "homo jucunditate præstantissimus," and, when persons apologized for partaking of the viands from which he abstained, he only smiled and said, "I hope your food will do you good."

Like other great talkers, he sometimes reproached his companions for their silence. His friend Gundulf, of whom mention has been made in the life of Lanfranc, and who adhered to Anselm under all his trials, was as patient a listener, as Anselm was an eager talker. On one occasion, when Gundulf proposed a question to Anselm, the latter said: "You are always seeking to sharpen your knife at my whetstone, but you never suffer me to sharpen mine at yours. I do entreat you to speak, that I too may profit by you. I, indeed, am so dull, from the multitude of my sins, that I ought rather to take place of the whetstone, whereas, you, in your earnest and constant devotion and in your constant contemplation, are always sharp."

This anecdote shows that Horace was not ignored in the convent of Bec,

> "fungar vice cotis acutum
> Reddere quæ ferrum valet, exsors ipsa secandi."

Anselm went on talking, and Gundulf was never weary of listening to his friend.

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Neither was he, who owed so much to female influence in his younger days, to a mother's love and a sister's friendship, without the consolation of female society in his later years. It seems strange, but it was a fact, that ladies of high rank, widows, or persons deserted by their husbands, obtained lodgings in the neighbourhood of Bec. Here they adopted the rule of the monastery, and having received the veil from the hands of the Archbishop of Rouen, they lived as nuns. Among these, three were conspicuous; Basilia, the wife of Hugh de Gornai, who himself became a brother in the monastery; Amfrida, her niece; and Eva, the wife of William Crispin, Viscount of Vexin. These ladies passed a life of asceticism and seclusion, under the kind and paternal direction of Anselm, who speaks of them in his letters as "dominæ et matres."

With the name of the last-mentioned lady a ghost story is connected. She made a promise to Brother Rodulphus, that she would appear to him after her death, and tell him what she had found,—*quod invenisset.* She was as good as her word, and she told him that she was to undergo penance for sixty years, for having loved little dogs and other frivolities.*

For three and thirty happy years, Anselm lived an object of adulation, whose sayings were recorded as the dictates of wisdom, whose word was law. The men revered him, the women loved him, the religious world honoured him as a saint, the profane world regarded him as endowed with virtues more than human. Notwithstanding his many and great virtues, Anselm, nevertheless, was only a man, and was not exempt from the faults and frailties ever incident to humanity. We are not surprised to find the sin of spiritual pride, notwithstanding the semblance of humility, developing itself in his character, imperceptible

* Anselmi Opp. lib. ii. epp. 26, 51; lib. iii. ep. 138. Chronicon Beccense, p. 202.

tibly to himself, and not acknowledged by his admirers. Through spiritual pride, with its concomitant self-complacency, he never imagined it possible, that he could be mistaken in his judgment, and while he expected an immediate acquiescence in his opinions, on the part of others, he treated all, who differed from him, not with anger, for he did not often lose his temper, but with a pity, which, implying superiority, was especially provoking to those who had been previously irritated or contemned. It is to this fault of character, together with his ignorance of human nature, that we may trace much of the trouble to which he was subjected in his later years, and no small portion of the evils of which he was the unconscious cause.

His principles, as an ecclesiastic, were radically wrong, and of the church politics of the age he was absolutely ignorant. By the partisans of Pope Clement, he was denounced as an Hildebrandine heretic.* But this was a mistake. He was utterly void of political sagacity or genius, and he neither understood nor endeavoured to understand the grand, though erroneous, policy of Gregory VII. Anselm was simply a papist. He believed that St. Peter was the Prince of the Apostles; that, as such, he was the source of all ecclesiastical authority and power; that the pope was his successor; and that, consequently, to the pope was due from bishops and metropolitans, as well as from the rest of mankind, the obedience which a spiritual suzerain had a right to expect from his vassals.

While these were his principles, Anselm had, owing to the existing state of the papacy, been perplexed in the application of them. Gregory VII. had been deposed in 1080, and Guibert of Ravenna had been elected in his

* Baronius, Annal. an. 1080.

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place, under the title of Pope Clement III. But Europe was divided upon the subject of these proceedings. A large party maintained that Gregory had not been canonically deposed, and to him they still adhered, electing a successor when he died,—while another party, with the emperor at its head, maintained the cause of Clement. It was left, therefore, to individuals or to churches to decide, which of the two prelates should be regarded as the Pope of Rome. In Normandy and by Anselm, Urban was chosen; whereas in England no choice had been made.

II. Before entering upon the episcopate of Anselm, it is expedient to take a brief view of the position of the Church of England at this period, and of some features in the character of the King of England, William Rufus.

We must revert to what has been stated in the preceding chapter. The bishoprics having been converted into feudal tenures, the episcopal estates were subjected to all civil charges and assessments, and the bishops were, like other barons, vassals to the king. It was not denied that the pope was the successor of St. Peter, and that, as such, he had some undefined rights in all national churches. But, because these rights were undefined, the King of England asserted and maintained his own right to be over all persons and in all causes, ecclesiastical as well as civil, within his dominions supreme. It was a law of the Church of England, that no letter from the pope might be promulgated by any authority, without the royal sanction, and that no bishop might, without the same sanction, implead or punish any vassals of the Crown: it was a law of the Church of England, that no prelate should leave the kingdom, even if summoned by the pope, unless the royal permission were first obtained; and it was left to the king to decide, when there happened to be more than one pope in existence, which of the rival

candidates should be acknowledged by the English Church and State.*

It is necessary to repeat this, in order that we may have the case fully before us, ere we proceed to judge the proceedings of Anselm; and for the same reason we must have regard to the character of William.

The red King was a rough, rude, coarse, boisterous man, who desired to be feared rather than loved, and assumed, in public, a supercilious scowl, and a certain ferocity of voice and manner, which he mistook for dignity. At the end of his life, he was disgustingly profligate and thoroughly debauched, like most of the Norman barons, by whom he was surrounded; "fearing God very little, and man not at all."† We are told, that his liberality became prodigality; his magnanimity pride; his austerity cruelty. When this, however, is stated, it implies that he possessed a nature, at one time, capable of better things; and, ferocious as he appeared to the public, yet, at his table, and amidst his boon companions, he gave loose to wit, merriment, and even levity; facetiously turning the joke against himself, whenever he was conscious of having done what might justly have caused offence. He was apt to make a jest of everything. In all military exercises, he was skilled and brave. To his father he had always been a dutiful son. So long as Archbishop Lanfranc survived, he abstained from open crime; and it was, at one period, fondly expected that he would become a mirror of kings. Even after the archbishop's death, it was doubted, for a time, which way he would incline, and what tendency his disposition would take.

He had, like all the Norman princes, a very exalted

* Eadmer, Hist. Nov. (ed. Migne. c. 380, ed. Selden, p. 26).

† The whole of this description of Rufus is taken from a contemporary, William of Malmesbury. De Gestis Reg. lib. iv. §§ 312, 333.

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notion of the kingly dignity. The Duke of Normandy was merely the chief of a confederacy of barons; but an anointed King of England, besides this, was invested with the imperial dignity, and Charlemagne was considered his model. For the prerogatives in Church and State, which had been conceded to Charlemagne, he was prepared to contend.

William Rufus, in short, was a bad man, but one who, like his father, could have been managed. We cannot but regret the injury to the public, which was occasioned by his having been brought into contact with Anselm; who never understood his own position in the country, and was incapable of making any allowances for the character of the king, whose temper he irritated, and whose prejudices he thwarted.

The temporalities of an episcopal see, during a vacancy, were then, as now, in the hands of the king. But, in modern times, when the majesty of the law has been asserted, ecclesiastical property is carefully husbanded, and the accumulation paid over to the incumbent, on his appointment, the corporation sole having never ceased to exist. In the eleventh century, as the property of a minor, though made over to him when he came of age, was applied by the suzerain to his own purposes, during the minority, so William assumed the possession of all the property belonging to a vacant bishopric or abbey; and, in order that the royal coffers might be filled, he prolonged the vacancy to an indefinite period, by refusing to nominate to the office.

From the death of Lanfranc the see of Canterbury remained unoccupied, for nearly four years; and, from the rapacity of the royal officers, much havock had been committed on the property; while the tenants of the church were subjected to oppression and exaction. In May, 1092, the Bishop of Lincoln died, and William showed a

disposition to act towards that see as he had acted towards Canterbury.

This manner of proceeding was contrary to the spirit of the age. Having regard only to feudal rights, the barons looked upon William's conduct, in the light of tyrannical dealing to a vassal; persons, who regarded the proceeding from a religious point of view, complained of the injustice done to the Church, by depriving it of its metropolitan.

The king was quite aware that tyranny and oppression must have their limits, and was beginning to admit that an Archbishop of Canterbury must be appointed. All eyes were turned towards Anselm, and no one could be more acceptable to Rufus than one, who had been beloved by his father, who had been the friend of Lanfranc, and who, by his piety and learning, would reflect credit upon the patron, who nominated him as his archbishop and spiritual adviser. Anselm had visited England more than once, in Lanfranc's time, having had business to transact with the English priories attached to the Abbey of Bec. He had, on these occasions, won golden opinions from all sorts of men.

Anselm's conduct, with reference to the archbishopric, is rather perplexing. He knew that he was looked upon, in England, as the only man qualified to succeed Lanfranc. He refused an invitation to England, when first it was sent, after the death of Lanfranc, on the ground that it would look like canvassing for the vacant see.* The world would accuse him of ambition. He was first invited either to regulate, or to adopt as an alien priory attached

* "Angustiæ, ait, mihi sunt undique. Si Angliam ivero, vereor ne cui per hoc prava suspicio subrepat, et me causa consequendi archiepiscopatus illuc ire existimet. Si non ivero, fraternæ charitatis violator ero, quam quidem non solum amico, verum exhibere jubemur et inimico."—*Eadmer, His. Nov.* lib. i. p. 363, ed. Migne.

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to Bec, a monastery erected by an old acquaintance, the Earl of Chester. This invitation he declined. He was then asked to visit the earl, a debauched but superstitious man, in his illness. This he also refused to do. He was, after this, assailed on his weak point—the earl's salvation might depend on his receiving spiritual consolation from so holy a man.

He landed at Dover, on the 7th of September, 1092. He was received by the people as their future archbishop. From Dover he went to Canterbury, and thence, without loss of time, to the court of William.

It must have been on some great state occasion, that Anselm approached the royal palace, for the king was seated upon his throne. But the moment he heard of Anselm's arrival, William jumped up, and hastened to the door, where he cordially embraced the friend of Lanfranc. Leading him into the apartment, he placed him in the seat, at the right hand of the throne, which had been always occupied by the late archbishop. The courtiers considered the appointment virtually made. They looked with interest on the two great personages representing Church and State.

The king was a strong, well-made man, though short and inclining to corpulence, with a florid complexion, and yellow hair; his countenance was open, but it had a peculiar expression, for his eyes were differently coloured; he never had any facility in expressing himself, and was remarkable for his hesitation of speech, when excited or angry.* At his side, sat the emaciated Italian; his countenance expressing the calm consciousness of a soul at peace with God and with itself; his eye beaming with intelligence, and his voice sweet in its tones, and uttering eloquently the ever ready thought.

* William of Malmesbury, de Gestis Regum, lib. iv. § 321.

And here we have the first instance of Anselm's want of tact,—that want of common consideration and courtesy, which marked his public life, when he passed from the cloister to the court. He signified his wish to converse in private with the king. The king, having dismissed his attendants, expected Anselm to enter upon the avowed object of his visit to England — the monastery at Chester. Instead of which, Anselm began to discourse on the wretched state of ecclesiastical affairs in England, and to upbraid William for his conduct.

The king would have ill brooked an ill-timed admonition from the Archbishop of Canterbury himself, if such a functionary had existed, — but the objurgation came as an impertinence, from the Abbot of Bec. If Anselm and the courtiers expected that the offer of the archbishopric would be made at this interview, they were disappointed. From what we know of William's temper, we are surprised to hear of no outburst on this occasion. But that William resented the conduct there can be no doubt.

It seems, that the king had been brought fully to admit, that there was a necessity for not permitting the see to remain any longer vacant; but he could not, he said, make up his mind whom to appoint. One of his friends ventured to suggest, that no man had a higher character than the Abbot of Bec: "He lives for God alone, and earthly wishes he has none." "Indeed," said the king, sarcastically; "no wish, I presume, for the archbishopric of Canterbury?" "That least of all," was the injudicious reply, which provoked the king, who continued: "If I were to hold out to him the faintest hope of the archbishopric, he would clasp me by the neck in his gratitude: but, by the holy face of Lucca, neither he, nor any one else, shall be Archbishop of Canterbury but myself."

This expression shows that a reactionary movement had commenced in the king's mind; and that if he did

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part with the archiepiscopal property, it would be with a reluctance, which nothing but a strong pressure from without could overcome. The speech was, doubtless, reported to Anselm, and it may account, in some measure, for a scene to which attention will be soon directed.

The change, which had come across the royal mind, had caused considerable disappointment; and when, in 1092, the court assembled at Gloucester to keep, as usual, the festival of Christmas, a measure was proposed so extraordinary, that, as Eadmer truly predicted, posterity can hardly believe it. The royal consent was asked, that prayers might be publicly offered, throughout England, to implore Almighty God, to put it into the king's heart to institute a worthy successor to the Church of Canterbury. The king laughed, as he gave his consent, and said, "the Church may ask what she pleases, but my own will I shall not cease to work."

It pertained, of course, to the archbishop's office, to draw up the form of prayer to be used on the occasion; but, as the see was vacant, the nobles requested Anselm to undertake the task. He very properly remarked that it was a duty, which only a bishop ought to perform; and then, thinking, no doubt, that he formed an exception to every general rule, he arranged the service. Early in the year 1093, the day of fasting and prayer was appointed.

In February Anselm prepared to return to the continent,—but the king was struggling with his repugnance to Anselm, and orders were issued to prevent his leaving England.

Meantime, the king was taken ill. Everything conspired to alarm him. It seemed as if God had immediately heard the prayers of the Church, and had visited the offender in his wrath. At the close of the last year, there had been awful thunder, and at the commencement

of this, there had been a deluge of rain, such as had never been known before.* The king's conscience had not yet been seared, as it were, with hot iron. He listened to its reproaches, and became convinced by those around him, that his only chance of recovery depended upon his appointing an archbishop. By a curious coincidence of circumstances, as it was thought, Anselm happened to be in the neighbourhood of Gloucester, where the king then lay. He was sent for. He did his work faithfully as a minister of God. Repentance must precede pardon. The king vowed repentance. Desiring the prayers of the Church, he directed the bishops to repeat the royal vow in the ears of the people, from the high altar of Gloucester. This was not sufficient: a proclamation, sealed with the royal seal, announced that captives should be freed, debts be forgiven, and all offences against the king's person be pardoned. Good holy laws, such as were in the golden days of King Edward, were again promised to the people; offenders and oppressors of the lower orders should, without consideration of nation or rank, be punished with inflexible severity.†

The grateful people flocked to church, to pour forth their devotions, and to pray for the restoration of one, who was already regarded as the father of his country. But the king's malady was not abated. "The Archbishop of Canterbury has not been appointed,"— observed the attendants at the sick-bed, "who is he to be?" The king remained silent for a time. All stood around him in a state of excited expectation. "The Abbot of Bec," was at length the king's reply.

The announcement passed from the chamber of the sick man, and was received by a cry of exultation. The

* William of Malmesbury, lib. iv. 325, 326.

† This proclamation shows the weight and influence of the Anglo-Saxon population, for the proclamation related chiefly to them.

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bishops proceeded with all speed to Anselm, that he might receive the crosier from the king's hand. To their astonishment Anselm refused attendance. He would not accept the archbishopric; he was too old, not a man of business, could hardly manage an abbey, and would find a diocese and province an insupportable burden: he was not his own master; without permission he could not quit his monastery. His excuses were drowned by the cries of all, that no time was to be lost. He was dragged into the royal presence. William, now fully persuaded that his life depended upon his appointing Anselm to the see, entreated him, with tears in his eyes, to have compassion on his sovereign. Anselm still resisted. The king commanded all to throw themselves at Anselm's feet, and to implore him to have pity on their dying master. Anselm gave some slight token of relaxing, and there was a cry, "The crosier, the crosier, bring it here." It was placed in the king's hands, who was stretching it out, as they were forcing Anselm towards the bed. Anselm put his hands into his pocket; but the bishops forced them out, some held down his left hand, others seized his right hand, and brought it into contact with the king's. But the fist was closed, and the bishops strove in vain to force it open. For a moment the forefinger gave way, and then between the forefinger and the thumb the crosier was forced, and Anselm's fist was clasped to prevent it from falling. The moment this feat was accomplished, the shout was raised, "Long live the new archbishop." It was caught by the crowd and re-echoed through the city. The bishops raised Anselm upon their shoulders; they carried him to the nearest church; it was already filled, but, as they entered, the Te Deum commenced, while the archbishop elect, muttering in words scarcely distinct, "It is naught, it is naught that ye do," fainted away.

We have the narrative from an eye-witness; and it is well that it is so, for we could not otherwise believe in an occurrence, both in the mode of thinking and in the manner of acting, so different from all modern ideas, that we find it difficult, if not impossible, to picture it to the mind.

Notwithstanding his unwillingness to accept the archbishopric in the first instance, Anselm exerted himself to obtain the necessary consents to the completion of his appointment. The real difficulty was with the monastery of Bec; Anselm's removal from which would be a serious injury, even in a pecuniary point of view, to that establishment. It was only by a small majority, that permission was given him to resign. To the minority we are probably to attribute the accusation, brought against Anselm, of ambition; a charge from which he vindicates himself in several of his letters.

It has been sometimes stated, that Anselm only accepted the archbishopric under certain conditions; but this is not strictly correct. He demanded first, that the property of the see should be restored in full, and that, if any dispute should arise as to what did or did not belong to the Church, there should be a legal investigation; secondly, that the king should receive the archbishop as his adviser in all things pertaining to the Church, and regard him as his spiritual father; and thirdly, that he might acknowledge Urban as his pope, although Urban had not been so recognised by the English nation. The king appointed a committee, consisting of the Bishop of Durham and Robert, Earl of Meulan, to consider the demands. The answer which Anselm received was: "The king is willing to restore the estates which are acknowledged to belong to the Church; as to the other requirements he cannot bind himself to any specific promise; but he will adopt a resolution on these and other matters."

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There was, therefore, only one concession made, when Anselm consented to accept the archbishopric. On this one point the king, appears, from the following document, to have behaved well: —

"William, King of England, to his bishops, counts, sheriffs, and others, his faithful subjects, French and English, greeting. Know ye, that I have given to Archbishop Anselm, the Archiepiscopate of the Church of Canterbury, with all the liberties and dignities to the Archiepiscopate of Canterbury appertaining, and 'sake and soke, on stronde and streame, on woden and on felden, tolnes and teames, grithbrech, hamsokne, forstalles, and infangenetheves and flemenefremthe,' and all other liberties on land and sea over his men, within burgs and without, and over as many 'theines' as King Edward, my kinsman, granted to the Church of Christ.

"I desire also that the monks of Christ Church, Canterbury, equally have, in all their lands and tenements, all the liberties aforesaid, on land and sea, on streams and ways, and in all other places which pertain to them, so far and so fully as they have right to demand.

"The port of Sandwich also, and all issues and customs, I concede and confirm to them, which Odo, Bishop of Bayeux and Earl of Kent, conceded to them, and confirmed by his charter; nor will I suffer any one to intrude himself into any of their possessions, whether he be Norman or Englishman, without the permission of themselves, or those to whom they entrust them.

"Witness, "William, Bishop of Durham.
"Gundulf, Bishop of Rochester.
"Eudo, Dapifer." *

It was easy to promise, but not so easy to fulfil the promise. The estates had been let while they were in the king's hands, and he was urged to maintain the rights of his tenants. He applied to Anselm to make some allowance; but he did not take offence when

* Fœdera, i. p. 5.

Anselm refused. The archbishop elect was subjected necessarily to some inconveniences in resuming the estates of his see, and Ralph Flambard, not yet Bishop of Durham, was prominent among the malcontents; but so far as the king was concerned, he directed that Anselm should be instituted in all the property and privileges possessed by Lanfranc; he even went further, for Lanfranc held the city of Canterbury in fee, and William Rufus now made it an allodium to the cathedral.*

On the king's restoration to health, a meeting of the peers was convened at Winchester, where the king renewed his promises of good government, and Anselm was introduced into the assembly to do homage. His head was uncovered, he knelt down before the king, between whose hands he placed his own, and he promised thenceforward to become his man, to serve him faithfully and loyally, with life and limb, and worldly honour, for the lands which he held under him. The investiture had already taken place. The oath of fealty was now tendered, and the whole ceremony concluded with a kiss.

The archbishop elect repaired to Canterbury, where, amidst great rejoicings, he was enthroned. All the civil rights and privileges of the see were thus in his possession, and it only remained, that the spiritual power should be conferred upon him. He had received investiture on the 17th of April; but his consecration did not take place till the 4th of December. It was performed with much solemnity in Canterbury cathedral, all the bishops assisting except two, whose attendance was prevented by illness. At the commencement of the ceremony, an interruption took place, occasioned by Thomas, Archbishop of York. The act of election ran thus: "Ye know, brethren and fellow-bishops, how long the Church of Dorobernia, the

* Battely's Somner, p. 178.

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metropolitan Church of all Britain, has remained desolate." "Stop," called out the Archbishop of York, "The metropolitan Church of all Britain? Then the Church of York is not a metropolitan Church? It must run, the Primacy of all Britain." The alteration was made, and Anselm was duly consecrated Primate of all England.

On the death of a landed proprietor, the successor was obliged to purchase the enfeoffment from the king, by what the Saxons had called a heriot, and the Normans a relief. This had originally consisted in presenting the king with the horse and armour of the deceased, if a layman, and the custom came in, by degrees, of paying an equivalent in money. As the bishops now held their lands on the same tenure as the laity, it may be that a relief was expected from them. But whether this were the case or not, the archbishop was expected to make an offering to the king, to which Anselm demurred, lest it should be represented as a simoniacal transaction, and a report get abroad, that he had purchased the archbishopric. Anselm was evidently more alive to public opinion, and thought more of what people would say of him, than we should have expected in a man so eminently pious. He was, at length, persuaded to conform to the customs of the country and of the age. He did so, however, with a bad grace. He determined to present the smallest sum that could with decency be offered; something that no one could regard as an equivalent for the archbishopric; and he repaired to Gloucester, where the court assembled, at Christmas, with five hundred pounds of silver.

At Gloucester he met with a most cordial reception from the king and his peers. All parties were in good humour, nothing could exceed the royal hospitality and the general hilarity which prevailed, during the three days of the festival. On the fourth day, the archbishop pre-

sented his offering, which was graciously received, the king being in the best possible temper.

But when William considered the matter and talked it over with his friends, being also, as he always was, pressed for money, he was persuaded that the archbishop ought to have offered double the amount. The money was accordingly returned as insufficient.

Anselm demanded an audience, when, instead of conciliating the king, he irritated and provoked him. He inquired whether the king really intended to reject his offering. He received a reply in the affirmative. He then commenced a lecture, better adapted for the schools of Bec, than for the council chamber of a prince. Assuming an air of superiority, he begged the king to accept his donation, which, though the first, was not intended to be the last; and bade him to consider, that it would be more to his honour, and even to his advantage, to receive what was offered with a friendly feeling, than to treat his archbishop as an inferior, and to compel him, by extortion, to meet his demands. In a spirit of pride, but in a tone of humility, he continued: "Treat me as a friend, and you may do what you will with me and mine; but nought shall you have, if you treat me as a slave." William in a violent rage and in the strongest language exclaimed, "I want neither thee nor thy foul tongue; so be off with thee."

Anselm had offended the king's pride; and royalty seldom either forgets or forgives a reproof, however penitent the reprover may have become. William was not likely to be appeased, when he was informed that Anselm had distributed the money among the poor, on condition of their praying for the king's conversion. Nor would there fail to be some, who would add fuel to the fire, by informing him of certain speeches of the archbishop, in which, having regard to the union of Church

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and State, he first of all placed himself on an equality with the king, as joint ruler of the country, and then complained of being unequally yoked; comparing the king to a wild and untamed ox, and himself to a meek and powerless sheep.

Nevertheless Anselm returned to Canterbury self-satisfied: he had done his duty: he had made his offering: the rejection of it had exonerated him from all suspicion of simony; he had maintained his dignity; he had given good advice to the king. What more could the world, the Church, or his conscience require of him?

When we have respect to the miseries entailed upon the country by the misunderstanding and controversy between the primate and the sovereign, we cannot but wish that the former had acted with more worldly wisdom, and that the latter had found a friend, such as his father possessed in Lanfranc. William, offended with Anselm, and not finding friendship and paternal allowance where he sought it, threw himself back upon his dissolute companions, resumed a life of vice, rescinded his promise of good government; and through his needs, his passions, or his indifference, became a tyrant himself, and did not discountenance, perhaps encouraged, the oppressions of his underlings.

It had not been the duty of the Abbot of Bec, but it was the duty of the Archbishop of Canterbury, to remonstrate with the king, on the violation of vows solemnly made at the instigation of Anselm, and to exhort him once more to amendment of life. But while Anselm was not a man to shrink from a duty, however unpleasant, yet his mode of performing it was ill-timed, unfortunate, and injudicious.

William had determined upon an expedition into Normandy. In February 1094, his peers with their retainers assembled at Hastings. The bishops were summoned, that

the army might receive their benediction before embarkation; and the summons was obeyed by Anselm.

It was a scene of gaiety, and, while the smiths were repairing their armour, the young courtiers paraded, in the fashionable attire of the age. They wore tunics with deep sleeves, and mantles with long trains. Their caps or bonnets were of the richest fur, adorned with precious stones or gold; the girdles, which bound their doublets to the body, were adorned with clasps like birds' beaks, their cloaks and mantles were of the finest cloth. Their shoes were remarkable, being peaked with long sharp points, stuffed with tow and twisted to imitate a ram's horn, or the coils of a serpent; gold and silver chains attached them to their knees. We are not surprised, when we hear that, thus shod, their gait appeared to be affected, that they came tripping rather than walking; and that the frequenters of William's court should show but little reverence to their spiritual pastors and masters, meeting them with a free and easy nod, instead of tendering a humble obeisance. All this offended Anselm; but he was most provoked with what was a new fashion among the Normans. The young men appeared with their long hair divided in front, and curled; Eadmer, moreover, mentions it as a fact, that they actually combed it every day; their hair fell in ringlets down their backs, and was often lengthened by the addition of false curls; they had also permitted their beards to grow.*

When Lent commenced, the archbishop denounced the prevalent fashion, and declared that none should receive

* We derive our knowledge of the customs of the age from Eadmer, William of Malmesbury; Henry of Huntingdon; Ordericus Vitalis. The facts are collected by Strutt, in his view of the manners and customs, &c. In the introduction to vol. xvi. of the "Recueil des Historiens de la France," is a learned history with reference to the fashion of the shoes.

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absolution, who did not clip their hair and shave off their beards. The Bishop of Rochester (Gundulf) concurred.*

Although some were moved, by the eloquence of the prelate, to employ a barber; there were not a few who made the episcopal interference a subject of ridicule in the court of William; and they diminished still further his respect for a man whose want of judgment was already conspicuous.

Nevertheless, the king's conduct, in the case of the Bishop of Lincoln, showed, that he was not unwilling to support the Archbishop of Canterbury, in the maintenance of his just claims and in the privileges of his province. The Archbishop of York claimed metropolitan jurisdiction over the see of Lincoln. This claim was, of course, resisted by the Archbishop of Canterbury, who, before consecrating Robert Bloet, the royal chaplain, nominated to the see, required him to take the oath of canonical obedience to himself and his successors. An appeal was made to the king, who decided in favour of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and required Bloet to take the oath. The consecration took place in the chapel of the castle.

The archbishop now proceeded to the king himself. Entering the royal apartment, he took his seat at William's side, and began at once to admonish him that he would in vain expect a blessing upon the present occasion, unless he were prepared to afford aid and to receive counsel

* Gundulf, Bishop of Rochester, and Ralph, Bishop of Chichester, were the only two among the English bishops who maintained the cause of Anselm. Wulfstan, the noble-hearted Anglo-Saxon Bishop of Worcester, being a practical man, used, with his own hands, to poll the heads of those, who would submit to it; for which purpose, he kept a little knife, which also served him for trimming his nails or cleaning his books. Those, who would not accept him as a barber, he lectured for their effeminacy, and openly threatened them with God's judgment. Vita Wulstani in Ang. Sac. ii. 254.

for the reformation of religion, which was well nigh extinct in the land. "Aid and counsel? What do you mean?" asked the king. "Give orders for the convocation of a synod, for no synod has been held since you were made king." "That will I do," replied the king, "when I think fit; it depends not on your will, but on mine. We will talk of this at some other time."

Certainly a more inopportune occasion, for broaching this subject, could not have been selected. The royal mind was engrossed by the preparation for war, and it was not probable, that William would permit a synod to be held, when he was himself absent from the country. But the king, who had not yet lost his temper, soon after said, with a sarcastic smile, not unusual to him, "And pray may I ask on what subjects you would treat in your synod?" Then the archbishop gave him a deplorable account of the spiritual destitution of the country, and of the low state of morals. The vengeance, which, of old, rained fire and brimstone upon the cities of the plain, might be expected to consume the inhabitants of England, where vice, in its grossest forms, had been introduced by the Normans, and no steps had been taken for its suppression. The king listened impatiently, and desired that the subject might be dropped.

A silence ensued. It was broken by Anselm, who either did not observe or would not regard, the irritation of William: "There is, by the bye, one other thing of which I wish to remind you. There are many abbeys in England without abbots, and the consequence is, that the monks, released from the restraints of discipline, are leading dissolute lives, while the better sort are deprived on their death-beds of the comforts of religion. I do therefore advise you, I beseech you, I admonish you, that you straightway appoint abbots to those disorganised monasteries, lest, in the perdition, which awaits the guilty

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monks in their ruined monasteries, you, yourself, which God forbid, should be involved." The king could not stand this. The abbeys alluded to, were exempt from episcopal jurisdiction: he therefore turned fiercely upon the archbishop, exclaiming, "What is that to you? are not the abbeys mine? You do what you will with your own, and surely I may do what I will with mine." The archbishop heeded not the angry man; but, with irritating calmness, he replied; "Yours they are as their advocate, to protect and defend them, but not to attack and rob. They are the property of God, and are designed not to pay the expenses of your wars but to support his ministers. You have your estates and rents, they should suffice for your expenses, let the Church enjoy her own." "This conversation," said the king, "is offensive to me. You know very well, that your predecessor would never have dared to speak thus to my father. Go. I can do nothing for you."

The imperturbable archbishop rose quietly and retired. He could not understand, why the king should be thus offended; and the king could adduce no specific ground of offence, the real offence being given, not so much by what was said, as by the insolent way of saying it.

The archbishop commissioned the bishops, to act as mediators and to make peace between him and the king. When they asked what the archbishop's fault had been, the king stated that he had no fault, of which to accuse him: but when they expressed the archbishop's desire to be received into the king's favour, William facetiously remarked, "You have assigned no particular reason why I should wish to extend it to him."

The bishops were acquainted, from experience, with the humour and the venality of the king, and of course they understood what he meant. They explained to Anselm, that the king might be persuaded to listen to his

advice, if a sufficient offering were made to the treasury; and, as practical men, they advised the payment.* From the archbishop's own showing, the condition of the country and of the Church was such, as to require immediate attention, and it was desirable both that a synod should be convened, and that the civil power should be willing to enforce its decisions. This was one great end to be aimed at. To purchase the sanction and authority of the crown was not, so far as the crown was concerned, the preferable or most dignified mode of proceeding,—but it was the only practicable course.

But Anselm was as slow to take, as he was supercilious in giving, advice. He could only look at an act in the abstract. He could not take into consideration its relative bearings. He was now, as the single juror, who complained of being associated with eleven obstinate men. He had been so long accustomed to see his words recorded, as the dictates of infallible wisdom, that it never crossed his mind, when a difference of opinion arose, that the majority of his brethren might possibly be right, and he himself peradventure in error. If he began by bribing the king, he remarked, he would only offer encouragement for renewed and increased demands. The clergy were already so heavily taxed, that he could not think of adding to their burdens. Besides, to barter for the king's favour, would be to deal with him for hire as for a horse or an ass.

The bishops suggested that he might, at least, renew his offer of the five hundred pounds. But no,—the archbishop had already offered it twice; it would be

* Although during the Norman Period justice was fairly administered, yet large sums were frequently demanded in the King's Court before a hearing could be obtained. It was this principle that Rufus applied in Anselm's case:—"I will hear him, but he must make it worth my while to do so."

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undignified on his part to subject himself to another refusal. Besides, he had promised to give it to the poor. He would only permit the bishops to inform the king, that, if the king would treat him as his archbishop and spiritual father, he would find Anselm prepared to render to him all the assistance he should have, at any time, a right to expect.

When the bishops reported the conversation to the king, his anger knew no bounds. "Tell him," he cried, "I hated him yesterday, I hate him to-day, and to the end of my life I will hate him more and more. Never will he be regarded by me as my archbishop and spiritual father. His benedictions and prayers I execrate and reject. Let him go to — any place he will. I am about to sail. He need not remain in attendance any longer — to me his benediction shall not be given."

The archbishop returned to Canterbury, there to receive the adulation to which he was accustomed from monks and women, to utter words of wisdom, and to pursue those studies, from which it would have been well for himself and the Church, if he had never been distracted. No attempt was made to correct the abuses, which were acknowledged to exist in the Church, or the immoralities by which the whole land was defiled. We do not read of any provincial visitation. He would not condescend to purchase the power of holding a synod; he dared not act in defiance of the king's will. He had done what it was his duty to do, and he must leave the rest to Providence. One thing, however, disturbed him, and he was reminded of a deficiency whenever he officiated as archbishop: he had not yet obtained the pall. This weighed upon his mind.

On December the 29th, 1094, the king returned in an ill humour from Normandy, his expedition having failed. Anselm demanded an interview, and it was granted him

at Illingham, about three miles distant from Shaftesbury. The king expected a renewed application for a synod, but was surprised by the archbishop's stating his desire to go to Rome that he might receive his pall from the pope. "Which pope?" asked the king. "Urban II." was the reply. "But," exclaimed the king, fiercely, "him I have not acknowledged; and you are as well aware as I am, that neither I nor my father have ever permitted any one to declare himself in favour of a pope, whose title has not been admitted by us."

Anselm was clearly in the wrong. His first step should have been to call upon William to keep the promise formerly made to the archbishop, and to decide publicly, whether he would admit the claims of Urban or those of Clement. As Anselm, while Abbot of Bec, had received Urban as his pope, if the king had chosen Clement, the archbishop might have resigned. But he had no right whatever, to make his election, irrespectively of the royal authority. William, with justice, represented the support of Urban, as a breach of Anselm's oath of fealty: he might, he said, just as well have made a direct attack upon the crown.

Anselm demanded an investigation to be made by the peers and prelates. If they decided, that obedience to the pope was incompatible with fidelity to the crown, he would leave the kingdom, until the king should acknowledge the pope, to whom Anselm was determined not to renounce his obedience for a single moment.*

The king, confident in the justice of his position, appointed the subject to be brought under discussion, at a meeting about to be held at Rockingham. The meeting took place on the fifth Sunday in Lent, the 11th of March 1095.

We are not to confound the councils held by the

* Ep. iii. 24.

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Norman kings, either with the Saxon Witenagemot or with the parliaments of a later period. The assembly consisted of vassals, who had sworn to defend the rights of their suzerain. They met as peers.* They met on an equality, being themselves suzerains, in respect to their own vassals, and all vassals to the same supreme suzerain, the king. Their duty was twofold: to maintain the rights of the suzerain; and to prevent the suzerain from exacting more than his due, from a vassal.

In the present case, they clearly distinguished between what was due from them to Anselm, regarded as their spiritual pastor; and what was due from Anselm to the king, as from a vassal to the suzerain. This distinction Anselm either did not understand or craftily endeavoured to confound. When the council assembled in the chapel of the castle of Rockingham, the archbishop opened the proceedings with a statement of his own view of his case, and complained, that he was reduced to the dilemma of either forfeiting his fealty to the king or of renouncing his obedience to the pope; he called upon his suffragans to give him their counsel and support.

* "The vassals of one suzerain established around him, upon the same territory, invested with fiefs of the same rank, were designated, in the Middle Ages, by a word which has remained in the language of modern times, by the word *pares*, peers. I know no other word from the tenth to the fourteenth century intended to express their relation. All those terms which, in ancient languages and our own, marked the union, the relations of the inhabitants of the same country, the words *co-citizens*, *co-patriots*, &c., are unknown in the feudal language: the only word which resembles them, the word *co-vassalli* (co-vassals), is a scientific expression, invented at a posterior epoch, in order to satisfy the wants of learning, but which is not found in the original monuments of feudal society. I repeat, I have seen there, as far as I can recollect, no term whose object is to express the association of vassals among themselves, independently of all contact with the suzerain, their direct and personal relations. The word *pares* is the only one which designates them in common, and by the same qualification." — *Guizot*, iii. 168.

The bishops were not to be induced, by any eloquence or artifice of Anselm, to change the plea. They were not there, as in a synod, to debate the question on religious grounds; they had been summoned, as barons, to decide between a vassal and the suzerain. The religious question, they said, must be left to Anselm's own judgment; what was now required was, that Anselm, having violated the law of the land, should make an unconditional submission to the king. When that was done, the question, whether Urban or Clement should be acknowledged pope, would be open for discussion. All that they could do was, to mediate between the archbishop and the king, and this office they offered to undertake.

As it was Sunday, an adjournment took place; and it was hoped, that Anselm would be brought to reason, during the night. But on the following morning, when the barons and bishops assembled in the chapel, Anselm merely repeated his request that they would assist him with their advice. They again most clearly stated, that, if he wished to argue the case on religious grounds, they would say nothing. This was not the time, the place, or the object. It was not a synod. It was a meeting of the vassals of the crown, and all the advice that they could give was, that the archbishop should submit to the king. The bishops, who behaved extremely well throughout this affair, having hitherto seen their way clearly, were now perplexed as to their mode of proceeding, their earnest desire being to promote peace. They and the lay barons were to be seen standing, in groups of three or four, engaged in earnest conversation, until the evening approached, when they held a general consultation. The result of their deliberation they laid before the king; and a deputation of peers and prelates having waited upon Anselm, addressed him by their

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spokesman thus: "Our lord the king desires, at once, to hear your determination on those points only, which were discussed between you and him at Illingham, when you wished to defer your answer until now. The matter is notorious, and needs no explanation. You know, however, that the whole realm complains of you, that you are attempting to deprive our common master of his crown, the glory of his sovereign power. Whoever trenches on that, which pertains to his royal dignity, trenches on his crown and kingdom. For we cannot admit, that the one can properly exist without the other. Recollect, moreover, we beseech you, that this Urban can render you no assistance, if our lord the king is offended with you; neither can he injure you for this transgression. Renounce obedience to him. Shake off the yoke of subjection, act in freedom, as becomes an Archbishop of Canterbury; in all your actions, await the will and bidding of our lord the king. Acknowledge your fault in opposing him, and, like a wise man, agree to what he now demands of you. He may then grant you forgiveness, and thus your enemies, who now exult at your misfortunes, will feel shame at your restoration. This, this we beseech you, we advise you, we declare to be necessary, both for us and for yourself. We positively affirm it." He replied, "I hear what you say, but, not to speak on other points, I will on no account renounce obedience to the pope. Evening is now coming on, the cause, if it please you, may be deferred until to-morrow; meanwhile, I will take counsel with myself, and make answer as God shall vouchsafe to direct me."

The deputation returned to the king, and advised him to proceed, at once, to the final decision of the affair, which had now been sufficiently discussed. The king gave them full authority to act, according to their judgment.

On the morrow, they presented themselves before the

archbishop, who was in the chapel. The Bishop of Durham * was appointed to address him, and he did so in these words: "I have heard the king's complaints against you; he says, that, as much as in you lies, you have robbed him of his honour; since, in his own realm of England, without the authority of his decree, you acknowledge Odo, Bishop of Ostia, to be pope; and after thus robbing him, you desire him to grant you a truce, that you may be able to justify the robbery by your own inventions. Reinvest him first, if you please, with the honour due to his sovereignty, and then seek a truce. Or know, that he imprecates the hatred of Almighty God upon himself,—and we, his faithful servants, applaud his imprecation,—if he grant, even for an hour, the truce which you ask until to-morrow. Give, then, an immediate answer to our sovereign's words; or you will, most certainly, at once receive the sentence due to your presumption. Do not consider this a trifling matter. We are greatly grieved thereat,—and no wonder, for of that, which our master and yours esteems the highest prerogative of his power, in which also he certainly excels all other potentates, you, as much as in you lies, are unjustly depriving him; and, in so doing, you are violating the fidelity, which you swore to him, and are involving all his friends in this difficulty."

Anselm remained firm to his purpose of making the question one of religion, and not of politics. Not condescending to notice the address, he quietly asked, "Who can prove that, because I refuse to renounce obedience to the Supreme Pontiff of the holy Roman Church, I violate

* Eadner says, "The Bishop of Durham is a man more distinguished for volubility of tongue than for a sound understanding, and would himself have no disinclination to the See of Canterbury if it were vacant." To his inability may be attributed the failure of the deputation.

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the fidelity I owe to an earthly king? Let him come forward, and he will find me prepared, in the name of the Lord, to make answer, as I ought and when I ought."

Was it perversity, stupidity, or craft, which thus resolutely misrepresented the case? The question was not as to the authority of the pope,—whether he had any in the Church of England, at this time, or not,—but simply, be his authority what it might—who was the pope?

The whole affair now became entangled. The king, although violently enraged, was not prepared to resort to extreme measures, and, consequently, he knew not what steps to take against the archbishop. He proposed to the bishops to bring Anselm to trial in a synod. But the bishops were consistent throughout. They had no authority to try their metropolitan, and they resisted the introduction of the religious element into the controversy, now when it was proposed by the king, as they had done before when it was attempted by the archbishop. The king suggested, that they might withdraw from his communion, and so make him feel ashamed of his conduct. This they could do; but to this course the barons would not pledge themselves. They also drew the distinction between what was their duty to Anselm, considered as their spiritual pastor, and the support, which was due to the king, when one of his vassals had violated the laws of the realm.

At length, the king, in despair, yielded to the advice of his peers, and, all parties being heartily weary of the contest, the matter was, at their suggestion, permitted to drop for the present.

The archbishop returned to his studies and his devotions but not to the enjoyment of his friends. With inconceivable littleness of mind, the king, to show his superiority, ordered out of the country Baldwin of

Tournay, who was considered Anselm's right hand; together with two of his other friends, who had accompanied him to England. Anselm's chamberlain was seized in the archbishop's apartment, and dragged to prison. When depredations were committed on the episcopal estates, no redress was granted.

All this Anselm was prepared to bear. His was a mind to court persecution, rather that to avoid it; and, however mistaken we, with the experience of subsequent ages, and with greater light, may perceive him to have been, he thought he was doing what was right, and his conscience did not reproach him. But he was astonished, when he heard one morning, as he was preparing to attend the cathedral, a proclamation from the king, commanding, on the part of the king's lieges, an acknowledgment of Urban II. as pope. He was astonished, that such a measure should have been adopted, without any communication with the Archbishop of Canterbury. He was more than astonished, when he received information that Urban's legate was residing with the king, that he had passed, incognito, through Canterbury, without having left his name even, at the archiepiscopal palace.

The fact was, that William had been guilty of one of those acts of impolicy, into which narrow-minded tyrants are hurried, when, regardless of the public welfare, they only seek the indulgence of their own vindictive feelings. It had been arranged, that the controversy between the king and the archbishop should be brought again under the notice of the peers and prelates, at Whitsuntide. The king determined to be prepared. He had two things at heart. His first wish was, to secure the deposition of Anselm; his next wish, if this did not succeed, was to be, himself, the channel for conveying the pallium,—a proceeding which would be offensive and humiliating to the archbishop. Throughout this controversy we perceive

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that the thing which exasperated William was, the quiet assumption, by Anselm, of a co-ordinate jurisdiction. Anselm had compared the archbishop and the king to two oxen yoked to one plough; and William had said, "I will tolerate no equal in this realm." If he could bribe the pope to send a pallium, not to the archbishop, but to himself, to be disposed of as he might think fit, he would be able to control his opponent and humble his adversary.

The king, in consequence, sent two of his chaplains privately to Rome, where they were to act as his ambassadors, and to make choice of the most compliant of the two pretenders to the papal throne. They fixed upon Urban; and Urban, anxious for the patronage of the king, was profuse in his promises. He agreed, that the pallium should be sent, not to the archbishop, but to the king. But to this arrangement the archbishop, he was well aware, would demur, and therefore the whole transaction was, for the present, to be secret.

Walter, Bishop of Albano, was appointed Urban's legate, to convey the pallium to William, and of his arrival in England we have already spoken. He made himself extremely acceptable to the king; and, profligate as William's court was, the legate was, nevertheless, a favourite with the courtiers. Nothing shows more clearly the truth of what has been already suggested, that, bad as William was, he was not more unmanageable than his father, when he fell into skilful hands. The wily legate condescended to arts, from which the holy Anselm would have revolted; but he carried his points, without forfeiting the royal favour. He expressed the earnest desire of Urban to meet the king's wishes,—but how was Urban to act, unless he was acknowledged to be the pope? This was so plain, that the proclamation was issued. And now could not Anselm be deposed? This

the legate found to be quite impossible. If he had done wrong as a subject, he had certainly not been guilty of any offence as a metropolitan. And then, as to the pallium; it was entirely contrary to the whole policy of the court of Rome, to let it pass, through lay hands, to the archbishop; therefore, the legate moved for delay, and employed all his diplomacy to effect a reconciliation between the two powers. This, of course, could only be accomplished by mutual concessions. The person most difficult to manage was the archbishop, although the present proceeding showed, that he had not much favour to expect from that power, in the support of which he had involved the country in trouble, and delayed the reformation of the Church. Whether he took an oath is uncertain, but there is no doubt of his having made a promise, to the effect, that he would observe the laws and customs of England. The charge against Anselm was, that, although Archbishop of Canterbury, he persevered in violating the laws and customs of the Church and realm of England. When, therefore, a solemn promise was obtained, that he would, for the future, perform his duty as a subject, and as an English Churchman; neither the king nor the bishops had anything further to demand, and the way was now prepared for an amicable conference.

The king was at Windsor, the archbishop at Mortlake. For the purpose of opening a negotiation Anselm removed to Hayes, another episcopal residence. And here, we are offended by what can only be called a pettifogging attempt on the part of the king to extort money from the archbishop. William possessed no dignity of character, and was always in want of money. The bishops, anxious to make peace and willing to purchase it, were persuaded by the legate and the king, to suggest to Anselm the payment of a certain sum into the royal treasury, as a conciliatory measure, and the first step

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towards that good understanding with the king, which they desired to effect.

But Anselm was impracticable; he would not insult the king by offering to purchase his favour. It was then urged, that the king had been put to considerable expense to procure the pallium; if Anselm were to receive it, he ought surely to reimburse the king for what he had expended. Anselm knew, as well as the bishops themselves, that it was not out of any regard for him that the pallium had been obtained, and this point was not pressed.

It must have required all the art of the Bishop of Albano, to keep the king in good humour. When we find that he was not roused to anger by the archbishop's refusal, we must conclude, that William had already made up his mind how to act, and that the demand for money was only an afterthought. He would consent to a reconciliation,—but he thought, that he might as well see if something could not, at the same time, be squeezed out of the old man. He did not expect it; but there could be no harm in making the attempt.

But, however we are to account for it, certain it is, that the Bishop of Albano carried his point. The king sent a gracious message to Anselm, to the effect that he was prepared to receive him, as his archbishop and spiritual father. When Anselm arrived at Windsor, he met with a cordial reception, and the attention and kindness of the king were very marked. Anselm and William were engaged in close conversation, when the happy legate approached them, and, in the words of the Psalmist, he exclaimed: "Behold, how good and pleasant a thing it is for brethren to dwell together in unity." *

These happy days were not even disturbed by Anselm's

* Ps. cxxxiii. 1. Eadmer, p. 391.

refusal to receive the pallium from the hands of the king. We are impressed with the consummate skill, which the Bishop of Albano displayed, as a diplomatist, when we find that he was able to persuade William to consent to the frustration of the whole of his deep laid plan for humiliating Anselm. The king had stipulated that the pallium should be given, by his own hands, to any person he might select; he had been persuaded to a reconciliation with Anselm, and now he consented that it should be placed, by the royal command, on the altar in Canterbury cathedral; while Anselm, on the other hand, was led to believe that, by taking it himself from the altar, he received it as from the hand of St. Peter.

The archbishop now returned to Canterbury to make ready for what was to him a great event. On the 10th of June, 1095, the third Sunday after Trinity, the legate entered the city in procession, bearing the pallium, in a silver casket. Anselm met the procession, arrayed in the episcopal vestments; and, to mark his reverence for the ornament, without his shoes or sandals.* When the united processions entered the cathedral, the legate deposited the casket on the altar. The archbishop ascended the steps, unpacked the box, raised the pallium in

* In the "Officia in Coronationem R. Richardi II." occurs the following passage: — "Hiis sub universorum concordia peractis, provideatur quod in Aula Regia majori sedes eminens sit, pannis sericis et inauratis decenter ornata, super quem dictus Rex regnaturus cum omni mansuetudine et reverentia elevetur, ipse tamen prius ut moris est balneato et induto mundissimis vestibus, et caligis tantummodo calciato."— *Monumenta Ritualia*, iii. 67. Upon this Mr. Maskell observes in a note, that we have from this passage the meaning of the term "barefooted" in the old chronicles. The meaning is, when the expression is used, that the person to whom it is applied wore, not sandals or soles, but buskins only. Prynne, in his "Signal Loyalty," has printed a "Forma Coronationis," where again the meaning of "barefoot" is explained: "Item dicto die princeps coronandus — tantummodo caligis sine sotularibus calcietur," p. 242.

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his hand, kissed it, handed it round to the other clergy to be kissed, and then, putting it over his shoulders, performed divine service with great solemnity and pomp.

The legate had no difficulty in persuading the bishops to tender their allegiance, as suffragans, to Anselm, from whose communion, when at Rockingham, they had promised the king to withdraw. But he seems to have had more difficulty with the archbishop himself. In palliating the conduct of the bishops, the legate had insinuated that Anselm's own position was not unassailable or without difficulty. He had received investiture from the king, which, although the custom of the Church of England, had been expressly condemned by the Church of Rome. And he had been consecrated by whom? Certainly by bishops who were not in communion with Urban, and who were therefore regarded at Rome as schismatical. And then the Church of England, according to its reformed constitution under the Conqueror and Lanfranc, yielded a supremacy to the king which was incompatible with obedience to the pope.

The legate carried his immediate object, and was able to induce the archbishop to receive his suffragans into favour; but he had left a sting behind, which soon began to fester in the tender conscience of Anselm. The archbishop felt, that the difficulty of his position was such, as to render it important, for the ease of his mind, that he should have a personal interview with the pope.

Meantime, the external face of affairs was smooth. The friendly disposition of the king was evinced by his recalling Baldwin of Tournay, and the other persons attached to the archbishop, whom he had formerly exiled.

Anselm himself showed a desire to render pecuniary assistance to William, when he could do so consistently with his own views of propriety. The first Crusade took place in 1096, and Robert, Duke of Normandy, offered

to pawn his duchy to the King of England for three years on the payment of a sum of 10,000*l.* silver, for his equipment. Anselm, on the occasion, borrowed 200 marks, half silver and half gold, from the treasury of the church of Canterbury; and, as no complaints were made, we may presume that the king considered this to be a sufficient donation.

We do not read of any measures adopted by Anselm to carry into effect those social improvements and reforms, of which he had frequently stated the necessity. To a mind so thoroughly unpractical, it would appear that this could only be accomplished by a synod,—and a synod he was not permitted to hold. We find him, however, employed, during this period, in the consecration of bishops; and among them, he consecrated at Winchester, on the 20th of April, 1096, Samuel ô Haingly to be Bishop of Dublin; and on the 28th of December in the same year, at Canterbury, Malchus, to be Bishop of Waterford.

But it was not long before a fresh cause of dispute arose, and again the archbishop put himself in the wrong. In the early part of the next year, William returned to England, and opened a campaign against the Welsh. The archbishop was called upon to supply his feudal contingent. The men were sent, but they were not able-bodied, neither were they properly equipped. Anselm was not perhaps himself capable of attending to the temporal affairs of the archbishopric; but he might, at least, have appointed proper officers, to see, that the terms, on which he held his property were properly complied with. His negligence was culpable; and when the first baron of his realm insulted the king by sending to him a body of troops with whom even Falstaff would have been ashamed to pass through the good city of Coventry, the anger of William, a warlike king, taking pride in his troops, cannot surprise us. It was virtually a violation of

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the archbishop's promise to adhere to the laws and customs of the country; and it was precisely one of those cases, which ought to be brought under the cognisance of the peers. The king gave notice to the archbishop, that it would be left for them to decide, when they assembled at Whitsuntide, whether the archbishop had adequately performed his duty as a vassal of the Crown, and, in the event of his being culpable, the amount of fine, which he ought to pay.

Anselm, with his usual self-complacency, did not pause to reflect whether he was to blame, or whether, if so, compensation might not be fairly demanded: he meekly threw the whole blame upon the king, saying, in the words of Scripture: "We looked for peace, and there was no good; and for a time of healing, and behold trouble." *

The words were, of course, repeated to the king, and it was in no good humour that he met the peers at Whitsuntide 1097. William was preparing to bring his accusation against the archbishop, when he was frustrated by a proceeding in which, as in some other actions of Anselm, we are at a loss to decide, whether there was more of effrontery or of simplicity. The archbishop frustrated the king's designs, by proffering a request that he might be permitted to proceed to Rome. He stated his desire to consult the Apostolic, as the pope was sometimes called. William, with his usual sarcasm, expressed his surprise at such a proposal. He could not believe it possible, he said, that such a man as Anselm could have committed any sin so deadly, that nothing less would suffice for his pardon, than an absolution pronounced by the pope himself; and, as for counsel, every one knew, that Anselm was far better qualified to advise the pope than the pope to advise Anselm.

* Jer. xiv. 19. Eadmer, p. 396.

When the king's refusal was officially signified, the archbishop replied, with that calm determination to carry his point which is peculiarly offensive to a man already angry, "If he refuses permission to me now, he will probably grant it at some future time, for I shall never cease to ask for permission to go."

William again let the controversy drop. By way of compromise, he withdrew his prosecution, and permitted the archbishop to return home in peace. He knew well, that Anselm's object was to concert measures with the pope, by which he might evade his promise to adhere to the laws and customs of England; and he had no wish either to involve himself in a quarrel with the Church of Rome, or, having been duped once, to purchase the pope's favour.

No attempt was made by Anselm to conciliate the king; and he seems to have forgotten the synod. Whether he looked to the good of his own soul, or to the interests of Christianity, all seemed now, in his opinion, to depend on his going to Rome. He attended the court in August, when he renewed his petition. The king was still patient, but the permission was not granted. The archbishop attended the assembly at Winchester in the October following. He renewed his petition. The king's patience was exhausted. He complained that the man had become insufferably troublesome. He was quite aware that the king was determined not to accede to his request; but yet he persevered in his petitions. The king gave notice that the archbishop, if he troubled him, on this subject, again, should be sued in a court of law, and be made to pay a fine.

Anselm replied, that he only asked for what was just, and that, in justice, he ought not to be opposed. The king denied the justice of his request, and said, "Let him know for certain, that, if he goes, I shall immediately take pos-

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session of the archbishopric, and never receive him in the capacity of archbishop again."

It was now clear, either that Anselm must obey the king, or, going without his permission, pay the penalty in the sacrifice of all the property of the see. A man, like Lanfranc or like Urban, would have let the matter drop for the present, and have trusted to a change of mind in the king, when his anger should be appeased.

It was in the hope, that Anselm would pursue such a course as this, that it was proposed to adjourn all further discussion till the next day.

On the next day, the barons and prelates waited upon the archbishop, to inquire, whether he had come to any fresh determination. They received an answer in the negative; he had only agreed to the adjournment as a matter of courtesy. His mind was fully made up; and therefore, he continued: "I beseech my lord that, kindly and willingly, as becomes him, he will grant me the permission I seek. It is for my own salvation, for the cause of Christianity, and for his own honour that I design to go." They replied: "If you have anything else to say, say it. As for permission to go, it is utterly useless to speak of it. The king will never grant it."

Anselm rejoined, "If he will not give me permission, I shall certainly act, according to the Scriptural injunction, and obey God rather than man." He knew the alternative: if he were to go, without the king's permission, he would forfeit all his property. This sacrifice he declared himself prepared to make. But the prelates and nobles thought, that when he found the king firm, he would come to another mind upon the subject. The Bishop of Winchester expressed the general sentiment when he said: "My lord, the king and his nobles are well aware that you are not a man easily moved from any resolution you have formed. But it is not easy to

believe that you will remain immoveable in your present determination of sacrificing a post of such honour and usefulness, as the pontificate you occupy, for the mere purpose of going to Rome." With some contempt for the speaker, expressed in his manner, the archbishop replied, "Yes, verily, immoveable I am."

A protracted discussion took place, after which the nobles returned to the king. Anselm, meantime, bethought him of sending for the bishops, to ask their opinion upon the subject. He was still unable to perceive, that the question did not relate to theology, but simply to the duty of a subject to his sovereign. There could be no paramount necessity for his going to Rome. And most certainly there were good reasons for his remaining in his church, and for his keeping his promise to obey the laws of the land. The bishops had a reverence for his office, his character, his learning, and his piety, but they were practical men. It was really a political question. They refused to regard it in any other light; and, on such a point, they were prepared, as patriots, to stand, not by the pope, but by their king. Anselm, with the unconscious insolence which attributed corrupt motives to every one but himself, and assuming the tone of a martyr, exclaimed, "Then go you to the king, I will abide in God."

Soon after, the result of the deliberations in the king's presence was communicated to the archbishop. He was told, that the king was offended and exasperated by his conduct. He was reminded, that, when the opinion of the country was given against him, at Rockingham, the king consented to a reconciliation, on condition of his undertaking, thenceforward, to observe the laws and customs of the kingdom, and faithfully to maintain them against all opponents. "Trusting to this stipulation," they continued, "the king hoped to live in peace for the future. But,

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instead of this, you openly violate your promise by threatening to go to Rome without his permission: a thing unheard of in this kingdom. It is contrary to the customs of the country for any, even of the princes, to adopt such a course, more especially is it unbecoming in you. That he may not be again troubled in a matter of this kind by you or by any one else desiring to follow your example, the king requires and commands you to promise, on your oath, never, in any matter whatever, to appeal to the see of St. Peter or his vicar;—if you will not do this, the sooner you leave the country the better. Even if, by taking an oath to this effect, you prefer to remain in England, the king is still determined, for your past conduct in troubling him upon the subject, to sue you in his court of law,—the Curia Regis."

With the exception of the littleness of the last threat, in which we trace the king himself, this was a wise and patriotic decision.

The deputation returned to the king, and were surprised, soon after their arrival, to see Anselm, moved by a sudden impulse, make his appearance, attended by his retinue, and assuming a seat at the king's right hand. The archbishop recapitulated what had been said to him by the deputation, and inquired whether, in delivering their mandates, they had acted with the king's authority. On the king's confirming the statement, he addressed him thus: "That I promised to observe your laws and customs, that I promised faithfully to co-operate with you in defending them from all assailants, I admit. But I should like to know whether you admit of that distinction, which, at the time of giving the promise, I am quite certain I myself made; that I would observe the customs of your realm, so far as they are in accordance with the principles of rectitude and the law of God?"

This, in any one but so good a man, would be regarded

as a mere evasion; he made a promise, which was to mean nothing, if the observance of it were inconvenient to him who made it. The indignant feelings of the assembly were excited, and all declared that of rectitude and God no mention had been made. "Well," exclaimed Anselm, "what of that? Far be it from any Christian man to hold to laws and customs, or to observe anything, which is known to be opposed to rectitude or to God." At this, they all murmured and shook their heads: they saw that it was the misapplication of a truism. But Anselm continued: "How is it that you assert it to be contrary to the usage of the land, for me, in the cause of my soul's health and for the discipline of the Church which I am pledged to uphold, to seek aid from the blessed Peter and his vicar? This custom I declare to be contrary to rectitude and to God, and by every servant of God it ought to be rejected and contemned." He then went on, discoursing upon the superior claim to his allegiance which the pope possessed, until he was interrupted by cries, "A sermon, a sermon." The excitement was great, but nothing could move the self-satisfied archbishop. He waited till silence was obtained, and then went on: "As to your command, that I shall never hereafter, in any cause whatever, appeal to the blessed Peter or his vicar, I say that such a command is disgraceful to you as a Christian. To swear this, what is it but to forswear St. Peter? and he who forswears him, indubitably forswears Christ, who set him over His Church. When, to please you, O King, I deny Christ, I shall, I confess, then be guilty of a fault from which no court of yours will be able to exonerate me."

Upon this, he arose and took his departure. On his way to his lodgings, he was overtaken, soon after, by messengers from the king, who stated that if he persevered in his intention to leave the kingdom, he might not

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take anything with him. "I have horse-trappings, clothes, and furniture," said the archbishop, "which some perhaps will say belong to the king. Whether he allow me these things or not, I will depart, naked and on foot, rather than desist from my undertaking."

When the messengers reported what had passed, the king was ashamed of having indulged in such a paltry display of temper; and said he had been misunderstood. "This is not what I meant,—I did not say that he should go naked and on foot. On the eleventh day from this, let him be at the port, to embark, and a messenger from me will tell him what he may take."

The softened speech of the king evidently moved the archbishop. Instead of sending a message, he himself returned to the presence chamber, and with a benignant smile, he said: "I go, my Lord. However sorry I may feel on your account at what you have determined, on my own I bear it gladly. Your welfare does not the less affect my heart; and, not knowing when I may see you again, I now, as a spiritual father to a son, as an Archbishop of Canterbury to the King of England, offer you my benediction, if you do not reject it." "Your benediction," said the king, "I do not reject." He bowed his head. The archbishop with his right hand made over him the sign of the cross. They never met again.*

III. Anselm left England in October 1097, and after a stormy passage, he arrived at Wissant or Witsand, the Portus Itius or Iccius of the Romans, between Calais and Boulogne; at that time, and until the taking of Calais in 1347, the usual port, to which passengers from England steered their vessels.

The divided state of the Church rendered a journey to Rome neither pleasant nor easy. When Anselm sojourned

* Eadmer, Hist. Nov. lib. ii. p. 402, ed. Migne.

at places where Urban was the pope, he was received as a saint and confessor; but, as he passed through the provinces of the empire, where Clement was the pope, the saint became a schismatic, and was obliged to travel in disguise. Even in Rome itself, there was danger to be encountered; for, while Pope Urban reigned in the Lateran palace, Pope Clement commanded in the castle of St. Angelo.

Anselm was to Urban an honoured, rather than a welcome guest. To have as his visitor, one who was reverenced for his sanctity; and to command, in his counsels, the wisdom of the most learned divine and the deepest metaphysician of the age, was an advantage of which Urban knew the value. But, at the same time, he could not afford to come to an open rupture with the King of England, in behalf of a friend, whose discretion, as an archbishop, was not equal to his zeal; and who, though a deferential advocate of papal authority, had damaged the cause he desired to serve. Anselm was overwhelmed by the kindness, and pained by the compliments of the pope. But Urban soon perceived that the atmosphere of the Lateran was even more uncongenial to his visitor, than that of Canterbury. With considerate kindness towards Anselm, and at the same time to relieve himself from the embarrassment, which was occasioned by the presence of one, who could neither appreciate nor understand the political difficulties of the see of Rome, but whose opinion, if present, must have been occasionally asked; Urban advised his friend to accept an invitation from one of his former pupils at Bec, who now presided as abbot over the cloister of St. Salvator, near Telese. Finding the heat at this place oppressive, Anselm soon after removed to an estate of the monastery named Sclavia.

Here, from his mountain home, Anselm looked down on "the happy Campania;" and, cut off, as it seemed, from

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the world, he was invigorated, after his travels, in body and in mind. "Yea, here will I build my tabernacle, here I shall freely breathe," was his remark, as the Abbot John consigned him to the care of a single monk, and directed the people, who managed the property to receive him as their master. He now returned to his studies, and to the pleasures of a contemplative life. He completed or revised his "Cur Deus Homo," with the substance of which his pupils had long been familiar, and some imperfect copies of which had got abroad. To his retreat persons soon flocked from all quarters, for consolation or advice, to enjoy his conversation and to receive his blessing. He felt that he was in his proper element; and he earnestly desired to resign his bishopric. But Urban, in strong though affectionate terms, remonstrated with him on the subject, and pointed out the sin he would commit, in forsaking the post which had been assigned to him by his God.

In the October of 1098, he was invited by the pope to attend a council which was held at Bari.* One hundred and eighty-three bishops were present. In the midst of them sat Anselm, with Eadmer his faithful biographer, at his feet. Eadmer had his eyes open, and while his master was absorbed in thought, he was observing the good taste with which St. Nicolas's Church, where the council assembled, was decorated and carpeted for the occasion. He had never attended a council before, and he noted that the Pope appeared in his chasuble or vestment, together with the pallium. The other bishops were arranged according to the priority of their consecration arrayed in their copes. When the Bishop of Beneventum rose, Eadmer was delighted to see that no cope was so splendid as his. While Eadmer was yet a boy, Edwi,

* Labbe and Cossart, tom. x. p. 611; Mansi, t. xx. p. 950.

Blacheman, Farman and others had told him all about it. It had belonged to the Church of Canterbury; but in the time of Canute it had been given to a former Bishop of Beneventum, by Archbishop Ethelnoth. There had been a famine in Apulia, and the Bishop of Beneventum had gone on a begging expedition to England. There he received abundant alms from the celebrated Queen Emma; and he persuaded her to purchase an old piece of bone which he always carried with him, and called the arm of St. Bartholomew. The queen would not conclude the purchase, until the possessor of the relic had sworn, with many oaths, that the bone did once pertain to the body of St. Bartholomew; and it was then deposited, with much pomp, in the Cathedral of Canterbury. Ethelnoth was, at that time, archbishop, and he presented his mendicant brother with a cope of great magnificence, trimmed with gold fringe. When Eadmer saw the magnificent cope of the Bishop of Beneventum, he jogged Anselm to look at it; and, when the business of the day was over, to be quite sure of his fact, he ventured to address Archbishop Roffridus on the subject, and had the happiness to find the "Canterbury tale" confirmed.

Whether we take an interest or not in these antiquarian details, we are under an obligation to Eadmer for thus making known to us the character of his own mind and the kind of gossip which sometimes occurred in the cloisters of Canterbury.

Among the subjects, which the divided state of Christendom brought under discussion, the question arose concerning a reunion between the Greek and Latin Churches. It would seem that some Greeks were present, and they argued on their distinguishing doctrine, the procession of the Holy Ghost from the Father only. The pope undertook to refute them. He was not well up in the subject, but he had read Anselm "De Fide Trinitatis et de Incar-

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natione Verbi," and he argued with the plausibility of a clever man who had a general acquaintance with the controversy; until the Greeks propounded some objections which completely puzzled him. With much presence of mind, though with very little dignity, he then suddenly cried out, "My father and master, Anselm, Archbishop of the English, where art thou?"

In the press of business, in which the pope had been involved preparatory to the council, he had neglected to assign his place to Anselm, who, being in the midst of strangers, had with difficulty found a seat. The Archbishop of Canterbury now stood up; all eyes were turned towards the thin spare man who answered from the crowd "My lord and father, what is your will? Here am I." "What are you doing?" said the pope. "Why are you silent with the others? Come, come, I entreat you, come up here, and speaking in behalf of your mother and my mother, the Church, render me your help. For, as you see, these Greeks are struggling to deprive her of her integrity, and to involve us in their own impiety. Come to my assistance, for to assist me it is clear that God hath sent you here."

There was immediately a commotion around the papal throne. Room was straightway made for the stranger so distinguished by the pope. Of the bishops many had come from a distance, and while they pressed towards the platform to hear, they asked who Anselm was and whence he came. Silence was at length obtained, when the pope introduced Anselm to the meeting. He dwelt upon the archbishop's piety and learning; and, after an expression of admiration and respect, he alluded to his wrongs and sufferings.

Anselm was prepared to address the assembly; but a motion for adjournment was made, that they might be better able, on the morrow, to listen to the argument.

When the morrow came, the church was crowded at an early hour. From an elevated seat, Anselm began his discourse. He established from Scripture the orthodox doctrine that the Holy Ghost proceedeth from the Father and the Son; with a self-possession, force of argument, and power of eloquence which seemed like inspiration. The substance of this speech, was published as a treatise, "De Processione Spiritus Sancti contra Græcos;" it is one of the most celebrated of the works of Anselm. Anselm resumed his seat, with his head bent down and his eyes fixed on the ground, while all were in a state of enthusiasm around him. A deep Amen was the one response of the whole assembly, when Urban exclaimed "Blessed be thy heart and understanding; blessed be thy lips and the words which flow from them."

In such a council, the decision in favour of the Latin doctrine was, of course, unanimous; and as unanimous was the feeling, when, passing from the Greek Church to the Church of England, the pope proceeded to explain and denounce the conduct of William Rufus. He spoke of his simony and oppression; and stated that he had actually driven Anselm into exile, for no one reason except for his determination not to renounce his fealty and obedience to the pope. "Look at the life of the tyrant," he exclaimed, "who has been, time after time, delated before the Roman see in vain; for whose correction I have, many times, issued letters of admonition and censure, with what success is shown by the persecution and proscription of such a man as this. What think you? what is your sentence?" Their answer was, "The sentence is clear; there can be no doubt as to our judgment, if once, twice, thrice you have called him and he has refused to give heed to the admonition: he sets discipline at defiance and it only remains that he be

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stricken with the sword of St. Peter, that he be anathematized, until he repent and amend."

The pope arose, as if to utter the anathema of the council. Anselm interposed, and through his intercession averted the curse.

Anselm was a man so simple and straightforward, that we cannot suspect him of collusion with the pope. But Urban was a politician. It was policy on his part, to make a display of his power before the assembled bishops; but it would have been a suicidal act of impolicy, at this time, to break with the King of England; who, while resisting the papal aggression, nevertheless showed some undefined deference to the Roman see. We cannot but suppose, therefore, that Urban had discovered, in private conversation with Anselm, how, under the circumstances, he would act, and that the scene was ably conducted as he had designed.

We may fairly suspect Urban of this kind of diplomacy from what afterwards occurred. Both Anselm and the pope, soon after the arrival of the former at Rome, had written to the King of England. The pope had earnestly exhorted William to permit Anselm to return to England, with full liberty to exercise his archiepiscopal office. It was stipulated, that no measures were to be adopted before an answer was received; and yet, before the arrival of the answer, the pope made a show of acting. That he knew what he was about is clear from Eadmer's own statement, that he and his master accompanied the pope to Rome, at the termination of the council, there to await these letters from England.

Anselm's letter was not opened by the king, and his messenger was threatened with loss of his eyes if he did not immediately quit the country. A verbal answer to the pope's missive was brought by William of Warelwast, a short time after the Council of Bari. He had it in

command, to express the no little astonishment of the king, that it should ever enter into the pope's mind to demand a restitution of Anselm's property. The king had unequivocally declared that, if Anselm left the kingdom without his permission, the archiepiscopal domains should henceforth be united with those of the crown. As, in defiance of this threat, the archbishop had quitted the country, the law took its course, and the injustice, in this case, consisted in bringing an accusation against the king.

"But surely," said the pope, "he must have other matters of which to accuse the archbishop?" When the answer was given in the negative, the pope burst forth: "Who ever heard the like of this? for this one only thing, the king has robbed the primate of his kingdom, of all his goods,—for this one thing, that he appealed to the Apostolic See*, that he would not, in submission to the royal will, forego his intention of visiting the mother of all the churches, the Holy Church of Rome. Truly, and without fear of contradiction, I may say such a thing was never heard of in any age. And to bring me such a message as this, you most extraordinary of men, you have taken all the trouble of making this long journey! Return as speedily as possible, and tell the king that, if he would escape excommunication, he must make entire restitution; tell him that he must certify that he has done so, before the meeting of the council, which I intend to celebrate at Rome during the third week after Easter. If he neglect to do this, he may depend upon it he will have to undergo the sentence of damnation, which he richly deserves."

The pope ceased to speak. William of Warelwast

* William of Malmesbury, G. Pontif. lib. i. p. 127; Eadmer, p. 418, ed. Migne.

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quietly said: "Before I go I have some business to transact with you in private."

What passed in the secret conference is not known. But William of Warelwast did not leave Rome immediately; and by a judicious expenditure of the money he brought with him from England he secured friends in the papal court.

The fact soon transpired, that the pope had relented, and had granted a delay, till Michaelmas,—the 29th of September. It was a respite of nine months, for they were then celebrating the festival of Christmas. "Money," says William of Malmesbury, "prevailed, as it always does; I blush to record it, that, in so great a man, I speak of Urban, self-respect and zeal for God had fallen so low that he perverted justice for money."

Urban was not a man to damage the cause with which he had identified himself for money; but he was quite willing to make an opponent pay for what he had, probably, already made up his mind to do. He saw, and so did those who, acting with him, were willing to receive the English gold, that the Church of England was not yet prepared for papal domination. A wise man, however determined to carry his point, abides his time, and hurries nothing. This was always the policy in the court of Rome. The pope, uncontradicted, had assumed certain powers; he threatened to exercise them in the case of William. All this was clear gain. To have provoked resistance from a fierce godless man like William, supported by the barons and prelates of his kingdom, would have been a folly of which Urban was not likely to be guilty. Many things might occur within a few months, and the threat, if it had not immediate effect, would be long remembered and act as a precedent.

The open manner in which the bribery and corruption of the Roman authorities are mentioned by contemporary

authors, is sufficient to show that the practice, though condemned, was not thought very disgraceful. Those who suffered under it complained, but the parties accused seldom thought it worth their while to defend themselves.

In Eastern countries, at the present time, every one knows that he must pay for justice, and the same feeling prevailed in Europe during the middle age. In our own country, the public functionaries are beyond suspicion in this respect; no one would offer a bribe, because the indignant official, to whom the offer should be made, would feel it due to his own character to expose the offender. But, as late as the time of the first Georges, Sir Robert Walpole maintained that every man has his price. And, even in our own age, during the mania of railroad speculation, no secret was made of the fact that the votes of members of either house of Parliament might be influenced by a judicious distribution of shares. Men winked and laughed when such things were mentioned; nobody thought it right, but nobody thought it so wrong as it will be accounted by posterity. Until very lately, on election committees, men avowedly voted, not according to justice, but according to the will of party leaders; and even now, we are not always sure that a judgment may not be warped, even in a court of justice, by an anticipation of praise or censure in the public journals. These remarks are not made in order to palliate an iniquitous mode of acting, but to account for the fact, that as human nature is always corruptible, the manner of ministering to the corruption, which is severely censured in one age, is, though not commended, indulgently tolerated in another.

"When we now saw," says Eadmer, "that we waited in vain for assistance in Rome, we were anxious to set out on our return to Lyons." But the pope entreated

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Anselm to remain with him until the approaching council, and exerted every effort to do honour to his guest.

It was clearly not desirable, that Anselm should quit Rome under such circumstances; especially as the attendants of the archbishop were indignant at the treatment their master received, and would leave an unfavourable impression of the papal court wherever they might go. Besides, it is only just to Urban to believe that he admired and pitied the good old man, for whose piety, genius, and learning he entertained the most profound respect. As a man of the world, he saw clearly that Anselm, through his ignorance of the first principles of worldly wisdom and of human nature, had, in England, damaged the papal cause, which he desired to uphold. But, though he could not entirely support him, Urban loved the man, and did not wish to part with him on unfriendly terms. We often see a man of the world cherishing a friendship for a man of an entirely opposite disposition; admiring his virtues and being amused by his unaccountable ignorance of the ways of mankind.

There was a delicate attention on the part of Urban towards Anselm. They lived, as it were, in common. The pope frequently joked with him, and as frequently entered into serious conversation.* In processions and on all great occasions, the Archbishop of Canterbury occupied a place next to the pope. And Urban evidently knew Anselm's weak point; he encouraged the influx of people from all quarters who wished to see and hear the holy man. The Anglo-Normans would embrace his knees and kiss his toe. Anselm shrank from this extreme mark of reverence. We may not accuse him of affectation. The same man may be really humiliated when flattery is offered to him, and, at the same time, hurt

* William of Malmesbury, G. Pontif. lib. i. p. 127.

and offended when it is withheld. Anselm could be proud, when a king was insolent; and yet be humble when his worshippers, at Rome, were extreme in their adulation. So strong and prevalent was the feeling that Anselm was a holy man and to be regarded as a saint, that when, on more than one occasion, he fell into the hands of the the rival pope, Clement, he was dismissed uninjured, Eadmer says, by a miracle.

A feeling of indignation very generally prevailed at the supineness of Urban. It manifested itself when the council was opened on the 24th of April, 1099. One hundred and twenty bishops, chiefly from Italy and France, attended. There were, on these occasions, certain points of etiquette to be settled, and prelates were disputing with each other on the right of precedence. Where was the Archbishop of Canterbury to sit? No Archbishop of Canterbury had ever been seen at a Roman Council. No one had ever heard of his presence. The pope therefore assigned him his place in the centre of the Council formed by the assembly. The Council was held in St. Peter's. The chief business was the publication of certain decrees against simony, and on Saturday the 30th these decrees were proclaimed. As a large multitude of people had assembled, there was great confusion, and the pope in vain called them to order. People kept going in and coming out, and the noise was so great that it was difficult to be heard. Urban, therefore, remarking that Reinger, Bishop of Lucca, had a good loud voice, asked him to go to an elevated place, and read the canons. Silence was obtained. The Bishop of Lucca began to read. Suddenly his whole frame became agitated; he cast a look of indignation towards the pope; his voice faltered, and he burst forth: "But forsooth, what are we doing? Our people we are loading with decrees, but against the iniquities and cruelties of tyrants we take

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not a single step. The oppression of the clergy and robberies committed upon churches are daily reported to this see. As the head of all, you are called upon for counsel and assistance; but with what success is known and deplored by the whole world. There," pointing to Anselm, he continued, "modest, mild, gentle, there sits among us one who has come from a remote part of the world. Silent he is through modesty. But his silence is a mighty eloquence. The greater his humility the milder his mien, the more powerful he is with God, and the more powerfully ought we to be excited in his cause. Robbed of his goods, cruelly entreated, he has sought justice from the apostolic see. It is now the second year of his coming among us, and what assistance has he received? You know to whom I allude, you know it is to Anselm the Primate of England." And with that he thrice struck his pastoral staff upon the pavement, the whole church echoing to the sound. The pope, nodding to him, said, "Enough, enough, brother Reinger; good counsel shall soon be adopted." "The sooner the better," was the reply. "Think on the divine judgment."

The Bishop of Lucca then recovered himself. He proclaimed the remainder of the resolutions of the council; but at the conclusion he again recommended the case of Anselm to the assembly.

The Archbishop of Canterbury left Rome the next day. He felt that the pope had no intention to assist him, and he was hurt by his conduct.*

Owing to the divided state of the Church, Anselm had again to encounter difficulties until he reached Lyons, where Hugo received him once more with affection and respect. Here he was engaged in the duties for which he was eminently qualified. Persons of every age, sex,

* Ep. iii. 40.

and condition came to him, for spiritual consolation and advice. He also pursued his theological studies and published his treatise "De conceptu virginali et de peccato originali," as well as one of his most beautiful meditations, "De redemptione humana."* In the year 1100 he attended the synod of Anse, at which the cause of the crusades was discussed.†

But before this, on the 29th of July, 1099, Urban had died, and an attempt was made by William to enter into negotiation with Anselm. The terms proposed, however, were not such as the archbishop, acting under the advice of Hugo, thought proper to accept.

Anselm was staying at the Casa Dei, in the month of August 1100, when two monks arrived to announce to him the death of William Rufus. The archbishop was visibly affected, as any good man would be, on hearing of the sudden death of a bad man, cut off in the midst of his sins. Anselm immediately returned to Lyons. Here he found a monk from Canterbury, who confirmed the intelligence, and, in the name of the mother Church of the kingdom, required his immediate return. By the advice of Hugo he commenced his journey at once. The whole population of Lyons went forth to bid him God speed, and many devotees accompanied him from village to village. At Clugny, a messenger from King Henry arrived, conveying a letter to Anselm, in which the king apologized for not having deferred his coronation until the archbishop's return. The messenger also brought a copy of the proclamation, in which the king had declared that he would abolish all the abuses and enormities of the preceding reign, that he would observe the laws of King Edward, and above all, that, restoring freedom to the Holy Church, he would never keep vacant spiritual offices

* Med. xi. † Labbe, Conc. x. 726.

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for his own advantage. It was, in short, addressed to the Anglo-Normans, the Anglo-Saxons, and the clergy. The king urged the return of the archbishop to England as soon as possible, his wish being, as he said, to entrust himself entirely to the counsels of his spiritual father.

On the 23rd of September, amidst the joyful acclamations of the people, Anselm landed at Dover. On his arrival in England, the archbishop proceeded to Salisbury, where he presented himself to the king, by whom he was received with every demonstration of reverence and respect.

But almost immediately Anselm was involved in a controversy. The new king, anxious to evince the sincerity of his promise to restore the forfeited property of the church of Canterbury by reinstating Anselm in his barony, desired measures to be taken for his investiture.*

To the surprise of all, of king, peers, bishops, of all the members of the Church of England, Anselm refused to receive investiture at the hands of the king, a layman. He again defied the king, and announced his intention of not adhering to the customs of the Church and the common law of the land. Never had it been known in England, that the ring and pastoral staff had been bestowed by any one except the king. The king, a far-seeing politician, declared that to concede the right of investiture would be tantamount to the concession of half his realm. If the precedent were established, that the right of property could be conferred by any one except the king, the barons would become so many independent princes, and the whole feudal system would be at an end. The barons, brought up under the feudal system, regarded Anselm's conduct as an insult offered by a vassal to his suzerain, which they were sworn to resent. The bishops,

* Eadmer admits that the doctrine now enunciated by his master was a great novelty. Eadmer, Hist. Nov. p. 424, ed. Migne.

and the clergy generally, of the Church of England, still acting in a noble spirit of independence, were so indignant at the demand that, rather than assent to it, they declared themselves prepared to pronounce sentence of banishment again upon Anselm, and to break off all connexion with the Church of Rome.*

When first this subject is brought under notice, we are inclined to accuse Anselm of inconsistency. He had received investiture from lay hands: as Abbot of Bec, from the hands of the Conqueror, and from William Rufus, when he was appointed to the see of Canterbury. We must therefore briefly advert to the controversy, which had arisen between the emperor and the pope on the right of investiture.

Investiture, in its first legal signification, denoted the transfer, from a superior to an inferior, of a fief; or, more generally speaking, of a property, a title, a power, a jurisdiction, through the presentation of certain symbols. The presentation of the symbols was the formal transfer of the beneficium, and an investment with it. A handful of turf or a stick was the sign of a transfer of lands; a sword, a banner, a glove became the sign of collation to a military benefice. When the Church was endowed by the munificence of kings and nobles, her temporal possessions were regarded as benefices, and the sovereign invested the ecclesiastic with his civil rights. He conferred the beneficium, through the symbols,—to a canon

* "Postquam revocatus ad episcopatum redii in Angliam, ostendi decreta apostolica quæ in Romano concilio præsens audivi, ne scilicet aliquis de manu regis aut alicujus laici ecclesiarum investituras acciperet, ut per hoc ejus homo fieret, nec aliquis hæc transgredientem consecrare præsumeret. Quod audientes rex et principes ejus, ipsi etiam episcopi et alii minoris ordinis, tam graviter acceperunt ut asserernt se nullo modo huic rei assensum præbituros, et me de regno potius quam hoc servarent expulsuros, et a Romana ecclesia se discessuros." — *Anselmi Opp.* ed. Migne, ep. lib. iv. 4.

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of a book, to an abbot of a pastoral staff, to a bishop of the staff and ring.*

There was nothing objectionable in this, unless there was a previous objection to the endowment of the church; and for a season the system worked well. The chapters elected, the civil authority concurred in the appointment by conferring a benefice on the elected person: consecration or benediction followed as a matter of course. The electors ascertained beforehand, whether the object of their choice would be acceptable to the civil authorities: the civil authorities ascertained that, in concurring with the chapters, they would meet the support of those to whom pertained the authority to confer the spiritual character.

But in process of time, the emperor overawed the electors, and the election was always made to devolve upon the imperial nominee. Unless the person so nominated received the consecration, or the benediction, the benefice was withheld. This resulted in the nomination by the emperor, without the intervention of the spiritual authorities, to all the higher preferments in the Church.

This was one of the grievances which Hildebrand, when directing the counsels of Gregory VI., determined to reform. But Hildebrand was instigated by other motives also. If his object had been merely to reform, he might have been successful; but his intention was to effect an entire revolution. His purpose, as we have stated in the introductory chapter, was to elevate the Church above the State, and to make the civil authority subordinate to the

* In the earliest times either the ring or the staff was used, not both. Clovis I. (508) used the ring; Clovis II. (623), Lewis the German, Arnulf, Otho I., the staff. Henry II. and Conrad II. gave the ring first as a pledge that they would confer the staff. Subsequently investiture was performed with both, and was then completed with the sceptre. Mosheim, Inst. Hist. Eccl.; Planck, iii. 462.

ecclesiastical. So long as the right of investiture remained in the state, this was impossible. The superior gave what the inferior received. If the ecclesiastic received his benefice from the crown, the Church was inferior to the state and the beneficed ecclesiastic owed allegiance to the sovereign.

The wrong done was, that the symbols of a part of the rights of a beneficiary, had impressed the public mind with a notion, that they conveyed *all* the rights, spiritual as well as temporal: and the fact soon corresponded with the appearance. The temporal episcopate was confounded with the spiritual.

It would not have been difficult to effect a reconciliation between the two powers*; such a reconciliation being in the end accomplished. But Hildebrand aimed not merely at reforming a corrupt exercise of right, but at the overthrow of the right itself.

It was the perception of this object, on the part of the state, which gave bitterness to a contest which lasted for fifty-six years, occasioned sixty battles, and caused the loss of two millions of lives. It was settled by compromise in 1122†, at a convention between the Emperor Henry V. and Calixtus II.

This controversy between the emperor and the pope had no influence upon the Church of England, before the time of Anselm. There had been, in Anglo-Saxon

* The Concordat of Worms (1122) settled that all elections of bishops were to be freely conducted according to the laws of the Church, but under the supervision of the Emperor; and that the right of spiritual investiture by ring and staff belonged to the Pope, while that of secular enfeoffment with the sceptre was conceded to the Emperor. This agreement was confirmed by the first General Council of Lateran in 1123, This Council is regarded in the Church of Rome as the Ninth Œcumenical Council. Kurtz, 126, 3.

† Ducange, in "Investitura;" Du Pin, p. 113; Fleury, xiv.

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times, a good understanding between the civil and ecclesiastical authorities. The two powers seldom came into collision. The crown nominated, but care was generally taken to ascertain that a majority of votes would be given to the person nominated, and that his appointment would not give umbrage to the Church. Under the Norman kings, there may have been more of coercion; although the good appointments made in the time of Lanfranc showed that there could be no just ground of complaint. Some charges of simony, not substantiated, were brought against William the Conqueror; and there can be no doubt that simoniacal transactions took place in the reign of William Rufus; but no public scandal was occasioned by them, for whatever was done was the result of a private understanding, and an exception to the established rule.

If Anselm had been a practical man, he would have taken things as he found them, and have guarded against future abuses: but, however blameworthy he may have been, we cannot accuse him, as at first sight we are inclined to do, of inconsistency.

There had been no controversy in the churches of Normandy or of England on the subject of investitures. The contest between the emperor and the pope had excited little interest in Western Europe.* Consequently, when Anselm accepted office, he did as others had done before him, and he received, though with some hesitation, investiture from lay hands.

But, when he went to Rome in 1098, he was induced

* Gregory VII. had denounced Philip of France for the exercise of the right of investiture, and called upon the bishops of the kingdom to resist it with all severity. Greg. Epist. lib. ii. ep. 5. But the French king disregarded the prohibition, and Gregory directed all his energies against the Emperor; if he conquered him, he felt secure of overpowering the kings.

to examine the subject more particularly. Doubts had been raised in his mind as to the regularity of his own appointment; and, upon investigation, he found that by a synod held at Rome in the year 1075, ecclesiastics were expressly forbidden to receive any investiture from the hands of an emperor, a king, or any lay person. This it was, which caused the change in Anselm's mind and conduct.

Lanfranc had been an imperialist; Anselm was a papist. The former asserted the independence of the Church of England; the latter desired the amalgamation of the Church of England with the Church of Rome. It unfortunately happened, at this time, as it has often happened since, that a person had to direct the councils of the Church of England, who was ignorant of, if not hostile to, her principles. Anselm's conduct, as we have stated, took the king and people of England by surprise. Anselm had himself received investiture from William Rufus, to whom he had done homage and taken the oath of fealty, and why this change? He had only to urge, in his defence, a canon of the Church of Rome. But the king, peers, bishops, and clergy were at a loss to understand, how a canon of the Church of Rome could be, in any way, obligatory upon the Church of England, or set aside the common law of the land.

The controversy between Anselm and William Rufus has been given in some detail from the narrative of his contemporary and friend; because these details throw light on the manners, the principles, and the opinions of the age as well as upon the character of the archbishop. We have merely corrected, from other sources, the partialities of a partisan. It would be tedious, however, as a twice told tale, to enter, as minutely, into the circumstances of the new controversy which he now started with Henry.

King Henry was, in point of morals, as depraved as his

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predecessor, and would shrink from no amount of falsehood or of cruelty to carry a point; but he preferred cajolery to intimidation; he had his temper more under control; he had a clear insight into character; and was one of the wisest politicians of the age.

Indignant as he must have been at the conduct of Anselm, who ought, in common courtesy, to have signified his intention of defying the law of England, before his return to the country, Henry was quite aware that, in the unsettled state of his affairs, he could not afford to quarrel with the archbishop, and he postponed the discussion of the subject until Easter. At the same time, he made a proposal to Anselm, which the archbishop could not reject, that an embassy should be sent to Rome. In proposing this measure, however, the king took the precaution to observe that he did not seek any concession from the pope; that his only object was to ascertain, whether the pope might discover some means to satisfy the archbishop's conscience, and enable him to conform to the laws of the land. The king was over all causes and over all persons in these his dominions supreme, and of that supremacy he persevered in stating, that neither the pope nor any one else should divest him.

William of Warelwast, one of the most eminent diplomatists of the age, and afterwards Bishop of Exeter, was the ambassador selected for the mission to Rome; and to Pope Paschal II. he carried a letter from Anselm.

The king, in the meantime, permitted Anselm to enjoy the property, and to exercise all the rights pertaining to the see of Canterbury, living with him on terms of friendship, and treating him with profound respect.

On the 11th of November, 1100, the archbishop officiated at the marriage of Henry with Matilda. Matilda was the daughter of Malcolm, King of the Scots, by Margaret, the sister of Edgar Atheling, who, as a descendant

of Edmund Ironside, represented the Saxon royal family. Henry, like his brother, was well aware that to maintain his authority against the barons, and make them feel that, although the peers of the realm, they were nevertheless vassals of the crown, he must have the support of the Anglo-Saxon population. In no way could he be more secure of effecting this object, and of establishing their loyalty to himself, than by having recourse to a marriage, in the issue of which, the house of Cerdic would be re-established on the throne of England, and the two races, the Saxon and the Norman, conjointly reign.* The marriage was less popular with the Normans, who ridiculed the profligate king, when he became the kind, if not faithful, husband of a Saxon wife. They went so far as to endeavour to prevent the marriage, by representing the Saxon princess, because she had lived under the protection of the Abbess of Wilton, as a professed nun.† The truth of the allegation was carefully investigated by Anselm; and, when the marriage ceremony took place in Westminster Abbey, the archbishop ascended the pulpit, and declared that the assertion of her being a nun was without foundation.

It soon became a subject of remark, that the archbishop was entirely under the influence of the king; and by judicious flattery, as well as by ample promises, which were easily made, because, by an unprincipled man, they

* By this restoration of the Anglo-Saxon line, and as a descendant of Matilda, our sovereign lady Queen Victoria is connected with the ancient Saxon race, into which Briton, Dane, and Norman have been merged. With the Saxon race a new alliance has been formed in the person of her Royal Consort, to whose virtues and talents this country is indebted to an extent, which posterity will be better able to appreciate than the present generation.

† The Abbess of Wilton is frequently spoken of as Matilda's aunt. I can find no aunt of Matilda who was Abbess of Wilton. Christiana, sister of Margaret and Edgar Atheling, was Abbess of Romsey.

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could be as easily broken, Henry was able to render the talents and high position of Anselm conducive to the consolidation of his own power. The barons were saved from barbarism by their chivalrous attention to the virtuous among women, and by their superstitious reverence for those ecclesiastics whose piety was consistent, and who were accounted holy. The virtue and the piety, which they had neither strength nor inclination to imitate, they had the grace to admire. When Robert, Duke of Normandy, invaded England, Henry, with his deep insight into the characters of men, employed Anselm to confirm his wavering barons in their loyalty, by preaching to them on the solemn obligation of the oaths of fealty which they had taken. The archbishop delivered an address, with wonderful effect, in the front of Henry's army; and we may imagine what must have been the influence of the king, when we find Anselm actually placing himself at the head of the men of Kent; who, probably in compliment to the archbishop, were selected, on one occasion, to act as the royal body-guard. This public declaration of the righteousness of Henry's cause disarmed the supporters of the duke, and enlisted the piety of the nation on the side of the king. The archbishop was, indeed, prepared to go so far as to excommunicate the Duke of Normandy for invading the territory of his brother; a very strong measure, when we remember that the territory he invaded he claimed as his own in right of primogeniture; and when we also remember that he was a soldier of the Cross. But to this extreme measure Anselm had not occasion to resort. Through his mediation, Henry was enabled to effect a reconciliation with his brother; and, when this was accomplished, he was also enabled to dispense with the archbishop's services.

William of Warelwast, acting under instructions from

his master, delayed his return to England for as long a period as possible; but, at length, he made his appearance at court, with a friendly letter to the king from the pope; but with a refusal to permit the archbishop to relax in his opposition to lay investiture.

Anselm had experienced the miseries of exile, he had now enjoyed the sweets of power, and Henry thought that he might try the effect of a threat. The king, acting with the advice of his peers and of the bishops, summoned the archbishop to his court. The alternative was offered; he must either take the oath of allegiance and receive investiture from the king, or quit the realm. Anselm pleaded the Roman canon. Henry perceived clearly that it was a case of divided allegiance, and exclaimed, "What have I to do with a Roman canon? I will never renounce a right which I have inherited; and no one shall remain in my kingdom who does not do homage to me as his suzerain." He had now touched Anselm's pride. The archbishop determined to leave England, when William prohibited him from going; he determined to remain, when Henry commanded him to depart.

The peers and the bishops were almost unanimous in their determination to support the king, and in their exhortations to him not to submit to the pope. But Henry was too wise a man, when he found himself in the right, by any rash procedure to place himself in the wrong.

The archbishop had retired in anger to Canterbury; but there he received a friendly letter from the king, whose object was still to obtain time. Henry promised the archbishop full security, and invited him once more to his court, to inquire into some other means of ending the controversy. Anselm went to Winchester; but he still remained obstinately opposed to the king, the peers of

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the realm, and the bishops of the church, who, pursuing moderate counsels, proposed a new embassy to Rome.

The embassy consisted of the Bishops of Norwich and Lichfield, and at the head of it was placed the Archbishop elect of York; all eminent men, devoted to the cause of the Church of England. Anselm sent two monks, Baldwin of Tournay and Alexander of Canterbury, to watch the proceedings. The ambassadors were instructed to warn the pope that, unless he rescinded the resolution relating to the right of investiture, the king would withdraw the Peter-pence, cease from all communion with the Church of Rome, and send Anselm into exile. They were the bearers of a well considered letter from the king, in which he declared that, "as long as he lived, he would, God helping him, never permit the rights and privileges of the kingdom of England to be diminished; and even if he should be inclined to yield, which God forbid, his nobles would not tolerate it. He hoped, therefore, that the pope would, on reconsideration, not drive him to the extreme measure of renouncing all intercourse with the see of Rome." *

What really seems to have happened at Rome was this. Pope Paschal was anxious, on the one hand, to avoid a rupture with the king; and yet, on the other hand, he could not renounce the principle for which he was himself contending with the emperor, and which Anselm had most injudiciously promulgated in England. He explained his difficulty to the envoys; and while a letter was sent to Anselm, commending his zeal for the papal cause, they were the bearers of a verbal message to the king, that if he would be only careful to appoint religious prelates to the vacant sees, he would

* The letter is given by Bromton Twysden, 999.

not be troubled further by the court of Rome. It was not a dignified proceeding on the part of Paschal; but it is analogous to many transactions of modern policy. That a discrepancy should be discovered between private treaties and public documents does not excite much surprise; this course of conduct, moreover, was in keeping with the character of Paschal, who was more of a statesman than a divine. It was consistent also with the traditional policy of the court of Rome. The highest pretensions were theoretically maintained; the application of them was left to a more convenient season, which, in the unsettled state of European kingdoms, was sure to come sooner or later. To the straightforward and simple-minded Anselm, however, such ambiguous conduct was, at first, inconceivable, and to the last unintelligible, even when he was compelled by the force of circumstances to suspect the duplicity of the Pope.

The verbal communication brought by the envoys to the king ought not to have been divulged; but they were provoked to make it known, that they might counteract the effect produced by the publication of the letter received by Anselm. In consequence, there was a controversy, bitter as personal controversies generally are, whether the more credit was to be given to a piece of parchment, or to the plain and repeated assertions of three bishops of the Church of England, one of them second in rank only to Anselm.

All these things furthered the king's object — delay. Against the king Anselm could produce no ground of complaint. Henry acted throughout with remarkable forbearance and patience, according to the dictates of sound policy, and with much personal kindness towards the archbishop himself. He allowed Anselm to send legates to Rome to ascertain the truth of the report brought by the king's ambassadors. Pending the pro-

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ceedings he permitted the archbishop to enjoy the property of the see; he welcomed him as a visitor to his palace, and did not interfere when good Queen Maud selected him as her confidential friend and spiritual adviser. In her bower, Anselm was wont to meet crowds of scholars, equally famed for verse and singing; and in her chapel he was delighted with the manner in which the service was performed, for she spared no expense to secure the most melodious voices for her choir.*

On one point, Anselm concurred with the king: he resisted the insult offered to the Church of England, when Guido, Archbishop of Vienne, landed at Dover, and announced that a legatine authority over this district had been conferred upon him. This was part of a new system, by which the authorities of Rome were endeavouring to obtain increased power in the Churches of the West. Legates were sent in the pope's name, for the avowed purpose of remedying, by means of councils and synods, errors of doctrine or defects in discipline.

Guido was a great man. He was the son of William Tete-hardie, Duke of Burgundy, and a distant cousin of the King of England. He seems to have possessed a kind of roving commission; in virtue of which he made his attempt upon England. The indignation of all parties in Church and State was excited; and it was fortunate that the tenaciousness of his dignity, which characterised Anselm, induced him, in this instance, to act in accordance with the usages of the country. Such an invasion of the rights of the see of Canterbury was an unheard-of offence, and the legate, unacknowledged, had to recross the channel.†

* William of Malmesbury, lib. v. p. 418.

† "Inauditum scilicet in Britannia cunctis scientes, quemlibet hominum super se vices apostolicas gerere nisi solum archiepiscopum Cantuariæ."—*Eadmer, Hist. Nov.* lib. iii. p. 428.

Henry did not, like his brother, refuse the convention of a synod. He clearly perceived that, to prevent papal interference, the Church of England must exert its inherent powers to remove abuses. Accordingly a synod was held on the 29th of September, in the year 1102, "in St. Peter's Church at the west end of London." Besides the prelates, the chief persons of the realm were summoned to attend, in order it was said, to secure the execution of its decrees.

At this synod, no fewer than six abbots were deposed on account of simony; and when we mention, that three of them had been nominated by Henry and had not yet received the benediction, it is evident that there was no wish, on the King's part, to interfere with the free action of the council. We gather from the enactments of the council, that the immorality of the Anglo-Normans equalled that of their brethren on the continent, and that it was horrible and indescribable. Among other things, it was decreed that bishops should not keep secular courts of pleas; that they should be apparelled not as laymen, but as becomes religious persons, and have honest men about them to bear testimony to their conversation; that no archdeacon, priest, deacon, or canon should marry a wife, or retain her if married; that the sons of priests should not be heirs of their father's churches; that priests should not go to drinking bouts, or drink to pegs; that priests' clothes should be all of one colour, and their shoes plain; that the crown of the clergy, *i.e.* the tonsure or circle on the crown of the head, should be visible; that new chapels should not be erected without the consent of the bishop; that they who have hair, should be so clipped that part of their ears might be visible, and their eyes not covered; that they, who were related within the seventh degree should not be coupled in marriage; that no one should attribute reverence or sanctity to a dead body or

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a fountain or any other thing, without the bishop's authority; that no one should exercise that wicked trade which had hitherto been practised in England, of selling men like beasts.

We find the same jumble here of vestments and hair-cutting with greater and more important subjects, as is prevalent in some of the episcopal charges of the present day.

But in vain were regulations made in a synod, whether bearing upon the immoralities of the age, or the deportment of the clergy, so long as the archbishop remained contumacious. All was disorder and confusion. The king nominated to vacant benefices, the archbishop refused the consecration or benediction. The Archbishop of York, a sound Anglican, was willing to officiate; but the bishops demurred to the intrusion of the northern metropolitan into the province of Canterbury. The constant discussion of the right of royal investiture was beginning to excite doubts in the minds of some, who had hitherto supported the national independence. Henry and his advisers had come to the conclusion that the sooner they could get rid of Anselm, the better it would be for the country. Henry acted with his usual precaution. In the middle of Lent 1103, the messengers whom Anselm sent to Rome returned. As the king must have expected, they stated when interrogated by him, that the pope adhered to his brother Anselm in every respect; and that they were bearers of a second letter to Anselm, confirmatory, so far as they knew, of the former. The king having business to transact with the Count of Flanders at Dover, had arrived unexpectedly at Canterbury. This, in conjunction with the return of the archiepiscopal legates, raised a report that an attack would be made upon the person of the archbishop. The report Henry encouraged by the violence of his language, when alluding to what had

occurred. Prayers were offered for the preservation of Anselm; and so far from interfering, the king showed himself amenable to reason, when some of the peers urged him once more to seek a method of reconciliation. He suggested, that Anselm should himself go to Rome, and talk over the matter quietly with the pope. Henry knew that the pope did not desire a rupture, and he thought that Paschal might find ways of quieting Anselm's conscience which no one else could devise. At all events, he should get rid, honourably, of an incumbrance. The archbishop, though pleading his age and his infirmities, expressed his readiness to undertake the embassy, if such were the wish of the kingdom; and the national wish being expressed unanimously by the bishops and barons who attended the king's court at Easter, Anselm prepared to take his departure.

On the 27th of April, 1103, he once more embarked at Dover. But he did not now embark, as on a former occasion, *in formâ pauperis*, and as an outlaw. He went with all the pomp and circumstance, in those days, attendant upon an archbishop. He went, apparently, in favour with the king, who corresponded with him in terms of tenderness and kindness. Henry tried to persuade him, when he was fairly out of the country, that it would be better for him, at his time of life, to take rest in Normandy, and allow the business at Rome to be transacted by a legate; but Anselm, after refreshing himself for a month in the scenes of his former usefulness, honour, and happiness at Bec, proceeded to Rome; where he found, awaiting his arrival, the celebrated William of Warelwast.

William of Warelwast had not been idle. Under the form of Peter-pence, he had brought money to the pope. Paschal received it only as his due, but still, with that kind of good will which men, are apt to feel, when their

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dues amount to a sum greater than they expected. By a judicious expenditure of money, Warelwast was enabled to render his logic intelligible to the cardinals, when he undertook to prove that his master's demands were equitable, and Anselm's resistance unreasonable. He produced a letter from the king to the pope, which was couched in courteous terms, but he repeated what he had said before, that neither he nor his people would suffer the rights and privileges of the crown of England to be diminished.

Anselm resumed his old quarters in the Lateran, and by Pope Paschal's advice, "rested two days with St. Peter." On the day appointed for hearing the cause, the court was addressed with great eloquence by William of Warelwast. He repeated the determination of the king, his master, to maintain his rights; and he showed how Rome would suffer if his just demands were resisted. The archbishop remained silent. He had not come to plead his cause, but to ascertain the will of the pope. The pope also remained silent, for he perceived that the feeling of the meeting was in favour of the king. William of Warelwast saw the impression which he had made, and committed an indiscretion, though a very pardonable one. With noble fervour he exclaimed, "Come what may, the king my master will not submit to be deprived of his right of investiture." This was more than Paschal, a weak, proud, irritable man could stand,— "And so," he exclaimed, "you say that King Henry will not give up his right of investiture,— nor before God, will Pope Paschal, to save his head, permit him to have it." William of Warelwast did not provoke the angry pope to commit himself further. He said no more, but in the end he carried all his points.

Anselm expected the pope to give notice that he would excommunicate King Henry, unless, within a

given time, he reinstated the archbishop in all the honours of his see without requiring investiture, homage, or the oath of fealty. When he was told that the subject would lie over for future negotiations, and that in the meantime he must hold communion with the king, though not with his advisers; he left Rome thoroughly disgusted.

William of Warelwast opportunely remembered a vow he had to fulfil at the tomb of St. Nicolas at Bari; and, consequently, he could not take his departure quite so soon. But when the archbishop was gone, he soon came to an understanding with the pope; whose prevaricating conduct, on this occasion, is a sufficient justification of the three bishops of the Church of England, of whose secret instructions from the court of Rome mention has been made. Things were to remain *in statu quo*. The pope could not of course sanction lay investiture; but the discussion of the subject might be adjourned *sine die*. With a letter to the king indirectly implying this, William of Warelwast made what haste he could, to overtake Anselm.

Having visited Matilda, Margravine of Tuscany, Anselm was now at Piacenza. "We were not a little surprised," says Eadmer, "on our arrival at Piacenza, to meet with William; and we were astonished at the speed with which he must have travelled from Bari. From Piacenza he went in company with us to Lyons. When he was about to leave us, he addressed us in the following terms: 'While I hoped that our affairs at Rome would take another turn, I delayed to mention the communication which I have to make to you from the king. He desired me to inform you that if you return to him with the intention of conducting yourself towards him as your predecessors conducted themselves towards his, you will be heartily welcome.' Anselm interrupted him: 'You need not proceed. Your own good sense

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will draw the inference,—I add nothing more.' 'Good, I understand you,' and so they parted."

Anselm repaired to the residence of his friend the Archbishop Hugo, where he was received with the veneration, respect, and affection due to his virtues, piety, and learning. William of Warelwast hastened to England. The king immediately confiscated the archbishop's property; but, with his usual caution, and to guard against the vexations to which the tenants had been exposed in the late reign, he entrusted the administration of it to two of the archbishop's own people.

The reader who has the leisure to consult the third and fourth books of Anselm's Epistles, will find much to instruct and amuse him in the letters addressed to the archbishop at this period of his history, and in the answers he returned. The temptation to make extracts must be resisted. The letters of King Henry are written in a kind, and conciliatory spirit, which are creditable to his character, even supposing them to be the dictates of policy rather than of sincerity. He took his ground firmly, but honourably; — all he asked was to be treated by Anselm as his father had been treated by Lanfranc. That if Anselm would have acted in accordance with the law of the land and the canons of the Church of England, he would have received him gladly, may be inferred,not only from the tone of his own letters, but from his permitting the queen to be the archbishop's correspondent.

The letters of Queen Matilda evince an intimate acquaintance with Scripture; and on scriptural grounds, though in terms the most respectful, she presses upon the archbishop his paramount duty of returning to his post, and of endeavouring to obviate the evils which his absence from his diocese had occasioned. She holds forth to him the example of St. Paul, and then proceeds, "My

good lord, holy father, moderate this severity of yours; soften what, — I ask your pardon for saying, — I must call your iron-heartedness; and come visit thy people, and among them thine handmaid, who desires thy return with all her heart." She suggested, that if he had the will, he might devise some measure to effect a compromise, having a due regard both to his own dignity, and to the rights of the crown.

The Chapter of Canterbury, the clergy, his own private friends, all pressed upon Anselm the duty of returning to his diocese; and he, in resisting them, did not take his ground upon what was called the Hildebrandine principle, which he seems never to have grasped, — but simply on obedience to a canon of the Church of Rome, which his correspondents could not regard as obligatory upon an archbishop of the Church of England.

Whether his conscience reproached him or not, he was so unaccustomed to reproof, that his temper became soured. The queen, on one occasion, accused him, in her gentle, apologetic way, of irritability. One plain-spoken man, Orduinus, told him fairly what was thought of him in England, — that his conduct was unreasonable and inconsistent. "You tell me," Anselm wrote in reply, "that they say I forbid the king to grant investitures, and, what is worse, that I myself am guilty of allowing worthless priests to enter the Church and of investing laymen with churches, when I let to them ecclesiastical property. Tell them they lie. It is not I who prohibit the king from conferring investitures, but having heard the Apostolic, in a great council, excommunicate all who give or receive lay investitures, I have no inclination to hold communion with excommunicates, or to become an excommunicate myself."*

* Ep. iii. 100.

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He, who had interposed to prevent the excommunication of William Rufus, was now eager to inflict that penalty upon Henry I. The pope was a politician too wise to permit himself to be hurried into extreme measures by the fanaticism of a partisan. His policy coincided with that of Henry: that is to say, without concession of principle, they both desired a cessation of arms. The pope was fighting the battle of investitures with the emperor; all parties were beginning to hope for a conciliatory adjustment of differences; and then would be the time to settle the question with the King of England. In a letter dated March 26th, 1105, the pope, after expressing the deepest interest in Anselm, his cause, and his sufferings, notified his intention, for the present, to spare king Henry.

Anselm, impatient of contradiction and not forgetful of the treatment he had received from Pope Paschal, determined now to take the matter into his own hands. Had he been a man endowed with worldly wisdom he could not have chosen his time better for entering upon an act of open hostility against his king. Henry was in the midst of a campaign in Normandy against his brother Robert; and although he had succeeded in reducing the greater part of the duchy to obedience, yet his dominion was unpopular. He had become even more unpopular in England. In order to raise funds for his expedition, he had resorted to some of those measures for extorting money from the people, which, in times of irregular and capricious taxation, were, though common, yet peculiarly oppressive. His exactions from the clergy had been such as to create a disturbance, and to induce the bishops to enter into amicable relations with the exiled primate, in order that they might be better able to make a stand against a despotism, which they were determined to resist.

Such was the state of his affairs, when Henry received

information, through his sister, the Countess of Blois, that Anselm had left Lyons and was on his way to Rheims. His object was to place himself in the immediate vicinity of the king, in order that he might be able to give more effect to the excommunication he was determined to fulminate.

Henry felt that his affairs were sufficiently complicated, and that he should hardly be able to extricate himself, if he permitted his enemies to appear in the field as the champions of the Church ; while the hands of his followers would be paralysed by the notion of their fighting under the divine malediction. He was determined, therefore, at any sacrifice, to avert the impending blow.

Through the mediation of the Countess of Blois, a meeting was effected in July 1105, at the castle of L'Aigle, between the archbishop and the king. The king opened the negotiation at once, by offering to remove the confiscation from the property of the archbishop ; to pay over to Anselm the whole of the income he had drawn from it ; and to re-establish him in full possession of the see. Henry knew the archbishop too well to suppose, that these sacrifices would suffice, and they were only intended to prepare the way and to render him propitious, when the real point should be reached ; what about the investitures ? Henry was prepared to yield, provided the archbishop would do homage and take the oath of fealty.

He found the archbishop impracticable as he probably expected. But he had broken new ground, and obtained what he again required,—delay. He proposed to refer the matter to the decision of the pope ; and Anselm could not, with any show of consistency, decline the reference. Henry thoroughly understood Anselm's weak points. "During the whole of our abode at L'Aigle," says Eadmer, "the king never sent for Anselm, on account of these negotiations ; but always went to him."

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Anselm now returned to Bec to await the decision of the pope, — a decision which Henry was by no means in a hurry to obtain. William of Warelwast was to go as the royal representative, Baldwin was to undertake the cause of the archbishop. It was agreed that, — as it was an amicable suit, a mere case of reference, — the nuntii should travel in company and proceed together. But, the object on the king's part being delay, it was so arranged that William of Warelwast, who was in England, should be, when he was sent for, particularly engaged; it was impossible for him to start immediately. He made what haste he could, but then came on the equinoctials. At length he arrived at Bec; but soon after came a letter from the king, who had been credibly informed by Robert the clerk of his chancellor, Waldric, that there were two popes at Rome, at war one with the other; and he suggested that the departure of the embassy should be delayed, until it were ascertained, which of the pretenders to the papal throne was the legitimate Pope. William of Warelwast would have been able to create further delay on the ground of the two-fold popedom, and the impossibility of acting until the king had exercised his prerogative in making his choice, if Baldwin had not already started before the letter arrived.

Without entering into the details of the negotiation, it is sufficient to observe, that Henry clearly saw his point, and that he effected his object by making a concession more apparent than real.

All that he desired was, to retain, if not in form, yet, as heretofore, in substance, the appointment of bishops; and to make all ecclesiastical persons amenable to the law of the land. He contended for the right of the king "to rule all estates and degrees of his realm, whether they be ecclesiastical or temporal, and to restrain with the civil sword the stubborn and evil doers."

He fixed his eye steadily on the principle; and he saw that this would be secured, if, on his part, conceding the point of investing by delivery of the pastoral staff and ring, which seemed to symbolise spiritual authority*, he could prevail on the papal party, to concede the act of homage and the oath of fealty. In the act of homage, the feudal seigneur was humbly requested to receive into his faith the man desiring to do faith and homage; and, the leave being granted, the homager placed his hands between those of his lord, and said, "I become your man from this day forth, of life and limb, and will hold faith to you for the lands I desire to hold of you."† Having done homage by reason of the estate which he held of the suzerain, the oath of fealty was taken either in person or by proxy in these words: "This hear you, my lord, that I will be faithful and loyal to you and will keep faith to you for the lands which I claim to hold of you, and will loyally fulfil unto you the customs and services that I shall owe you on the conditions belonging hereto." ‡

That Anselm should not perceive that, in yielding to the proposal of Henry, to omit the right of investiture on the condition of retaining the homage and the oath of fealty, the whole policy of Gregory VII. would be vitiated, does not astonish us; but we are somewhat surprised to find that the concession was made by the court of Rome. The terms proposed by Henry were, however, accepted; and they formed the precedent of the conciliatory adjustment of the investiture controversy, sixteen years after-

* The pastoral staff was regarded as the ensign of pastoral authority over the flock; the ring denoted the marriage of the ecclesiastic to his Church. These, it was said, were spiritual powers, which ought not to be conferred by the laity.

† Du Cange, Hominium.

‡ Du Cange, voc. Fidelitas.

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wards, between Pope Calixtus and the Emperor Henry V., to which we have had occasion already to refer.

Anselm yielded most reluctantly. But, as he had rested his whole case on the duty of obedience to the see of Rome, he could not consistently resist, when the pope asserted the principle, that concession on the one side ought to be met by concession on the other; and when he exhorted him "to act with mildness, forbearance, wisdom, and carefulness." That his friends, however, were afraid that he might put himself still further in the wrong, by refusing to ratify the conditions of peace, is apparent from a letter he received from Hugo. His correspondent observed, that it had always been the opinion of himself and his other friends, that Anselm should undertake the care of the Church entrusted to him, as soon as it could, in any way, be done with a good conscience. He entreated him not to estimate his own opinion higher than the authority of the see of Rome; or to oppose himself, not only, as he had done, to the world and the kingdom, but also to the Church and the priesthood."*

Henry retired from the contest, having yielded, with the right of investiture, the right also of nominating to bishoprics. He promised a *congé d'élire* to the chapters; but, on the other hand, he still could influence all elections by delaying the permission indefinitely, when the chapters were factious; he retained the act of homage and the oath of fealty, so that the bishops were his subjects and vassals; he obtained, through the mediation of the pope, that the archbishop should forthwith remove the sentence of excommunication from all persons, who had incurred that censure during these disputes; and that he should consecrate certain bishops and abbots, from whom he had hitherto withheld his benediction.

* Ep. iii. 124.

The adjustment, which was satisfactory to the king, did not, however, meet with the unanimous approbation of the Church of England. When a council was held, in the king's palace in London, in the year 1107, to ratify these proceedings; several of the bishops endeavoured to persuade the king to act, as his father and brother had done, and not according to the injunctions of the pope. But in the end, the two resolutions were carried: I. That for the future no one should be invested by the king or any lay hand in any bishopric or abbey, by the delivering of a pastoral staff or a ring: II. By the concession of Anselm, that no one elected to any prelacy should be denied consecration on account of the homage he does to the king.*

Anselm was detained by illness on the Continent, until the autumn of 1106; when, landing at Dover, he was received with every demonstration of joy. Henry permitted his queen to appear at the head of all the processions, by which he was met; and she personally superintended the arrangements, which were necessary to provide for him the comforts required by his severe illness and his advanced years.

Henry's treatment of Anselm was, from this time generous and kind. Notwithstanding his many vices, we must admit that, making due allowance for the times, the king shows to advantage throughout this controversy. He now received Anselm with cordiality; he admitted him into his counsels, and when, in the summer of 1108, he had occasion to visit Normandy, he confided to the primate the guardianship of the royal family; and, in fact, constituted him regent of the kingdom, by directing the justiciaries to seek his advice on all occasions, and to follow

* Spelman, ii. 27; Wilkins, i. 387.

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his instructions. Anselm in a letter to Helgot, Abbot of St. Ouen, refers to this honour as a proof of the king's benevolence and love, and shows the extent of the confidence placed in him, by explaining that he abstained from attempting anything great on his own authority, on the ground, that although all things were lawful to him, all things were not expedient.

In 1108, the Archbishop of Canterbury, together with Thomas, the elect of York, held another synod in London, which had especial reference to the enforcement of celibacy among the clergy. They were forbidden to have in their houses any women except near relations. Those who had married since the council of 1102, were to discard their wives, so entirely as not to be with them or to meet them, knowingly, even in a friend's house; if they had occasion to speak with them on business, it was to be in the presence of two witnesses; those who determined to remain with their wives were to be deprived of their benefices and put out of the choir, being first declared impious: archdeacons were to make oath that they would not take money to connive at the transgression of this statute: those who chose to leave their wives, who were styled adulterous concubines, were to undergo a penance at the bishop's discretion for forty days; during which time, they might have vicars to officiate for them in their respective churches.

These canons were certainly more stringent than any which had before been passed on the subject. But, except in this instance, we do not read of any episcopal vigilance manifested by Anselm, though we find him very tenacious of his dignity. He was involved in a controversy with the monks of St. Augustine, because they claimed it as a right, that their newly elected abbot should be consecrated in their own chapel. Anselm would have conceded it as a favour, but, as a matter of right, he main-

tained that the primate never left his cathedral for any consecration, except that of the king or queen.

When the king, in July 1108, was preparing to embark for Normandy from the coast of Sussex, he made a request to the archbishop, through the bishops of Winchester and Exeter, that he would consecrate Richard Belmeis, the elect of London, in the cathedral church of Chichester; as the king was anxious to employ him, as soon as possible, on some business of state. But although Anselm was pleased, that the proposal came in the shape of a request, he was, nevertheless, so fearful lest he should confer a privilege on the cathedral of a suffragan bishop, and so detract from the rights of Canterbury, that he performed the consecration in the parish church of Pagham,—Pagham being one of the archbishop's peculiars.

Owing to the confiscation of his property on two occasions, Anselm, when in exile, had contracted debts which pressed heavily upon him on his restoration; and, in consequence of his pecuniary embarrassments, he was unable to display that munificence in public buildings, for which his immediate predecessor had been celebrated. Nevertheless, it was under his encouragement, and aided by his subscriptions, that the great works were carried on, which superseded the choir of Lanfranc's church, and which constituted what was afterwards known as the glorious choir of Conrad.* He was considerate as a landlord, and charitable to the poor. But, even in his own time, it was remarked that he was better fitted to be a monk than an archbishop. His spiritual government had relation chiefly to the monastery of his cathedral, under the plea that it was the centre of the whole diocese, and was the seminary of its spirituality.

There has always been a tendency, not merely to

* There is a minute description of this by Gervas, whose account is translated in Professor Willis's "History of Canterbury Cathedral."

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palliate but to justify the conduct of Anselm in his character of archbishop. No one laboured more consistently than he to enslave the Church of England, and to bring it under the dominion of the pope; and yet he has been not unfrequently represented as contending for the liberties of the Church. We may, indeed, admit that such was his own view of the case, and that the bad men, William and Henry, to whom he was opposed, thought nothing of the Church, but simply of their own authority. But, when we bring the experience of ages to bear upon our judgment of the controversy, which Anselm raised, we cannot but perceive that it was not against despotism that he contended; for the most oppressive spiritual despotism was involved in his doctrine of obedience. His contest was simply for a change of masters; he desired to supersede a royal by a spiritual despot.

There is error in the supposition, that because a man is pre-eminent in one line of life, he must excel in every other department of mental activity. In the contemplative life, the virtues and the graces of Anselm were such as to procure for him the admiration and respect of the Church in every age; but as a practical man he failed, and faults in his character were educed, of which he was not himself conscious, and to the existence of which his admirers were equally blind. It is not wonderful that he, who had passed his life in the contemplation of ideas and in the investigation of general principles, should have failed, when thrown among practical men. It was requisite for him not only to maintain, but, according to circumstances, to modify his principles; and, while careful to be influenced by the highest motives himself, to make due allowance for others. It is through the gradual elevation of the inferior motives, that men, born in sin, grow into saints.

In the character of Anselm, there was a mixture of

intellectual power with a delicacy of sentiment and feeling almost feminine. Eadmer tells us that when one day, as he was riding, a hare, pursued by the hounds, ran under his horse for refuge, Anselm's eyes filled with tears. His mind adverted to the most awful of all scenes; and he said, "This hare reminds me of a sinner just dying, surrounded by devils waiting for their prey." He would thus seize upon every opportunity to bring solemn truths to bear upon the minds of the thoughtless. Profane men may ridicule what seems to be mere sentimentality, but parents and pastors, really wise, know how much more forcibly the *obiter dicta* of great and good men speak to the unreflecting mind than any set discourses. Chance sayings are long remembered; and many a son has been influenced, even in his old age, by a pleasantry pregnant with wisdom, which a parent has uttered without premeditation. Many have been ruined by the offhand utterances of those who have forgotten the responsibility they incur, when the education of an immortal soul has been consigned to their care; who have not the wisdom to perceive that a word may be charged with death. But, on the other hand, we sometimes find that those who are skilled to advise others, are incapable of managing themselves. The powerful mind of Anselm, if we may believe his admiring friends, almost sank, at one time, into moral imbecility. It was during his first visit as an exile to Rome. Conscious, probably, that he was not so free from pride as his admirers supposed, he thought fit to humble himself. He determined to place himself under obedience, and asked Pope Urban to recommend him a director by whose orders he might regulate his life. Urban suggested Eadmer his faithful secretary; and Anselm was so much in earnest in following his directions, that he neither got up nor went to bed, nor, it was reported, even turned himself in bed, without the command of his servant.

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The story was captivating to the religious vulgar of the time, and was probably much exaggerated. But, after making every allowance, we are astonished to find such puerility in association with the profundity of thought and intellectual power, exhibited in the writings of this great and good man.

The doctrinal works of Anselm are as follows: —

De Divinitatis Essentia Monologium.
Proslogion seu Alloquium de Dei Existentia.
S. Anselmi Liber Apologeticus contra Gaunilonem.
De Fide Trinitatis et de Incarnatione Verbi.
De Processione Spiritus Sancti contra Græcos.
Dialogus de Casu Diaboli.
Cur Deus Homo.
Liber de Conceptu Virginali et Originali Peccato.
Dialogus de Veritate.
Liber de Voluntate.
Dialogus de Libero Arbitrio.
De Concordia Præscientiæ et Prædestinationis.
De Azymo et Fermentato.
De Sacramentorum Diversitate.
Responsio ad Waleranni Querelas.
Offendiculum Sacerdotum.
De Nuptiis Consanguineorum.
Dialogus de Grammatico.
Liber de Voluntate Dei.

An analysis of these writings, bearing, as many of them do, upon the deepest mysteries of metaphysical and theological science, would be impossible within the limits prescribed to us in this work, and would not be interesting to the general reader. The subject is generally indicated by the title, if we except the third, which was a reply to a monk of Marmoutier, Gaunilo by name. He attacked (and it is said ably) the ontological argument of the Proslogion, taking the side of the Insipiens, Anselm's "Man of Straw."

Here we are to remark, that Anselm was the founder or

forerunner of that new system of theology, which, from the end of the eleventh to the beginning of the sixteenth century, exercised a mighty, we may venture to say a marvellous, influence upon the European mind. Scholasticism derived its name from the circumstances under which it was first produced. It originated in cathedral or monastic schools, where the teacher was styled Scholasticus. It was a species of rationalism, but it differed from modern rationalism in this, that it rested on the sure foundation of faith. It did not, like modern rationalism, argue up to faith, and accept as articles of belief, only what unassisted reason could discover, but, assuming the dogmas of the Church, it sought first to explain, and then to prove their accordance with reason. It analysed the doctrines of Christianity, and resolved them into their constituent ideas, and then reduced them, as far as possible, into a compact system. It contained thus the germ of Protestantism, and the great work of Anselm, "Cur Deus Homo," first developed that plan of salvation, which is the one subject of many Protestant preachers. In this work, the term "satisfaction"* is for the first time applied to the atoning work of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, and it is a term employed to suggest an explanation of the whole mystery of redeeming love. When God commanded rational creatures, angels and men, into existence, the relation which he assumed towards them was that of a Sovereign. Sovereign power implies the existence of a law, and a pledge to enforce it. The one law to all created intelligence is obedience, or the submission of the created will to that of the sovereign ruler. As long as this submission lasts,

* See Swainson, "Authority of the New Testament," Lect. viii. where the whole subject is well considered. The word is used by St. Athanasius, but not in its modern sense. See Stanley's Eastern Church, p. 294.

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the creature lives, and lives in happiness: there is no impediment to his happy existence, no cause for his destruction. But this implies death and misery as the inevitable consequence of disobedience. The consequence cannot be avoided without the annihilation of law; and the annihilation of law would be the triumph of the created will over that of the Creator, and the conversion of the universe into a hell. On the fall of human nature, therefore, the well-being of creation required the misery and death of man, unless something were done, which would maintain the majesty of the law as forcibly as our condemnation. But the obedience of God to his own law would be more than an equivalent; and this God condescended to render. But God, as God, could neither obey nor disobey. God therefore, in the second Person of the ever blessed Trinity, without ceasing to be God, became man also; and the God-man was obedient even unto death. Thus we see why God was made man; how the demands of the law were satisfied, and the Divine honour vindicated, even though the God of justice extended his pardon, under the condition of repentance, to a fallen and an outlawed race.

I have not attempted to analyse the "Cur Deus Homo." I have merely given the character of the argument, to show the scholastic mode of systematising the doctrines of Christianity; and we cannot better prove what has been stated of the manner in which its rationalism is based upon revealed faith, than by quoting a passage which occurs at the commencement of the treatise. The treatise itself is in the form of a dialogue. Boso is supposed to be speaking. Although a real person of that name existed, the Boso in this treatise is a man of straw, to whom the observations of Anselm are addressed. Anselm makes Boso to commence the discussion with the following statement: —

"As due order requires that we should believe the deep things of the Christian faith before we presume to discuss them by our reason, so it appears to me a neglect of duty if, after that we are established in the faith, we do not take pains to understand what we believe. Wherefore since, by the grace of God preventing me, I think I hold so firmly the faith of our redemption, that even were I unable to comprehend by any reasoning what I believe, still nothing would be able to tear from me its firm basis; for this very reason I beg of you to explain to me what, as you know, many inquire of me, viz. what necessity or reason was there, that God, since He is Omnipotent, should have taken upon Him the lowliness and infirmity of human nature, in order to its restoration?"

The same fact is implied in the title, which was originally given to the Proslogion: "Fides quærens intellectum:" Faith in search of understanding. In his Monologium and Proslogion, Anselm adopted the *à priori* argument, and contended that the idea of an entirely perfect being is inherent in reason. In the Monologium he considers the Trinity as the self-knowledge, the intelligence, and love of the Divine Being. In his self-knowledge, his intelligence, and love, he remarks that man acknowledges himself as the image of God; or, which is more correct, he is the image of God then only, when he is conscious of Him, knows Him, and loves Him. The highest destiny of the very being of man is, therefore, to love God, which he is incapable of doing, unless he be conscious of God, and know Him. "To erect this Trinity in himself must therefore be the highest object of man."

I shall only refer to one other of the doctrinal works of Anselm. The "De Processione Spiritus Sancti contra Græcos." This may be regarded as the corrected report

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of the speech made at the Council of Bari: the wonderful effect produced by which has been already described. It has relation to the insertion of the "Filioque," by the Latin Church in the Nicene, or rather Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creed.*

It is impossible to justify the provincial synods, which inserted the words into a creed drawn up by an Œcumenical Council; but the Latins were so clearly right in their doctrine, that, with certain explanations, the controversy would have been amicably settled, if there had not existed a hostile spirit, which sought to exaggerate doctrinal differences, and to justify a predetermined disunion. Upon the merits of Anselm's treatise there can be but one opinion; the logical precision, the accuracy of statement, the lucid expression, are only equalled by the sobriety of tone, and by the sound judgment which avoided quotations from the Latin Fathers, whose authority the Greeks might have disputed, and confined itself to Scripture only, in which Anselm was acknowledged to be mighty.

The following is a list of the practical works: —

Homiliæ et Exhortationes.
Sermo de Passione Domini.
Exhortatio ad Contemptum Temporalium et Desiderium Æternorum.
Admonitio Morienti.
Carmen de Contemptu Mundi.
Aliud.
Liber Meditationum et Orationum.
Meditatio super *Miserere*
De Pace et Concordia.

* The insertion of the words "Filio-que" into the Creed occurred, as is generally supposed, for the first time at a Spanish Council held at Toledo in the year 589 (Mansi, ix. 981). It does not appear to have excited the anger of the Greeks till about the year 707 (Pertz, i. 144). About a century afterwards it was inserted throughout the Western Church (Mansi, xv. 255).

Tractatus Asceticus.
Oratio dicenda ante Perceptionem Corporis et Sanguinis Domini.
Salutatio ad Jesum Christum.
Hymni et Psalterium de S. Maria.
Versus de Lanfranco.

Of these works his Meditations, although the authenticity of some has been doubted, have been translated more than once, and are still in the hands of pious persons of almost every school of theology. They were designed, as Anselm himself tells us, to excite in the soul the love and fear of God, and they ought to be read, not in the hurry of business, but in retirement; in fragments, yet successively, the reader laying them at once aside when he is weary. The homilies and exhortations resemble lectures rather than sermons. They dwell on certain passages of Scripture, upon which they certainly are a literal commentary. They display a real knowledge of the Bible, and an earnest and devout mind. The letters are divided into four books. They are of a miscellaneous character, but afford valuable materials for the history of the time. There are added to his works some prayers and hymns which are attributed to him without sufficient authority. They seem, however, to show how nearly the "*Ora pro nobis*," when addressed to the Virgin Mary, had already approached to Mariolatry.

That such a man as Anselm should feel deeply, the burden of the office he took upon himself, when he consented to be consecrated to the episcopate, is only what we should expect. His temporal affairs he left in the hands of his chapter; his household was conducted by his friend Baldwin of Tournay. But the judicial functions were to be discharged by himself in person, and these he found so irksome, that they depressed his spirits, and often made him melancholy. His faithful secretary and biographer remarks, "We, who were acquainted with his disposition, were accustomed to lead

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him away from the assembly for a while, and restore him with a passage of Scripture, a theological question, or some other spiritual antidote. We occasionally asked him, how it happened that he, who was such a vigorous man, became so weakly and fainthearted; and he replied that, in this respect, he was altogether a child. As the latter is affrighted if a mask is held before it, or when, at the time of weaning, it finds its mother's breast overspread with a bitter liquid, so was he disgusted when he was suddenly brought into contact with the world, and made to look it in the face. He likened himself to an owl, which is only well when it is with its young ones in a hole; but if it comes out among crows and ravens, sees nothing on all sides but pecking beaks, and knows not which way to turn."*

By his hole he meant the convent of Canterbury; for there he drew breath when he returned from the judicial or court days.

His asceticism had ruined a naturally fine constitution. An indisposition attacked him at intervals from his fiftieth year, the first symptoms of which, sleeplessness and failure of appetite, usually terminated in feverish ague. As he advanced in life, the attacks became more frequent. In the spring of 1107, being then in his 74th year, he was confined to his bed by one of these attacks for two months. From this time, he became so feeble that he could not mount his horse, but was carried in a litter when he wished to move from place to place. He still, however, continued his theological researches, and, though with difficulty, completed his treatise "De Concordia Præscientiæ et Prædestinationis, nec non gratiæ Dei cum libero arbitrio."

In July 1108, Anselm suffered another attack. It was

* Vit. Ans. ii. 14.

on an occasion to which allusion has been made before, when he attended the king as he was about to embark for Normandy in the vicinity of Chichester. The archbishop came to the harbour from which the king was about to sail, that he might give him his benediction. He was to cross an arm of the sea which separated him from the king, but was taken so ill, the night before, that he could not fulfil his intention. Several days elapsed before he could be taken back to Pagham, the nearest village, belonging, as a peculiar, to his archbishopric. From this time, his weakness increased daily; but he was able to be removed to Canterbury, which, after Michaelmas 1108, he never quitted. He soon became unable to walk to the cathedral, but, finding comfort in the daily service, was conveyed to his throne in a chair. Although always fatigued by the exertion, he resisted the entreaties of his friends, and attended the service till the fifth day before his death.

On the Friday before Holy Week, 1109, Anselm was confined to his bed; but he was visited by his friends, to whom he addressed words of admonition and advice. On Palm Sunday, some one alluding to the attendance of peers and prelates, which usually took place at the royal palace at the Easter festival, ventured to remark that he would keep this Easter at the court of a Master very different from his earthly sovereign. "It seems so," said Anselm, "and I shall gladly obey his summons; yet I should also feel grateful, if he would vouchsafe me a longer time with you, and permit me to solve a question, in which I feel a lively interest, on the origin of the soul. If I could only enjoy a little food, I might again recover, for with the exception of external weakness, I feel no pain." On Tuesday evening, his words became unintelligible. Ralph, Bishop of Rochester, asked whether he would not once more bestow a benediction on the king and queen, as well

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as on the people of the land which was under his spiritual government. He raised himself. He made the sign of the cross with his right hand; then he sank back on his bed with his head on his breast. Early in the morning, at the time when matins were chanted in the cathedral, one of those who watched at his sick bed opened the Bible, and read to him a portion of the Scripture appointed for the day. When he came to the words, "Ye are they which have continued with Me in My temptations, and I appoint unto you a kingdom, as My Father hath appointed unto Me, that ye may eat and drink with Me in My kingdom" (Luke xxii. 28, 29), Anselm began to breathe heavily. The brethren were immediately assembled. They knelt round his bed and prayed in silence. As the day dawned on the Wednesday before Easter, the 21st of April, 1109, in the seventy-sixth year of his life, and the sixteenth of his pontificate, he fell asleep in Jesus. On Maundy Thursday he was buried in his cathedral.

Perhaps by those whose admiration for his virtues has not rendered them blind to his failings, his memory is more truly honoured than it can be by others, who, in exaggerating his merits, forget that the world has seen but one sinless Being, who is the Lord from heaven, upon whom alone Anselm relied for salvation.

CHAP. IV.

RALPH OF ESCURES.*

Malmesbury's Character of Ralph. — His father, lord of Escures, afterwards a monk at Séez. — Ralph's early life with his noble relations. — Joins his father as a monk at St. Martin's in Séez. — Becomes Subprior, Prior, Abbot. — With Robert de Belèsme at the siege of Shrewsbury. — Driven by De Belèsme from his monastery. — Refuge in England. — Present at the disinterment of St. Cuthbert. — Friend of Anselm and Gundulf. — Consecrated Bishop of Rochester. — Administrator of Canterbury on Anselm's Death. — Translated to the Metropolitan See. — Resolves to maintain the independence of the Church of England. — Disturbed state of the Church Universal. — Controversy with York. — Thurstan's inconsistent conduct. — Two Popes at Rome. — King of England chooses Calixtus II. — Council of Rheims. — Independence of the Church of England offensive to the authorities of the Church of Rome. — Disingenuous conduct of Thurstan and the Pope. — Pope, in spite of his Pledges to the contrary, consecrates Thurstan to the See of York. — Church of England insulted by the Church of Rome. — Controversy about the pall. — Pall sent by Anselm, the late Archbishop's Nephew. — Independence of the Church of England asserted by Peers and Prelates. — Legate of the Church of Rome not permitted to act in England. — Ralph's journey to Rome. — Miserable State of the Church of Rome. — Bishops of Dublin and St. David's consecrated. — Eadmer refuses St. Andrew's. — Ralph afflicted by paralysis. — His temper soured. — Strange scene at marriage of Henry I. — Jurisdiction of Archbishops over all England. — Death of Ralph.

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* Authorities: — The chief authorities are Eadmer's Hist. Nov. lib. v. & vi., which treat of Ralph throughout; William of Malmesbury, De Gest. Pontif. in Savile's Scriptores, pp. 131, 132; Ordericus Vitalis; Gervas.

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THE character of Ralph of Escures, as given by William of Malmesbury, is confirmed by other writers, contemporary, or nearly so, and by the facts of history: "Inferior to none in piety, he was eminent for his literary attainments, and for his surpassing affability. In the multitude of his good fortunes, he would have sought for nothing more than to have conferred still greater benefits upon his friends."* Ordericus says of him, that he was a cheerful, facetious, and amiable person; and in another place†, that he was deeply learned, fluent of speech, good-humoured, and popular. He was one of those happy men who, while censured by sanctimonious folly, was the delight of all who knew him; whose wit was always on the side of virtue, whose humour was considerate of the feelings of others, whose love of society never interfered with the calls of duty, and whose practical wisdom was such, that he could instruct as well as amuse. He was called "nugax," but of his wit and wisdom, his repartees and jests, no record has been preserved.

I have not discovered the year of his birth. His father, Seffrid or Sigefrid, was Lord of Escures, a hamlet in the suburbs of Séez, situated in the modern department of the Orne. While Ralph was yet young, his father became a monk of St. Martin's in that city. Ralph had a brother who bore his father's name. This brother became Abbot of Glastonbury and Bishop of Chichester.‡ His early life

* William of Malmesbury, De Gestis Pontif. lib. i. 132.

† Ord. Vit. lib. xi. c. 7.; lib. viii. c. 8.

‡ Malmesbury mentions him thus: "Seffrid Pelochin" a monk of Séez, and brother of Ralph, Archbishop of Canterbury, was made Abbot of Glastonbury by Henry I., and governed that monastery for six years. In 1125 he was made Bishop of Chichester (the fourth); Henry of Blois succeeded him as Abbot of Glastonbury. Seffrid was deposed in 1145; the reason of this is unknown. He died in 1151. Malms. De Antiq. Glaston., ed. Gale, 334. See also H. Huntingdon in Epist. de Episcopis sui Temporis. The Chronicon

was passed in an illustrious family, probably among his paternal relations; in what character is not mentioned. He was yet a youth when he joined his father at St. Martin's, and became a monk. This occurred in 1079. He served the offices of subprior and prior, and in the year 1089 he was elected abbot. His early appointment to this important post is a testimony of his merit. He remained Abbot of Séez for sixteen years; and, during those troublous times, he succeeded in the maintenance of internal discipline, and in the preservation of the monastic property from the lawless barons, whose undisciplined followers were ever ready to invade it. In the epistles of Anselm, there is a letter, addressed to Ralph and his brethren, in which the following curious sentence occurs; "As to the brother who gathered herbs for a woman to poison her husband—although in Normandy you have with you many persons well qualified to give advice—yet, as you ask it, I ought to give you my opinion; if he were a monk of mine, and the man for whose removal the herbs were gathered, were destroyed by them, he should never be advanced by me to the diaconate or priesthood."* The claims of business would furnish an excuse for an abbot to mix in general society; and, under the plea of visiting the distant cells of the monastery, he would travel at the common expense. We are not surprised to hear of the Abbot of Séez in England; but what

Petroburgense makes it appear that he was deposed in 1146, and that, returning to Glastonbury, he died there. This is not the Seffrid to whom we are indebted for the rebuilding of our cathedral of Chichester after the great fire which took place in 1186. Seffrid the Second was made Dean of Chichester, and afterwards consecrated Bishop of Chichester in 1180. The last named great man reconsecrated our cathedral in 1199. He also rebuilt the palace, and founded the prebend of Sleaford. Of Seffrid the First nothing is reported in the MS. register compiled by order of Bishop William Rede. See Dallaway.

* Anselm, Epp. lib. iii. Ep. 23, ed. Migne.

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perplexes us is to find him domesticated with Robert de Belèsme. When Robert de Belèsme, having added, by purchase from William Rufus, the earldom of Shrewsbury to that of Alençon, in the following reign espoused the cause of Robert Duke of Normandy, he was defeated by Henry I.; and when the castle and town of Shrewsbury surrendered, the keys of the town were delivered into the hands of Henry by Ralph Abbot of Séez.*

Of all the bad barons of the age,—and their name was legion,—Robert de Belèsme holds the foremost place as a monster of iniquity. Henry of Huntingdon speaks of him as "a very Pluto, Megæra, Cerberus, or anything you can conceive still more horrible."† He preferred the slaughter of his prisoners to their ransom: he delayed their death, that they might be tortured, mutilated, or impaled; they were tortured, mutilated, and impaled that he might feast his eyes, by witnessing the death struggles of the victims he butchered. His name was the theme of general discourse; and, by recounting the fearful freaks of Robert de Belèsme, nurses, for centuries, alarmed their children. One special deed of horror is narrated: a godchild of his, whose father, formerly his friend, had committed some trifling offence, having approached him in sport, was seized by the monster, who, with his accursed nails, tore out his eyes.‡

The early life of this ferocious madman, nevertheless, had given promise of better things. Robert de Belèsme is described by Ordericus as endued with a subtle genius, deceitful, wily; a fluent speaker, and a skilful mechanist. While it served his purpose, he courted Ralph; but, soon after his return to Normandy, the Abbot of Séez became

* Malmesbury, G. R. v. 396.

† See his letter to Walter, Ang. Sac. ii. 698.

‡ William of Malmesbury, lib. v. 328. The same story is told by Ordericus.

an object of his hatred. The capitulation of Shrewsbury occurred in 1102, and we find Ralph again in England in 1104 an exile. He had been ejected from his monastery by the tyranny of Robert de Belèsme, and was welcomed in England by Henry I.

In this country, he seems to have enjoyed an easy pleasant life. Throwing off the restraints of monkdom, though without any imputation of immoral conduct, he travelled as a visitor from one monastery to another, always a welcome guest. A wit himself, he was the cause of wit in others. Some persons complained of his wasting a great deal of time; and dullards regarded his jokes as unclerical. But he was determined to see whatever was to be seen; and when the monks of Durham were prepared to disinter the bones of St. Cuthbert, the ex-abbot of Séez proposed himself as their guest.

The bones of St. Cuthbert have been three times disturbed since their final settlement at Durham: in 1104, in 1540, and in 1827. We are informed by Simeon of Durham, and Roger of Hoveden, that in 1104 the body of St. Cuthbert was exposed, because certain stories, circulated by the monks, were received with incredulity in rival monasteries, and among the thinking few. The disinterment was conducted with much solemnity. Besides the Abbot of Séez there was present Alexander, soon after, King of the Scots. The statement made by Roger of Hoveden is brief, and was probably copied from Simeon of Durham. The body, according to their statement, was found uncorrupted, and so flexible in its joints that, although the burial had taken place four hundred and eighteen years, five months, and twelve days before, it presented the appearance of a man composed to sleep.*

To the authentic narrative were soon added the stories,

* Malmesbury, De Gestis Pontif. 151; Simeon of Durham 229.

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which originated in the imagination of wondering monks; and the wonders they narrated were soon exaggerated into miracles. These stories, which have found their way into the *Acta Sanctorum*, were, for a time, believed; and then they were rejected and exposed.

When the disinterment took place in 1827*, our antiquaries agreed in affirming that the innermost of the three coffins in which the body was found deposited, was the identical coffin which had been consigned to the grave by the monks of Lindisfarne in 698. The bones were found enveloped in the perishing remains of what had, at one period, been episcopal robes of no ordinary richness and beauty. But the bones of the skeleton were found in a perfectly dry state, and no trace whatever was observed of the decomposition of a human body having taken place since they had been deposited in the coffin.

We must suppose that, before the Abbot Ralph saw the corpse, it had been subjected to some manipulation. The monks would not probably, in acting thus, feel more compunction, than that which is experienced by secretaries and auditors of modern institutions, when they "cook the accounts." Neither the Abbot of Séez, nor the Prince Alexander, would think it more necessary to investigate appearances, than the readers of journals published by Home and Foreign Missionary Societies, when they see the interest which is excited by the relation of facts, which, though not always well authenticated, appeal to the sentiment of piety and the enthusiasm of benevolence.

* For the disinterment in 1827, see Raine's brief account of Durham cathedral, and Ormsby's Sketches of Durham. The remains of St. Cuthbert were deposited, under a blue marble slab, on the spot where his shrine had formerly stood in 1540. Those who have seen the dead body of Charles Borromeo, at Milan, may be inclined to think that the monks of Durham in 1104 may have found the body more perfect than is generally supposed.

That there was a deep fund of seriousness in Ralph, is proved by the fact, that he was always welcome, as a guest, in the palaces of Anselm and Gundulf,—the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of Rochester. In the month of March, 1108, Ralph received intelligence that his aged friend, the Bishop of Rochester, was seriously ill. He hastened to administer to him the consolations of religion, and remained with him for some time, "in sweet conversation on the heavenly life."* When they parted, tears were shed on both sides; for there was an unexpressed feeling that they would meet no more in this world. Ralph had hardly reached the door before he heard the bishop saying, "Call back the abbot." Ralph returned. All persons were required to withdraw. Gundulf had previously directed his episcopal ring to be brought to him: he now placed it, as his last gift, in Ralph's hand. The abbot said that the gift might be better bestowed, as it did not pertain to an abbot to wear a ring; and, though not living as a monk, he reminded the bishop that such was still his profession. "Take it, nevertheless," said the bishop; "you will want it, some day or other, and do not disobey me."

He received the ring as his friend's last legacy, and departed. Gundulf, doubtless, knew the disposition of his chapter and the intention of the archbishop, in whom the appointment to the see of Rochester was really vested; and he may have felt secure that Ralph would be his successor. When, soon after, the Abbot of Séez did actually become the Bishop of Rochester, it was of course opined that Gundulf died in the odour of sanctity, having been inspired with the gift of prophecy.

From the 21st of April, 1109, when Archbishop Anselm died, the see of Canterbury was again vacant for

* Eadmer, Vit. Gundulf.; Anselm, Opp., ed. Migne, ii. 833; also Angl. Sac. ii. 290.

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five years. King Henry, always specious, asserted that he was following his father's example, and that he only delayed the appointment, from his anxiety to find a person duly qualified to discharge the duties of an office so important. We may suspect also that, as the controversy with respect to investitures was still going on between the pope and the emperor, he was in hopes that circumstances might arise, which would enable him to retreat from the compact upon that subject, into which, for the sake of peace, he had entered with the late archbishop.

That the property of the see was sequestered during the vacancy is certain; but we may doubt whether the king exceeded his constitutional rights, according to which, although he was entitled to the income, he was bound to spend it on religious and charitable uses.* Henry was an encourager of literature, of the fine arts, as far they then existed, and of architecture. We may presume that the revenues of the see were assigned to the chapter of Canterbury, to enable them to complete the great works in progress in Canterbury cathedral. It is thus that we account for a speech of the king which is recorded in Eadmer.† Complaint had been made to him of the great expense incurred by the monks in the repairs of the cathedral; and he was reminded that the money so spent might be better applied to the expenses of the state. Henry admitted that he had a right to interfere, if they were squandering their money on works inconsistent with their sacred profession; "but," he said, "if they expend their income in enlarging the house of God, and in making it more magnificent, then, praise be to God, who has inspired them with a will to engage in such works; praise be to God, who has vouchsafed to me the blessing that, in my days, my Holy Mother, the Church

* Natalis Alexander, xiii. 135. † Eadmer, Hist. Nov. v. p. 489.

of England, receives not damage, but increase." This was a speech, *ad captandum;* but it is valuable, as indicating the tone of feeling likely, at that time, to be popular.

In the mean time, Ralph, as Bishop of Rochester, was administrator of the see. He had some claim to act in this capacity; because the Bishops of Rochester were regarded as, in some sense, the coadjutors of the Archbishops of Canterbury. He exercised his authority, at the request of the chapter, so far as the diocese was concerned; and with the concurrence of the bishops of the province, and by the direction of the king and his great council, in what related to the province.

Ralph gave proof, in this position, of his firmness of character, his sound judgment, and his conciliatory manners. He asserted, with uncompromising energy, the prerogatives of the metropolitan see; and yet he retained the respect and regard of all the suffragans. It is to be observed that Eadmer, by way of eulogy, affirms that "he was a faithful defender of the see in every emergency. Without the bishop's leave, he dedicated, on being requested, the churches of the whole province of Canterbury both in Kent and out of it; sedulously administering affairs, as they needed his care in every place, for the promotion of Christianity. This he did, both as regards persons and property, during the whole five years."*

According to the spirit of the age, every man felt himself bound to maintain the privileges of his office, at all risks, and to extend them if possible. King, pope, prelate, all were engaged in the pursuit of power; feeling personally aggrieved at any insult offered to their respective offices.

At length, the time had come when Henry could no

* Hist. Nov. v. p. 489.

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longer resist the remonstrances which assailed him from all quarters, and he determined that an archbishop should be appointed. He acted with his usual policy and sound judgment. The nobles and prelates, the chief authorities in Church and State, obeyed his summons at the court he held at Windsor. The Bishop of Rochester was required to bring with him the prior and some other members of the chapter of Canterbury. They were surprised at the summons, for it was known that the inclination of the king was to the appointment of Faricius, a monk of Abingdon. Eadmer, who was in attendance upon the Bishop of Rochester, observes: "As we were on our way to Windsor, we were met by several persons returning from the council; who told us that we should certainly have Faricius for our archbishop. We received the intelligence with joy, for we knew him to be a man of experience and industry. And when we arrived at the court, every one was talking of Faricius."*

But party feeling ran high. The chapter of Canterbury were determined to have for their archbishop none but a monk; and, assuming an ignorance on the part of the Anglo-Normans of the early history of our Church, they boldly asserted that, from the time of Augustine to that of Stigand, the metropolitan see had always been filled by a monk. The bishops, on the contrary, after their experience of Anselm, were fully persuaded, that the times required a man of the world to preside over a distracted Church, and they were determined only to accept a secular. With the bishops a majority of the lay peers coincided in opinion. The bishops acted with great discretion. When they saw that the party feeling be-

* There is a long account of Faricius in the Chron. Abingdon, ii. 287 et seq., which also gives a curious detail of a contest between Faricius and his monks about their allowance of cheese, in which Archbishop Ralph acted as adjudicator.

tween the seculars and the religious was becoming violent, they proposed the Bishop of Rochester. He was brought forward as a compromise. On the one hand, he had been a monk, and still bore the title of abbot; on the other hand, he had, for some time, laid aside the restraints of monkhood, and had lived as a secular. The king had in all probability determined on this course, if he failed to carry his point with respect to Faricius. It was on that account, that he had required the chapter to be represented. He signified his assent to the proposal that Ralph should be the archbishop. The announcement was received with a shout of applause. The pious declared that the king's heart had been moved by the Spirit of God. All parties were reconciled, for the affability of Ralph—a virtue very rare in those days, when pride was esteemed a virtue—had won for him golden opinions from all sorts of men.

The election took place on the 26th of April, 1114.* The archbishop fixed the 17th of May for the day of his enthronisation. The bishops, the clergy, the people, the monks had flocked to Canterbury to receive him. His entry into the city was like a triumphal procession; and the first days were consumed in splendid hospitality.

Archbishop Ralph and the king understood one another; and both of them were determined to maintain intact the rights of the crown, and the liberties of the Church of England.

But never was the Church universal in a more divided state. The East and the West were separated. Rival popes were continually struggling for the mastery in Rome. In the Church of England, the two metropolitans were adding to the unseemly controversies of the day, through the determination of the Archbishops of Canter-

* Flor. Wig. ii. 67; Eadmer, v. p. 490.

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bury, on the one hand, to extend the prerogatives of their province; and the struggles of the Archbishops of York, on the other hand, to maintain an independent position.

Thurstan is a man whose name lives in history as connected with the battle of the Standard. On that occasion the country was deeply indebted to his firmness, discretion, and wisdom. His character was revered, in the north of England as that of a man of piety abounding in alms deeds. In his controversy with the see of Canterbury he struggled for honour, yielding rather to the spirit of the age than to his own inclinations. After his election to the see of York, he applied for consecration to Archbishop Ralph. The archbishop expressed his readiness to consecrate him; but required first the oath of canonical obedience. The oath had been resisted by the predecessors of the elect of York, Thomas I., Gerard, and Thomas II.; but they had all been compelled, by the civil authority, to acknowledge the supremacy of the pontiff of Canterbury. Nevertheless, Thurstan refused to take the oath. An appeal was made to the king. The king decreed that Thurstan should do to the Church of Canterbury, what was due by ancient right; that he should make his profession according to the usage of his predecessors, and preserve all the other dignities of the primatial see: in the event of his refusal he was to lose the archbishopric of York.

Thurstan, without any hesitation, renounced his election; and pledged his faith, that, as long as he lived, he would not demand the archbishopric or lay any claim thereto.

So far his conduct was consistent and praiseworthy. When he made his promise he was, no doubt, sincere; and he was content to remain in a humbler position. A really great man regards high station merely as a place of usefulness, which can neither add to, nor deduct from that greatness of mind of which he is conscious; and in the

consciousness of which, he finds satisfaction, even though he may never have an opportunity of displaying it. But he may not be able to withstand the friendly persecution of expectant and disappointed relations or dependants. Thurstan was persuaded that he had committed an error, in so easily resigning the see to which he was elected. When once he had yielded to the entreaties of his party, that he should reassert his claim, he was determined to carry his point, and was not very scrupulous in his mode of proceeding.

The king had gone to Normandy. There we find Thurstan endeavouring to persuade Henry to reappoint him. The legates of Thurstan were sent to Rome, where a ready ear was ever lent to those who made an appeal; and the pope interposed in his favour. The pope very kindly proposed to take upon himself the trouble, notwithstanding the multiplicity of his business, to hear and decide upon the respective claims of the two metropolitans. But King Henry was not to be so easily caught. The Archbishop of Canterbury refused to consecrate. The king would not compel him. The chapter of York declined to elect any one in the place of Thurstan. The Church, as usual, in these mere personal conflicts, so common at this time, suffered loss.

There were now two popes at Rome. There had lately been three: and, as Simeon of Durham informs us, the world was influenced by party spirit and was divided; some fancying one pope and some the other, to the great scandal of the Church. According to the principles of the Church of England at this time, it pertained to the prerogative of the crown, to choose a pope, when there were two or more pretenders to the papal see; and Henry I., in conjunction with the French king, made choice of Calixtus II. who, after a time, triumphed over his opponents.

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Calixtus, a Frenchman, determined to hold a council in France, which was appointed to assemble on the 20th of October, 1119, at Rheims. Several of the English bishops, who were in attendance upon the king in Normandy, asked permission to be assistant at the synod, The archbishop, although in Normandy, pleaded business and ill health, for his non-attendance *; but the Bishops of Exeter, Durham, St. David's, and Llandaff were present. They were not very cordially received, because the pope was aware, that they would, in no wise, compromise the independence of the Church of England. They had received their instructions. No complaints of any sort were to be laid before the pope. The prelates were to inform him, if any regulations were suggested, that they were to be carried into effect solely by the authority of the English Church. Their commission was, simply to salute the pope in the king's name; and they were charged not to bring back with them any of his superfluous innovations or new-fangled notions.† The pope, however, was a match for the king. Thurstan, the Archbishop elect of York, had come to Normandy, as we have stated already. He asked permission to accompany the prelates to an assembly, which was attractive even to those who were only present as spectators. The royal consent was given reluctantly; and not until Thurstan had most solemnly pledged his word and his honour, that he would not accept consecration at the pope's hands, or do any thing prejudicial to the see of Canterbury.

This was not all; the king and the archbishop had no confidence in Thurstan, and did not rely on his word. The archbishop's brother, therefore, Seffrid, was sent to the pope to warn him, that he was not himself to consecrate Thurstan, or to permit his consecration by any but

* Eadmer, v. p. 503.

† Ord. Vit. xii. 21.

the Archbishop of Canterbury. The pope sent an evasive answer, which was understood, and was intended to be understood, as a promise to accede to the king's demand: "Let not the king suppose that I will act otherwise than reason demands, in the matter on which he treats; or that I have any desire to lower the dignity of the Church of Canterbury."

The king and the archbishop were satisfied; and yet it is impossible to doubt that Thurstan and Calixtus were, at this very time, acting in concert, and with a predetermination to violate or evade their stipulations and promises.

The council was convened for Monday the 20th of October. It would seem that the bishops of the Church of England did not arrive till the very day of the meeting, or perhaps the night before.

The first news that reached their ears was, that Thurstan had, on Sunday the 19th, been consecrated Archbishop of York by the pope himself.

This open violation of the most solemn promises was not committed without warning or protest. Seated on his throne in the nave of the church, with the cardinals of his party arranged below him, surrounded by archbishops, bishops, and abbots, each with his staff to denote his pastoral office, with a guard of honour commanded by some of the great nobles of Italy and France;—Pope Calixtus announced his intention to consecrate Thurstan on the morrow,—giving, by the time and place selected, more than ordinary importance and solemnity to the event. John, Archdeacon of Canterbury, rose in the midst of the august assembly. His position, as the sole representative of the Church of England there present, commanded attention. In the name of his metropolitan,

* Continuator of Florence of Worcester, ii. 73.

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he protested against this violation of the laws of the Church universal, this infraction of the most sacred promises. The pope was aware that Thurstan's money had circulated freely *; and, with that coolness, which a man can assume when he knows that he will be firmly supported, and which approaches the character of insolence, he replied, "We wish to do no injustice to the Church of Canterbury; but, saving its dignity, we will carry out what we have proposed." And then, "like a tall bully, who lifts his head and lies," he not only proceeded to consecrate Thurstan, but conferred upon him, so far as in him lay, the privilege of not being subject to the see of Canterbury, but of holding equal rank in his own province. This took place on the 19th of October.

King Henry was so incensed at the double breach of the promises thus given, that he prohibited Thurstan from returning to England, or from residing in any part of his dominions.

We shall meet with Thurstan again in the next chapter. We now proceed to remark, that this was not the first studied insult which had been offered to the Church of England and its archbishop, by the court of Rome.

Upon the translation of the Bishop of Rochester to the see of Canterbury, the king had permitted the chapter to notify the election to Paschal, who was at that time pope, and to demand the pall. The application was made in a free and independent spirit. The archbishop being gouty made the state of his health a plea for his not visiting Rome in person. The chapter remembered that Hildebrand had refused to send a pall to Lanfranc; and they stated plainly that, unless the pall were sent, the Church of England would be involved in difficulties, and would have no archbishop.

The point seems here to have been now at length conceded, that the pall was necessary for the exercise of metro-

politan authority;—the concession of which principle was the admission of that wedge which, for a season, fractured the independence of the English Church. But the spirit of independence was sustained by Ralph and Henry, who seem to have acted as cordially together as Lanfranc and the Conqueror had done, half a century before. The king and nearly all the bishops wrote in the same strain as the chapter of Canterbury. Their legates, when they arrived at Rome were treated with marked disrespect, and to their application for the pall they received no reply. How their mission would have terminated it is impossible to say, if it had not been for the kind interference of Anselm, a nephew of the late archbishop, who had lived much in England, where he had many friends; and who, from the kindness of his manners, was everywhere justly popular. He was a personal friend of the Pope, by whom he had been appointed Abbot of St. Sabas. Happening to be at Rome, he visited the legates at the Lateran, and undertook to facilitate their business. He, with some difficulty, persuaded the pope and his advisers, though they refused to notice the legates from the Church of England, to entrust the pall to him, that by him it might be conveyed to Canterbury.

We are enabled, from the letters addressed, by Pope Paschal, to the King of England, to the bishops, and to the chapter of the cathedral of Canterbury, to ascertain the ground on which this hostile feeling to the Church of England rested. Its great fault was its independence. It was assumed that it had power, amply sufficient, in itself, to regulate its own affairs without the interference of any foreign prince, prelate, state, or potentate. The suffragans of the Church of England made profession of canonical obedience to their primate only, without any reservation of obedience to the pope. Upon its metropolitans devolved the right of convening provincial synods; while it

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pertained to the prerogative of the Crown to convene national synods, without the intervention of a papal legate. A national synod was the last court of appeal. Bulls and decretal epistles were without authority, until they had received the sanction of the Crown. They could not be received, or, if received, they could not be promulgated, without the consent of the king. "You," says the pope, "without advising with us, determine all ecclesiastical affairs within yourselves, call councils by your own authority, suffer no appeals to be made to us, and without our consent translate bishops." He threatens that if the bishops of the Church of England persist in thus maintaining their independence, he would shake off the dust of his feet against them.*

The policy of the Roman curia, on the other hand, was, by the introduction of papal legates, to supersede or override the local functionaries. Legates were sent to hold councils, under pretence of effecting reforms in provincial churches; and, when a metropolitan was obnoxious, the legatine commission was prolonged, so as to effect his virtual suspension. The lawless and discontented were always ready to support the distant, in preference to the native, magistrate.

When Anselm proposed, therefore, to go himself as a legate, and in that capacity to convey the pall to Ralph, — his proposal commended itself to the judgment of the pope and his friends. His popularity was a recommendation of him to the office. But although Anselm, when he delivered the pall was received by the archbishop in great state, and by the king cordially and kindly, yet he was able to effect nothing. In the year 1116 Anselm was again employed to force his way into England as a papal nuncio. He brought letters from the pope ap-

* Eadmer, Hist. Nov. p. 115, 116, ed. Selden.

pointing him to act as Papal legate in England. The king was in Normandy, and had left the queen to act as regent. Knowing the advice she would receive from the archbishop, Henry directed the queen to lay the matter before her council; when it was unanimously agreed by peers and prelates, the authorities in Church and State, that for a legate from the pope to visit the Church of England, uninvited, was an infraction of the common law of the land. It followed that the mission of Anselm, in that character, was an innovation not to be tolerated. It was determined that the primate should immediately proceed to Normandy, to lay before the king the ancient customs and liberties of the realm; and that, if the king thought proper, the archbishop should pass on to Rome completely to put a stop to this innovation (*ut hæc nova annihilaret*). He found Henry at Rouen. Anselm was prohibited from approaching the shores of England. The archbishop prepared to proceed on his journey to Italy, but was detained for a month by very serious indisposition.*

Although Ralph had long been subject to attacks of gout, this was the first great break of his constitution. He rallied, however, from this attack, and commenced his journey in great state.

Ralph, as a man of the world, was quite aware that a metropolitan, known for his determination to maintain the rights and liberties of the Church of England, was not likely to receive attention at Rome, unless he appeared there in all the pomp and grandeur, which, to the semi-barbarous taste of Europe was, at that period, peculiarly attractive. He travelled with a splendid retinue. Men

* Ordericus Vitalis speaks of a swelling in the feet; but Eadmer, who was with him, says, "Gravi ulcere in facie percussus est, et intumescente toto capite, usque ad extrema pene perducitur, — lecto decubuit, nobis qui cum eo eramus vix vitam illi pollicentibus."—*Eadmer*, v. p. 497.

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of wealth were in his train; and, wherever they went, through France and Italy, their liberal expenditure secured for them a hearty welcome. The Archbishop of Canterbury appeared, as became the Pope of Western Europe, which was the title assigned by Urban to Anselm.

On his arrival at Rome, the Archbishop of Canterbury witnessed the sad effects of the divided state of the Church. The pope had been compelled to fly from the city and had retired to Beneventum. The Archbishop of Canterbury was still in a delicate state of health, and, finding the roads beset with the imperial troops, he remained at Rome, and communicated with the pope by letter. He was obliged to be contented with a letter addressed to the king and the English hierarchy; in which the pope, in general terms, declares that he had no intention to lessen the dignity of the See of Canterbury, but that all the privileges from Augustine to Anselm should be inviolably preserved.*

Upon this communication William of Malmesbury remarks, that if the pope had plainly said the Church of Canterbury possesses such and such privileges, specifying them, he would have put an end to all controversy upon the subject.† But when he adopted merely general terms, he left the whole subject in the same state in which it was before. This, says the historian, is in perfect keeping with the subtlety of the court of Rome: to give ambiguous answers, regardless of the trouble occasioned to others, and looking only to its own gains.

The archbishop, on the receipt of this letter, left Rome, but remained, a short time, at Sutri; thinking it possible that an interview might even yet be effected. When he found that the pope could not return to Rome, he joined the king in Normandy.

* Baronius, ad ann. 1117; Malmesbury, De Gest. Pontif. p. 131.

† Ibid.

In the time of Pope Calixtus, another attempt was made on the part of the authorities of Rome to force a papal legate on the Church of England. An Italian, named Peter, a man of learning and piety, a monk of Clugny, was constituted legate for France, England, Scotland, and Ireland. On his arrival in Normandy, he notified his mission to King Henry; and he was desired to remain on that side of the channel until the king's pleasure should be declared. The king ascertained the feeling of the prelates; and, having full confidence in the resolution of the primate, he signified his willingness to receive a visit from Peter. He directed Bernard, Bishop of St. David's, and John, probably one of his chaplains, to attend him. They received express orders not to permit him to take even a night's rest in any cathedral or monastery, or to receive any presents or even provisions from any ecclesiastical corporation. He was merely the king's guest. When Peter arrived at the palace, he was received with the courtesy and good-humour, which were natural to Henry, and which did not forsake him even when meditating conduct the most oppressive and severe. He explained to Peter that, by the common law of the land, no legate from the Bishop of Rome could appear in that character in England, except at the king's request, or by his permission; that the present visit, therefore, was only of a private nature; that, without the consent of his great council, the king could not permit him to open his legatine commission; and that, owing to the Welsh war, he had no time to attend to the important matters which Peter had come to broach. And so, Peter, after receiving many civilities, returned to France; while the king and the archbishop, both of them great jokers, laughed heartily at the address with which he had been bowed out of the country.*

* Hist. Nov. p. 520.

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Although the archbishop had been obliged, from circumstances, to be much absent from England, he had looked carefully to the interests of the Church. He was the patron of good and learned men, and used his influence with the king to secure their preferment. Among the persons so preferred was Ernulf, to whom we are indebted for the Textus Roffensis; and who, through Ralph's interest, if not by his nomination, was appointed to the see of Rochester. Eadmer, the biographer of Anselm, was the friend also of Ralph; and it is from his "Historia Novorum" that we have gathered the chief facts relating to his life and history. To Archbishop Ralph, as to his predecessors, Lanfranc and Anselm, application was made for the consecration of a Bishop of Dublin, and he consecrated also a Bishop of St. David's. These applications for consecration serve to show that the Archbishops of Canterbury were still, in public estimation, the Patriarchs of the West; and, from their requiring the oath of canonical obedience, it is equally clear that the Archbishops of Canterbury were willing to establish their metropolitan authority over all the British Isles. Eadmer was elected to the see of St. Andrew's in Scotland,—he refused the mitre, unless he might profess his allegiance to the English primate; —a concession which the king of the Scots was not prepared to make. The authorities of the see of Canterbury were, in this respect, as ambitious as the court of Rome. We have not dwelt on the details of these several attempts to enlarge the powers of the see of Canterbury, because they were not attended with permanent results. The papal policy was to depress metropolitans, and to bring all bishops under the dominion of the pope; and when the papal dominion was more completely established, the Irish and Scottish Churches were instructed to depend for

their support not on the see of Canterbury, but on the see of Rome.

In the year 1119, Archbishop Ralph was with the king at Rouen. He had just been officiating at divine service, and was taking off his robes in the vestry, when he was laid low by a stroke of the palsy. On his partial restorasion to health, he hastened back to England. He entered Canterbury in a carriage, constructed for the purpose of enabling him to travel with ease. He returned still capable of business, but an altered man. At first he had lost the use of speech, but this he had partially recovered. He exerted himself to discharge the duties of his high calling; and notwithstanding his difficulty of utterance, he spoke ably in council. But the happy, joyous, kind, and affable man had become irritable, tetchy, and severe. We have a remarkable instance of his irritability in an anecdote narrated by Eadmer.*

In January 1121, Henry, having lost his first wife, "the good Queen Molde," had determined to celebrate, with becoming pomp, his marriage with Adela, the young and beautiful daughter of Godfrey, Count of Louvain. The marriage ceremony was to take place at Windsor. The king was not willing that the service should be performed by a paralytic old man; and, as Windsor was in the Diocese of Salisbury, the claim of the bishop, to officiate, was admitted or suggested by the court. But the other bishops rallied round the primate, on this occasion; and declared that the office belonged to the Archbishop of Canterbury. The reason they assigned was, that the king and queen were the especial parishioners of the primate. The royal household was one of the archbishop's peculiars. They added yet further, that the diocesan jurisdiction of a bishop could not deprive the archbishop of his acknow-

* Eadmer, vi. p. 578. It is repeated by Gervas.

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ledged privilege ; for, in point of fact, the whole island is the archbishop's diocese by right of the Primacy of Canterbury; and that all the bishops in the island enjoy the dioceses, which they hold, through him and from him.

Henry never engaged in a useless controversy, and he yielded to the decision of his bishops.

On the morrow after the wedding, January 30th, the queen was to be crowned. The Norman kings affected imperial pomp. On the great festivals the king appeared arrayed in his robes of state, with the crown on his head. To each member of the household certain offices were attached; and by ceremonial observances, on these occasions, some of the nobles held their estates. On all great festivals, the crown was placed on the king's head by the archbishop, or by some bishop deputed by him. On this occasion, however, Henry, who, it may be presumed, pitied the infirmities of the tottering archbishop trembling in every limb, dispensed with the ceremony, and placed the crown upon his head with his own hands. The service had commenced. The introit had been sung. The archbishop had taken his place near the altar, when his eye rested upon the king. He saw him sitting on his throne, crowned; he knew that the crown had not been placed on the royal brow by himself. He imagined that a slight had been put upon his office. Robed as he was and adorned with the archiepiscopal pall, the poor old prelate tottered down the steps and approached the king. Henry rose to meet him in an attitude of reverence and respect. The archbishop inquired of him, who had placed the crown on his head. The king, rather annoyed at the interruption, remarked that it was a matter of no importance, and said, that he had really forgotten how it was done. The archbishop exclaimed : " Whosoever he be that has done this, he has done it against right and justice ; nor so long as it remains on your head will I proceed with the

office I have begun." The king said good-naturedly to his old friend; "If, as you say, an act of injustice has been done, do what you think to be right; there will be no resistance on my part." *

The crown was fastened under the chin by a clasp. Henry knew that the archbishop would not have steadiness of hand to unbuckle it, and himself undid the fastening. Ralph then removed the crown. There seems to have been some fear lest he should refuse to replace it; and all, with a loud voice, entreated him to overlook the offence. But Ralph soon silenced their fears: he replaced the crown on Henry's head; and, standing by the king's side, he intoned the *Gloria in excelsis*, to which the choir responded. Then the solemnity of crowning the queen proceeded, and the day was kept by the assembled multitude as a joyous festival.

With the exception of some consecrations, this was the last public act in which the archbishop was engaged. His disease gradually increased upon him, and he expired on the 20th of October, 1122. He was buried in his cathedral.

* Gervas, Act. Pontif. Cant. X. Script. 1662.

CHAP. V.

WILLIAM OF CORBEUIL.*

Birth, Parentage, Education, unknown. — Clerk to Ralph Flambard, one of the bad bishops of Durham. — Prior of St. Osyth. — Council at Gloucester. — Party Spirit in Church of England. — Elected Archbishop. — Consecrated by Bishop of London. — Controversy with Thurstan. — Called William de Turbine. — John of Crema permitted to open legatine commission in England. — Afraid to summon a council in the Pope's Name. — Council of Westminster. — Indignation of English churchmen at the Legate's conduct. — Canons of the council. — Archbishop William goes to Rome. — First primate of England who accepts a legatine commission. — Pope's Bull. — Parish Priests. — Their function. — Tithes not granted to them. — Difficulty of enforcing celibacy of the Clergy. — Clergy purchased their wives from the King. — Council at Windsor decide against the pretensions of the Archbishop of York. — Consecration of Canterbury Cathedral. — Coronation of Stephen. — The Archbishop censured. — His Death.

CHAP. V. William of Corbeuil. 1123—1136.

Of the birth, parentage, and education of William of Corbeuil, I know nothing. The place from which he derives his designation is situated on the Seine in the vicinity of Paris. It is generally supposed that this was his birth-place, and that he was a Frenchman.

His first appearance in history is as one of the clerks of Ralph Flambard, Bishop of Durham.† To have been a chaplain of the Bishop of Durham is certainly not to his credit. Ralph had been the chancellor and chief adviser

* Authorities: —Gervas; Gesta Stephani; Simeon of Durham; Henry of Huntingdon; Continuator of Florence of Worcester.

† Simeon of Durham, Script. X. 247.

of William Rufus, and was the ready and efficient instrument of the extortion and tyranny of that monarch. He well deserved his sobriquet of Flambard or "devouring torch." He is described by William of Malmesbury, as the plunderer of the rich, the exterminator of the poor, and the confiscator of other men's inheritance. No man was ever more unpopular, than Ralph Flambard, Bishop of Durham; but he died confessing his sins, and giving loud utterance to his feelings of repentance. He had become a penitent for some time before his death, and gave proofs of his sincerity by his conduct. We might think little of his ordering his estate, after his death, to be distributed to the poor; but, while he was yet able to enjoy his ill-gotten wealth, he spent it not only in restoring his cathedral, and enriching it with costly presents, but in fortifying the city, and in works which rendered it more salubrious; in erecting Norham Castle on the Tweed to prevent the incursions of the Scots; in founding a hospital at Kepier, and a priory at Mottisfont near Winchester.* As a set-off against the position of William of Corbeuil in the household of the Bishop of Durham, it is to be mentioned that he was in frequent and familiar intercourse with the saintly Anselm.† As Anselm was one of the persons most deeply injured by Ralph Flambard in his worst days, we may infer their reconciliation through William of Corbeuil, who, though himself accused of avarice, was, nevertheless, always accounted a man of piety.

William was selected by Richard de Beames‡, Bishop

* Ang. Sac. i. 709.

† Simeon of Durham, Script. X. 247.

‡ Richard de Beames was a munificent prelate. He had contributed largely to the rebuilding of St. Paul's Cathedral. The king's contribution to the erection of St. Paul's was such as we might expect when money was scarce. He remitted all toll or custom upon ships

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of London, to be the first prior of St. Osyth; a house of canons regular, which the bishop had established at Chich before the year 1118. The priory was erected on the site of a decayed nunnery, originally founded by Osyth, wife of Sighere, King of Essex, in the seventh century. The Bishop of London gave to his new establishment the name of St. Osyth, which the parish still retains. It is situated on the banks of the Coln, in the hundred of Tendring, in the northern division of the county of Essex, about eleven miles distant from Colchester.

About four months after the death of Archbishop Ralph, King Henry I., on the 2nd of February, 1123, summoned a council of bishops, abbots, and nobles to meet at Gloucester. He proposed at this meeting to decide on the measures to be adopted for filling the vacant see of Canterbury." The chapter of Canterbury were desired to attend, as Gervas says, "either to elect or to receive a father." They would receive a *congé d'élire*, but the king would have them in his keeping, to secure the election for any one it might please him to nominate.

The Church of England was, at this time, split into factions, and party spirit ran high. The secular clergy and the monks were at variance. Although, as a scholar and as a divine, Anselm was the first man of his age, while in the departments of literature and theology Ralph had many equals, yet the practical wisdom of Ralph had contrasted favourably with the impracticability of Anselm. The bishops felt that a monastery was the proper place for such a man as Anselm; but they desired to see in their metropolitan a politician, who could defend the Church

laden with stone for the building. He granted to the bishop all the great fish which might be taken within the precincts of his lands. He also gave him a tithe of the king's venison in Essex; this grant was continued to his successors.—*Newcourt's Repertorium*, i. 11.

from the tyranny of the king on the one hand, and the encroachments of the pope on the other. The monastic party, on the contrary, were clamorous for the appointment of a man of decided piety, as they called it, and of saintly life. They supposed that such a man could only be found in the party, which had assumed the name of the "Religious."* The inclination of Henry was to the secular party, but he does not appear to have taken an active part in the disputes, which were extremely violent. The chapter of Canterbury entreated the king not to force upon them a secular priest, and the bishops contended that the chapter should be driven from the court, for running counter to the king's known wishes.

At length a compromise was proposed. It was suggested that William of Corbeuil should be recommended to the chapter. A canon regular was not a monk; and so the bishops, in accepting him as their metropolitan, could not be reproached for inconsistency†; and yet it was

* The term *Religion* had been specially applied to the monastic profession by a Council at Orleans in 549. The monks were, in the twelfth century, generally distinguished from the secular clergy, as well as the other laity, by the title of the *Religious*. Schröckh, xx. 5—7; Planck, ii. 470, 520.

† "The regular manner of living in common, peculiar to the canons, which was instituted in the ninth century, was now almost everywhere abolished; nevertheless some bishops revived it in their chapters, and it was re-established in the end of the century in another form; for then certain religious houses were founded in which clergymen, who were desirous to lead a more regular course of life, retired thither, to live in common, without having any manner of private property. These last canons were different from those of the ninth century: 1. In regard that the former had benefices annexed to churches, and were obliged to officiate in them; whereas there were many among these who had not any peculiar church living. 2. Because the former were wont to live in common of the church revenues, but they might also retain those of their private patrimony; whereas these were obliged to renounce them as well as the monks. 3. Upon account that the others were at liberty to quit that course of life; whereas these last professed

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so difficult to understand in what respect a canon regular differed from themselves, that the chapter, in electing him as their diocesan, felt that they had yielded rather in appearance than in reality. We may add that the canons regular were, at this time, a popular order of men, on account of their zeal in the cause of education.*

Immediately after the election of William, we meet our old friend, Thurstan, Archbishop of York. He offered to consecrate the primate elect, and received for answer, "If you choose to ordain me as Primate of all England, I will willingly receive the imposition of your hands, but if not, I will not be inconsiderately ordained, contrary to ancient custom."† The consecration was accordingly performed by the Bishop of London. When the new archbishop went to Rome for his pall, he found Thurstan there before him; but nothing was done, at that time, to bring the controversy to a conclusion.

The character of William of Corbeuil, as it is given by his contemporaries, is anything but flattering. The author of the "Gesta Stephani" says of him‡, "He was

to live always after the same manner, and they were positively forbidden to do otherwise. The latter canons lived in common, under an abbot, superior, or provost, and made profession, as the monks, of poverty, constancy, and obedience; although they were not as yet bound by an express vow; neither were they only employed in serving the church or monastery where they resided, but they were also taken sometimes out of their house, to receive a cure, and to exercise other ecclesiastical functions. Ives, afterwards bishop of Chartres, established this strict reform in the monastery of St. Quentin, A.D. 1078. Afterward, that religious house supplied France with many other convents of regular canons, and in the beginning of the following century the congregations of St. Rufus and St. Norbert were instituted; insomuch, that the order of regular canons became very numerous, and extended very far within a short space of time."—*Du Pin*, eleventh century, p. 128.

* Mosheim, cent. xii. pt. ii. c. ii. 18.

† Simeon of Durham, 248.

‡ Ann. 1135, p. 6.

a man of smooth face and strictly religious manners, but much more ready to amass money than to spend it." Henry of Huntingdon, in his letter to Walter*, in which he describes the characters of the leading men of his day, thus curtly disposes of him: "The See of Canterbury was filled by William, of whose merits nothing can be said, for he had none." His name was a standing jest; he was called William de Turbine, or, as it is wittily translated by Archdeacon Churton, "not William of Corboil, but William of Turmoil." †

The Church soon became sensible of the loss it had sustained by the death of Archbishop Ralph. Another attempt was now made by the court of Rome, to annihilate the independence of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and to supersede his metropolitan authority, by forcing a legate a latere upon the Church of England. John of Crema was selected for the office.

Pope Calixtus and Pope Gregory VIII. had appealed from the council board to the field of battle. Weary of fulminating anathemas, by which all Europe was excommunicated and cursed; one half by one pope and the other half by another pope; they had recourse to the weapons of a carnal warfare. At that time, the forces of Calixtus were commanded by John of Crema. He was present at the action of Sutrium, when Pope Gregory VIII. was defeated and made a prisoner of war. He was more of a soldier than an ecclesiastic, and he carried into private life the licentiousness of the camp.‡ He required to

* Henry of Huntingdon, Ang. Sac. ii. 700.

† Early English Church, p. 311. Some allowance must be made for party feeling. How differently would the same man be, at the present day, described by the editors of religious journals, representing the opposite factions in the Church; neither party perhaps wilfully perverting the truth, and yet leaving a false impression.

‡ A gross act of immorality is mentioned by Henry of Huntingdon. Immediately after the Council of London, "Cum meretrice interceptus

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be remunerated for his services; and he sought the post of legate, as an easy way of making money, while, as the representative of the Pope, he enjoyed the dignity and honours of an ambassador. Calixtus, indeed, died soon after his appointment; but he had sufficient interest with Honorius, to obtain the renewal of his commission.

John of Crema, who was equally skilled as a diplomatist and as a soldier, was enabled to render some political services to Henry. He had, as papal legate, exerted his authority to annul the marriage of the king's nephew, William, with the daughter of Fulk of Anjou;—an object which the king had near at heart.* When, therefore, he applied to Henry for permission to open his legatine commission in England, the king found it difficult to refuse him. In addition to which, Henry, now a heart-broken, conscience-stricken man, having lost his only legitimate son, was intriguing to secure his throne for the Empress Maud; and he desired to conciliate the continental powers, especially the Pope. He left the Church, there-

est. Res apertissima negari non potuit."—*Huntingdon*, 219. The truth of this story is denied by Baronius and others of his school, on the ground of its not having been mentioned by contemporary writers, and because Henry of Huntingdon, being an advocate for the married clergy, was influenced in making the statement by party motives. It is quite possible that Henry of Huntingdon only repeated a story which was generally current, without having proof for his assertion. But those who refuse to accept his statement as authentic gain nothing by their refutation of it. The story was one which could be believed of the legate, and it was believed, because the authorities are unanimous in speaking of his incontinence, avarice, and general misconduct (Hoveden, Annal. ann. 1126; M. Paris, ann. 1125; M. Westminster, ann. 1125; Hemingford, ann. 1125; Bromton, ann. 1125; Knyghton, ibid. 2382), and this testimony is incidentally confirmed by St. Bernard, Epist. 163.

* Sax. Chron. ann. 1123, 1124, 1127; Ord. Vit. xi. 838, xii. 876 A, 882 A; Calixt. II. ep. 29; Honorius II. ep. 12; Bouquet, Recueil des Historiens, xii. 708, note A.

fore, to fight its own battles, and John of Crema sailed for England. Immediately after his arrival, he proceeded to Scotland to settle a dispute between that untiring controversialist, Thurstan, Archbishop of York, and the bishops of the Church of Scotland. He had an interview with the King of Scots at Roxburgh.

He went first to Scotland that, in his journey through England, he might be able to form some opinion with respect to the public feeling in this country, where he had determined to hold a council. He had the sagacity to perceive, that he must proceed with caution. He overawed the weak mind of the primate; but he soon ascertained that the Church would not tolerate the proceeding, if he issued the summons to the synod, in his own name, or in that of the Pope his master. The summons was sent to each bishop by the primate; and, although it was intimated that the legate was to preside at the council, it was expressly stated to be by the archbishop's permission; "nostra conniventia."*

The council assembled in Westminster Abbey on the 9th of September, 1125. What was the public feeling on the occasion we may learn from the following statement of one who, if not actually a contemporary, was nearly such.†

"At this time, came into England a certain legate named John, who was pompously received by William, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Thurstan, Archbishop of York, and the bishops of England. Having gone through the whole of England, this legate presently held a council at Westminster, and put the whole kingdom into no small state of indignation. For there you might have seen a sight hitherto unknown in the realm of England—a clerk, who had attained no higher grade than that

* The archbishop's letter on this occasion to the Bishop of Llandaff is still extant. Spelman, ii. 33; Wilkins, i. 408.

† Gervas, 1663. Gervas was consecrated a monk by Thomas à Becket, in 1162.

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of the priesthood, seated aloft on a throne, and presiding over the whole assembly who had flocked thither; over archbishops, bishops, abbots, and the whole of the nobility of the kingdom; while they, occupying a lower position, composed their countenances and bridled their lips, like men dependent upon his nod. Upon Easter-day (which was the day on which he first landed in England), he celebrated the office of that festival in the mother church, instead of the archbishop, sitting aloft on an elevated throne, and using the insignia of an archbishop, although he was no bishop, but simply a priest-cardinal. This occurrence deeply wounded and scandalised the minds of many persons, and clearly indicates, not only the novelty of the occurrence, but also how much the liberty of the ancient realm of England was now violated."

The canons passed in this council throw so much light indirectly on the habits and feelings of the age, and are so concise and brief that I shall present them to the reader as I find them in the continuator of Florence of Worcester.

"I. Following in the steps of the Holy Fathers, we forbid, by apostolic authority, any ecclesiastical ordination being conferred for money.

"II. We also prohibit the exaction of any fee for chrism, for oil, for baptism, for penance, for the visitation or unction of the sick, for the communion of the body of Christ, or for burial.

"III. Moreover, we ordain and decree, by apostolic authority, that at the consecration of bishops, or the benediction of abbots, or the dedication of churches, no cope, or tippet, or maniple, or ewer, or any other thing shall be exacted by violence, but they are to be voluntary offerings.

"IV. No abbot or prior, monk or clerk, shall accept any tithe or ecclesiastical benefice, by the gift of a layman, without the authority and consent of his own bishop. If he shall so presume, the gift shall be void, and he shall be subject to canonical censure.

"V. Moreover, we decree that no person shall claim the patronage of a church or prebend by right of inheritance, or

bequeath to a successor any ecclesiastical benefice; which, if he shall presume to do, we declare that it shall have no effect, saying with the Psalmist, 'O, my God, make them like unto a wheel;' while they said, 'Let us take to ourselves the houses of God in possession.'

"VI. Furthermore, we decree that clerks holding churches or ecclesiastical benefices, who avoid being ordained in order to live with greater freedom, and continue to treat holy orders with contempt, after being invited thereto by the bishop, shall be deprived of their churches and benefices.

"VII. No one but a priest shall be promoted to the office of dean or prior, no one but a deacon to an archdeaconry.

"VIII. No person shall be ordained priest or deacon without a regular title. Whoever is ordained independently shall forfeit the degree he has obtained.

"IX. No abbot, or clerk, or layman, shall presume to eject any person ecclesiastically ordained to a church, without the sentence of his own bishop. Whoever presumes to do otherwise shall be subject to excommunication.

"X. No bishop shall presume to ordain or judge a person belonging to another diocese, for every one stands or falls to his own master; nor shall any one be bound by a sentence which is not pronounced by his own judge.

"XI. No one shall presume to receive into communion one who has been excommunicated by another. If he shall have done this knowingly he himself shall be deprived of Christian communion.

"XII. We also ordain that two archdeaconries or dignities of another class shall not be held by one person.

"XIII. We prohibit, by apostolic authority, priests, deacons, sub-deacons, and canons, from living with wives, concubines, and women generally, except a mother, a sister, an aunt, or other females free from all suspicion. Whoever violates this canon shall, on confession or conviction, suffer the loss of his order.

"XIV. We utterly prohibit usury and filthy lucre to clerks of every degree. Whoever shall have pleaded guilty to such a charge, or been convicted of it, is to be degraded from the rank he holds.

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"XV. We decree that sorcerers, fortune-tellers, and those who deal in divination of any kind, shall be excommunicated, and we brand them with perpetual infamy.

"XVI. We prohibit marriages being contracted between persons connected by blood or affinity, as far as the seventh generation. If any persons thus connected have married, let them be separated.

"XVII. We forbid men's being allowed to allege consanguinity against their own wives, and the witnesses they bring forward are not to be admitted; but let the authority of the fathers be maintained.

"'Are you content?' 'Be it so.' 'Are you content?' 'Be it so.' 'Are you content?' 'Be it so.'"*

After giving an account of the council, and of the canons passed at it, the continuator of Florence of Worcester informs us, that, on the departure of the cardinal, "Archbishop William, also considering the Church of England to have suffered a heavy scandal in the humiliation of the see of Canterbury, crossed the sea, on his way to Rome, to obtain what aid he could in the management of his affairs, which had fallen into disorder, and to prevent the further progress of the evil."

A reception at Rome very different from that which had been accorded to his predecessor awaited the compliant William. It was proposed, by the Pope or his advisers, that the Archbishop of Canterbury should himself accept the office of Papal legate over England and Scotland. For accepting the offer, William de Corbeuil has been justly condemned by English historians. The bull which he received from Honorius II. is as follows:—

"Honorius the bishop, servant of the servants of God, to my beloved brethren and sons the bishops, abbots, barons, and all other

* The question seems to have been put thrice, and in the form still used in convocation at Oxford, "Placet ne vobis?" "Placet." Continuator of Florence of Worcester, ad. ann. 1125. See also Spelman, ii. 33; Wilkins, i. 408.

clergymen and laymen in England and Scotland, health and the apostolic benediction. The Holy Church, the bride of Christ, rooted on the foundation of the apostle's faith, as a devoted and kind mother is accustomed to minister to her mild and humble children, far and near, the food of life. Those that are near are visited by our personal presence: those who are distant by the ministry of our legates. Since, therefore, we know that you will be as the dutiful and loving sons of St. Peter, we have entrusted to our very dear brother, William, Archbishop of Canterbury, the office of our vicar in England and Scotland, that appointed there by us the legate of the Apostolic See, relying on the help of your charity, he may amend what needs amendment, and confirm what needs confirmation, to the honour of God and the Holy Roman Church, and the health of your souls. Wherefore, we command and instruct your whole body, that you, one and all, show him humble obedience as our legate, and unanimously meet at his bidding, and hold councils with him for the welfare of the Church and advancement of the Christian religion.

"Given at our Lateran Palace, Jan. 25th."*

Censurable as this proceeding was, it will be, nevertheless, perceived, that, although William acted as the Pope's deputy, he did not, by so doing, degrade the Archbishop of Canterbury to a mere vassal of Rome. What he did was blameworthy in our eyes, who, in the nineteenth century, have had experience of the abuse of Papal power; but we are not to suppose that any one, much less a man of weak character, can be much in advance of the principles of his age.

At this time the pseudo-Isidorean principles were gradually displacing the old Church principles; and the pseudo-Isidorean idea was, that the Pope was the *episcopus universalis* of the Church. In every church he was supposed to have rights, and to maintain those rights he appointed his legates. But the assertion of his as-

* Wilkins, i. 409. Ang. Sac. i. 192.

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sumed or imaginary rights did not imply the non-existence of the rights, or the co-ordinate jurisdiction of a metropolitan. Even Anselm resisted an aggression upon the privileges of his see. The question, at this period, related, indeed, not to a principle, but simply to the amount of jurisdiction. Throughout the Western Church, it was admitted, through the prevalence of the pseudo-Isidorean idea, that the Pope possessed some power in national churches; it remained to be decided, what that power was. Just so, a bishop possesses some authority in every parish of his diocese; but a strong episcopalian may appeal to the law of the land for protection, if, in an attempt to exercise his authority, the diocesan encroaches on the legal privileges of the parish priest.

William of Corbeuil was probably influenced, in accepting the legatine commission, by the expectation that it would terminate the controversy between him and the Archbishop of York. The northern metropolitan might be willing to show that deference to the legate of the Pope, which he refused to the Archbishop of Canterbury. Weak minds are always ready to sacrifice a permanent principle for a present convenience.

If this were the expectation of Archbishop William, he was soon undeceived. At Christmas 1126, King Henry kept his court at Windsor. All the nobles of the land were bidden, and the attendance was unusually large. Among them appeared the indomitable Thurstan, Archbishop of York. Archbishop Thurstan arrived in great state: his cross was borne before him as he entered the king's chapel. The king entered the chapel to be crowned. Thurstan claimed a right to assist the Archbishop of Canterbury, in placing the crown on the royal head; he asserted, that the two metropolitans stood towards each other on terms of perfect equality. Anything like an invasion of the rights of another was sure to cause a

sensation among the barons and prelates of that time. The claim of Thurstan was immediately rejected; and it was resolved unanimously that nothing pertaining to the royal crown belonged to the Archbishop of York. The council went further: Thurstan's cross bearer and cross were thrust out of the chapel; for, says our authority, by the judgment of the bishops and of some learned men skilled in ecclesiastical law, it was established and settled that it was not lawful for a metropolitan to have his cross carried before him out of his own province.*

This is the more remarkable as we find the Archbishops of Canterbury claiming, not, as now, to rank next to royalty, but above all royalty, save that of the sovereign. In March 1136, Stephen being then on the throne, a great entertainment was given in honour of Henry, son of the king of Scotland, at that time on a visit to the king of England. Stephen placed the young prince on his right hand. Upon this, we are told, that William, Archbishop of Canterbury, and some of the nobles, spoke with disrespect of the young man, and withdrew from the king's court.†

That William of Corbeuil did not imagine that he was conceding the rights of his see, when he accepted the office of legate, appears in the style he adopted when he convened a council at Westminster on the 27th of May, in 1127.‡ The canons were prepared "by the authority of Peter, the prince of the Apostles, and our own." The thing most to be remarked in this council is that mention is here made of the parish priest as distinguishable from an incumbent. Some difficulty occurs in assigning to him his peculiar functions. To this, however, we may find a solution by

* Continuator of Florence of Worcester, ann. 1126.

† John of Hexham, ann. 1136.

‡ Florence, ii. 86, mentions thirteen bishops as present, and accounts for the absentees by death; he also mentions abbots.

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referring to the ninth canon. This canon has reference to the payment of tithes. All lands were at this time chargeable with tithes. But tithes had never been granted by the legislature for the maintenance merely of the parochial clergy. The donors devoted them to such religious objects as commended themselves to their judgment. A large portion of them formed the endowments of monasteries and cathedrals. The ecclesiastical corporations were accustomed to appoint vicars, to officiate in those parishes, from which they derived their property; and, in course of time, they were induced to assign the small tithes for their maintenance. But the lay patrons of livings were often desirous to appropriate the tithes, or to assign them to some member of the family. To effect this object, without a disqualification for lay pursuits or the comforts of a married life, they would receive the minor orders, and thus obtain the living; but would refuse to be ordained to the priesthood, and would therefore be obliged to employ a priest, to discharge those parochial and ecclesiastical duties, which they were themselves not qualified to perform. The stipend of the parish priest was small, because he generally resided with the incumbent. His office is indicated in the canon, which enacts, that every beneficed priest, should, for the crime of matrimony, be deprived: whereas, for the heinous offence of having a wife, the parish priest was to be cast out of the choir; that is to say, he would be prevented from performing those duties, by the performance of which he obtained his livelihood.

Although William, as legate of the court of Rome, was directed to be especially urgent upon the subject of the celibacy of the clergy; — yet the bishops of the Church of England, being generally seculars, were not extreme to visit for the offence, when the clergyman's home was made respectable and happy by a wife and children.

The archbishop had the weakness or the folly to appeal, therefore, to the civil authorities to enforce the canons. Most happy was Henry to come to his assistance. He rigidly enforced the canons in all cases, — except those numerous ones, in which a dispensation could be purchased, Henry seems to have sold his dispensations on easy terms, and the clergy bought back their wives.

There are two other important events connected with the history of Archbishop William. The works in Canterbury Cathedral, commenced by Lanfranc and carried on by Anselm, being now completed, the church was consecrated on the 4th of May, 1130, by Archbishop William. A dedication so famous, says Gervas, was never heard of on the earth, since the dedication of the Temple of Solomon. Henry king of England, and David king of Scotland, with many of the nobles, and all the bishops of England, were present. The offerings of the king and the archbishop are recorded. The king gave to the chapter, the Church of St. Martin's at Dover; and the archbishop eight pounds a year out of his manor of Reculver.*

Five years after the events which have been just described, William of Corbeuil officiated at the coronation of King Stephen. His conduct, in so doing has been severely censured. In 1128, he had been the first to make oath, that, in the event of Henry's death, without male issue, he

* At this dedication, Thorn tells us, the name was changed from Christ Church to that of the Trinity, and that the Church's seal was changed, as Mr. Somner observes; but I cannot find any certainty in this, since I find the name of St. Saviour's, Christ Church, and the Holy Trinity, used both before and after this dedication, and in all the donations afterwards it is but once called by the name of the Holy Trinity, but frequently by that of Christ Church, and particularly anno 1146, Henry de Rypa gave his manor of Diepham to Christ Church by laying his life upon Christ's altar. Dart. Hist. Cant. p. 10; see also Somner, p. 87, and Batteley, p. 11.

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would acknowledge the Empress Matilda, as Queen of England and Duchess of Normandy. The reader shall have the account of the proceeding in the words of a contemporary: "The archbishop, being urged by the king's adherents to anoint and consecrate the king, and thus supply, by the exercise of his sacred functions, what seemed to be wanting, he met their instances with the reasonable answer, that it ought not to be done lightly or suddenly, but should be first maturely considered, and that careful inquiry should be made, whether it was wise and expedient. For the king, he argued, is chosen for the purpose of governing all; and that, when elected, he may enforce the rights of his government on all; so then it is plain that all should make common agreement in confirming his election, and that it should be determined by common consent whether it shall be ratified or annulled. He added that King Henry in his lifetime had bound all the principal men of the realm, by a most solemn oath, not to acknowledge the title of any one, after his own death, but his daughter, who was married to the Count of Anjou, or, if he himself survived her, his daughter's heir. Therefore, there was great presumption in endeavouring to set aside this engagement; the more especially, as, not only was King Henry's daughter living, but she was favoured in having heirs of her body. To this the king's partisans replied with confidence, 'We do not deny that King Henry's policy in the marriage of his daughter was wise, as it led to a firm and stable peace between the people of Normandy and Anjou, between whom there were frequent disturbances. With respect to the succession, that imperious king, whom no one could resist, with a voice of thunder compelled, rather than persuaded, the great men of the kingdom to take the oath of fealty; for though he foresaw that an involuntary oath would not be considered binding, still he wished, like Ezekiel, to

have peace in his days, and by the marriage of one woman create a bond of union between countless multitudes. We willingly admit that this thing was agreeable to him while he lived, but we say that he would not have been satisfied that it should be unalterable after his death; for those who stood around him when he was at the last extremity, and listened to his true confession of his sins, heard him plainly express his repentance for the oath which he had enforced on his barons. Since, therefore, it is evident that an oath extorted by violence from any man, cannot subject him to the charge of perjury; it is both allowable and acceptable that we should freely acknowledge for king, him whom the City of London, the metropolis of the kingdom, received without opposition, and who founds his claims on his lawful right, through his mother the late king's sister. We are also firmly convinced that, by acknowledging him and supporting him with all our power, we shall confer the greatest benefit on the kingdom, which, now torn, distracted, trodden down, will, in the very crisis of its fate, be restored to order by the efforts of a man of firmness and valour; who, being exalted by the power of his adherents and the wisdom of his brothers, whatever may be wanting in himself, will find his deficiencies supplied by their aid.' " *

We may, however, fairly suppose that the archbishop did not yield, until Hugh Bigot, seneschal of the deceased monarch, asserted, upon oath, that Henry, in his last moments, in his presence, had released the chiefs of the realm from the oath of allegiance which they had taken to Matilda. The coronation took place, most probably, on St. Stephen's day, the 26th of December, 1135.

Gervas informs us that, according to common report, two wonderful accidents occurred at this coronation: " the kiss

* Gesta Stephani, lib. i. pp. 6—8.

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of peace," he says, "which it is the usage of holy Church to give to the people, was entirely forgotten; and the consecrated host disappeared from the hands of the archbishop." *

We find the archbishop engaged in a controversy with the canons regular of Dover, into the details of which it is not necessary to enter. His health began to fail, soon after the coronation of Stephen; and the partisans of the empress attributed the circumstance to the reproaches of a guilty conscience. The archbishop was taken ill, in 1136, at Mortlake; from thence he was carried in a litter to Canterbury, where he died on the 1st of November, 1136.

In the "Gesta Stephani" it is stated, "that, at his death, the king's officers found immense sums secretly hoarded in his coffers, which, if he had distributed for charitable uses, when alive, in imitation of the steward in the gospel, who made friends of the mammon of unrighteousness, and had dispersed abroad and given to the poor, so that his name should be had in everlasting remembrance, he would have better fulfilled the character of a good shepherd."

* Gervas, 1340. That is, according to Knyghton, 2384, and Bromton, 1023, he let it drop from his fingers when conveying it to the king's mouth, owing to confusion occasioned by his consciousness of being guilty of perjury.

CHAP. VI.

THEOBALD.*

Theobald, third Archbishop from Abbey of Bec. — Became Subprior, Prior, and Abbot of Bec. — Party Spirit in the Church of Normandy. — Archbishop of Rouen opposed to Theobald. — Reconciliation of the Abbot and Archbishop effected by Peter of Clugni. — Theobald invited to England by Stephen and his Queen. — Power of Barons. — Weakness of King. — Mushroom Earls. — Miserable Condition of the Country. — Anarchy in Church. — Two Popes in Rome. — Stephen chooses Innocent. — Henry of Blois. — Legate Alberic. — Papal Aggression. — Synod of Westminster. — Manœuvres of King and Queen. — Theobald elected Primate. — Henry of Blois Pope's Legate. — I. Archbishop's Household. — His Court the Resort of the Learned. — John of Salisbury. — Thomas Becket. — Description of Becket. — Study of Civil Law introduced. — Legal Profession introduced. — Prosecution of the Bishops of Salisbury, Ely, and Lincoln. — King summoned by Henry of Blois to a Council. — Stephen represented by Aubrey de Vere. — Archbishop of Rouen King's Counsel. — Vacarius introduces Study of Civil Law at Oxford. — Silenced by Stephen. — Study of Law fully established. — Theobald sends Becket to Italy to study Canon Law. — The Decretum. — The forged Decretals. — II. Theobald's ecclesiastical Government. — Pope claims Sovereignty over the whole Church. — Rapid Succession of Popes. — Theobald obtains Legatine Commission. — Papal Policy with regard to Legates. — Attempt to convert Winchester into a Metropolitan See. — Same Attempt with respect to St. David's. — Both Attempts fail. — Council of Rheims. — Theobald attends in Defence of the King. — William of York. — Theobald

* Authorities: — Gervas; Vita Theobaldi, Arch. Quinti Abbatis Becc.; Chron. Bec.; Henry of Huntingdon; William of Malmesbury, Historiæ Novellæ; William of Newburgh; John of Hexham.

exiled. — Albigenses, Waldenses, Publicans. — First Persecution. — III. Theobald's political Conduct. — Loyal to Stephen, but resolute to obtain Succession to the Crown for Henry Fitz-Empress. — Siege of Winchester. — Contemporary Account. — Theobald refuses to crown Eustace. — Head of the Angevin Party. — Crowns Henry II. and Queen. — Recommends Becket as King's Chancellor. — Dissatisfied with Becket's Conduct. — Letters in his last Illness to the King and to Becket. — Consecration of Bishop of Lichfield in Primate's private Chapel. — Theobald's last Will. — His Death.

CHAP. VI. Theobald. 1139—1161.

THEOBALD was the third archbishop supplied to the Church of England by the celebrated Abbey of Bec. He was born in Normandy of a respectable family.* The year of his birth is not known, nor can we assign the exact date of the commencement of his claustral life. He arrived at Bec in the time of Abbot William, and therefore at some period between 1093 and 1124. He was appointed prior in 1127; and ten years afterwards he was elected abbot, being the successor of Boso, whose name has already occurred.

The Norman Church was in a very divided state, and controversies were frequent and bitter. A controversy arose between the new abbot and the Archbishop of Rouen. The archbishop impugned the election because it had taken place without his previous knowledge. Through the intervention of the venerable Audoen, Bishop of Evreux, the Archbishop of Rouen at length confirmed the election. Then a new controversy arose: for fourteen months the archbishop deferred giving the bene-

* "Ortu Normannus et circa Tierrici villam." — *Vit. S. Thomæ Fitz-Steph. Opp. Becket*, i. 185. From this place the family originally came, to which circumstance we may probably trace the patronage which the archbishop extended to Thomas à Becket whilst a young man. Crispinus speaks of Theobald as "vir genere clarus." Robert de Monte, ad ann. 1136, mentions him as a noble excellent person. He had a brother Walter, whom he made Archdeacon of Canterbury, and afterwards bishop of Rochester.

diction to the abbot elect, because he demanded a profession of obedience, which, on the ground of the demand being unprecedented, Theobald refused to make. This controversy was connected with the struggle, which had now commenced on the part of the abbots, to render their monasteries independent of the bishops. It was at length settled by the intervention of Peter, the celebrated Abbot of Clugni, who persuaded Theobald to make a verbal profession, and the archbishop not to require a written one.*

In the year 1138, Theobald was invited to England, by King Stephen and his Queen Matilda.

England was, at this period and during the whole reign of Stephen, reduced to a state of anarchy, as nearly as is possible in a kingdom which has not absolutely relapsed into barbarism.

The number of castles gradually erected, during this reign, amounted to eleven hundred and fifteen.† In each castle the baron reigned as a sovereign. He coined his own money; he dictated laws to his dependents; he had the power of life and death; he carried on war with his neighbours. With very few exceptions, the eleven hundred and fifteen petty kings were tyrants. Stephen was only a baron on a larger scale. He possessed, on his coming to the throne, considerable sums of ready money, hoarded by his wise predecessor. While the money lasted, he was able to maintain something like order, by the importation and employment of mercenary soldiers. But these funds were at length exhausted. To obtain the semblance of a court, and to present a more imposing front to the rebellious or disorderly barons, Stephen created

* Chron. Bec. Vita Theob., in Appendix to Lanfranc, ed. Migne, p. 733.

† Mat. Paris, ad ann. 1153.

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earls.* Until this time, although there had been earls in England, the title designated a functionary. Each earl or count had charge of a county, from which he derived his emoluments. These mushroom earls of Stephen's creation were merely titular; but their appointments were lucrative to themselves, and oppressive to the people. They were invested with their dignity by the girding on of a sword, called the sword of the particular county from which they derived their title; and although they had no jurisdiction in it, yet they received the grant of a third penny of the pleas of the county.† This doubtless made the appointment unpopular, and occasioned their suppression in the next reign. They paid high for their rank, but the fund so raised was only a temporary relief; and, when the treasury was exhausted, the mercenaries, clamouring for pay, only added to the accumulation of misery under which the country groaned. The soldiers of the lawless barons plundered the wretched inhabitants of the districts near the castles. The country vavasours, if they were reputed men of wealth, were seized and tortured, until exorbitant ransoms were paid for their liberation. The royal troops, instead of affording them protection, were seeking remuneration for services, which they did not render, by depopulating remoter villages, where they perpetrated every species of barbarity. The land was sterile, where, in the late reign, the harvest was abundant; famines were frequent, and the unfortunate people learned to look upon starvation as, by no means, the worst kind of death to which they were exposed.‡

* William of Malmesbury, Hist. Nov. lib. i. ad ann. 1138.

† Sir Harris Nicolas, Historical Peerage, p. 50. They probably paid high, for according to Roger of Wendover and Matthew Paris, when Hugh de Puisac, Bishop of Durham, purchased the earldom for his see from Richard I., he paid the King 11,000*l.*; but this was an earldom possessed of palatine authority.

‡ William of Malmesbury, Hist. Nov. ad ann. 1140.

The anarchy extended to the Church. Among these depredators, ready for any violence—to commit murder, or worse atrocities—were to be seen many of the clergy, though, as an old writer says, they were clerks only in name.* Through the mistaken policy of the Conqueror, which had separated the ecclesiastical from the civil jurisdiction, these flagitious clerks were not amenable to the secular courts; and the bishops were too busily employed in self-defence, and in military occupations, to attend to the discipline of the Church, or to render the Church censures more than a *brutum fulmen.*

Christianity must have ceased to exist, if it had not been for the monasteries.† It is to be remarked that, if, in the reign of Stephen, the castles were numerous, there were, in this reign, more religious houses erected than at any preceding time. Thither the miserable could fly for comfort, the timid for protection, and the learned for leisure. The larger cities also maintained their independence; and, as we shall presently have occasion to show, the commercial aristocracy of England held already as important a position in the country, as that which it now occupies.

One ecclesiastic rises above the rest. Henry of Blois, Bishop of Winchester, a grandson of the Conqueror, was brother to Stephen. The founder of the Hospital of St. Cross, near Winchester, was a man of much munificence and of many virtues. But in the early part of his career, his virtues were obscured by his inordinate ambition. He comes before us chiefly as a politician and a soldier. We have already alluded to the sovereign power exercised by the lords of the greater castles; and the episcopal palaces of the see of Winchester at Farnham, Taunton, Merton, Waltham and Downton, were fortified into castles by Henry

* Grim, 34; William of Newburgh, ii. 16.

† See the Introductory Chapter of this book.

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of Blois, who was raising Wolvesey, at the east end of Winchester*, to render him independent of the citizens. On the death of Henry I., both Stephen and the Empress being on the continent, the Bishop of Winchester, uniting political tact and talent with royal birth, was the first man in the country; and he was thus able to secure the throne for his brother.

Stephen would have been regarded by all men to have been most worthy of a crown, *nisi imperasset.* Of a kindly disposition, courteous to his equals, affable to his inferiors, he was popular and beloved; but he often wanted the ability to fulfil the promises which his inconsiderate good-nature was lavish in making; and his friends, disappointed, denounced him as insincere, and were frequently converted into enemies. His courage was indisputable, but it often amounted to rashness; and his chivalrous generosity, while, at one time, it rendered his conduct impolitic, was not sufficient, on some occasions, to prevent him from becoming cruel and unjust. Weak-minded and easy-tempered, he would sometimes become perversely obstinate; and, though he could be ruled, it was only by those who never showed they ruled, or permitted him to perceive their dominion over his mind.

When, through the influence of his brother, the Bishop of Winchester, the Church was prepared to propose him as the successor of Henry I., he was at once accepted by the citizens of London and Winchester; while the nobles, revolting from the idea of placing themselves under the leadership of a woman, were prepared to receive him as the first among the barons.†

* Annal. Winton, ad. ann. 1138; Anglia Sacra, i. 299.

† "A Londoniensibus et Wintoniensibus exceptus est (Stephanus)." —*Will. Malms., Hist. Nov.,* i. 11. Malmesbury says of the Londoners, that they were considered as the chief people of England in the light of nobles.

It would have seemed to follow, as a natural consequence of this state of affairs, that Henry of Blois should have succeeded to the primacy of the Church of England, on the death of William of Corbeuil. He certainly aspired to be archbishop, and why he did not succeed it is difficult to say.* Whether the king, conscious of the intellectual superiority of his brother, was afraid to appoint him the second personage in the state; or whether his queen, Matilda, a woman of firm and noble character, was determined to have no rival near the throne; the fact was soon known that the Bishop of Winchester would not be nominated by the crown to the chapter of Canterbury, as the successor of Archbishop William.

Henry of Blois was one of those men who can keep their temper under control; and, although determined to have his revenge, he was too politic to make a public display of his resentment, and too proud to appear as canvassing for the archbishopric. He let things take their course.

In the divided state of Christendom, there had, for some time, been two Popes of Rome. Innocent was the Pope whose claims were acknowledged by the King of England; while Pope Anaclete had been accepted as the reigning pontiff in Scotland.†

* "Henricus Wintoniensis episcopus frater regis et Innocentii papæ legatus vehementer indignans, ordines quos jam inceperat dicitur reliquisse. Ambiebat enim archiepiscopatum Cantuariensis ecclesiæ, sed per regem simul et reginam male concupito fraudatur honore; unde dictus est a nonnullis in partes imperatricis cum Comite Roberto et Milone summo regis constabulario declinasse."—*Gerv. Chron.* 1348.

† R. Hexham, 325. "Fluctuabat interea jam ab annis septem ecclesia Romana propter papatum duorum, Gregorii scilicet qui et Innocentius et Petri qui Anacletus dicebatur. Quorum causa inter Lotharium Imperatorem et Rogerium Ducem Appuliæ discordia gravis exorta est. Imperator enim Innocentium fovebat, dux vero Anacletum præferre cupiebat. Cardinales vero amore pecuniæ nunc Innocentium Anacleto, nunc Anacletum Innocentio præferebant."—*Gervas*, 1343.

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By the death, first of Anaclete, and then of his successor, Victor, Innocent was now without a rival. His legate, Alberic, Bishop of Ostia, requested permission to pass through England, that he might announce to the Scottish people the undisputed right of Innocent to the papal throne. The royal consent could not be refused, because Stephen, acting under the advice of his brother, had already addressed Pope Innocent in terms of disgraceful servility.* But it soon became apparent, that the Bishop of Ostia had, clandestinely, obtained admission into England to further the designs of the Bishop of Winchester. The legate, contrary both to canon and precedent, took it upon himself to hold visitations in the monasteries and collegiate churches of England. The several diocesans were too much occupied, as barons, in arming their followers and in defending their castles to resent the insult. The king was too weak to offer any resistance.

Having felt his way, and having found that he did not meet with the resistance he expected, the legate undertook to convene a synod; a proceeding which, under any of the three preceding kings, would have involved him in a charge of high treason. The synod, however, met at Westminster on the 13th of December, 1138.

It was a purely ecclesiastical assembly. The legate had not ventured to summon the peers. But he required the presence of Jeremy, the Prior of Canterbury, with a deputation from the chapter, authorised to elect an archbishop. In the summons addressed to them, and in order to conciliate them, the legate affirmed the principle, new in the practice of the Church of England, that the king possessed neither the right nor the power to reject the person, whom they might elect to the vacant throne in their cathedral.*

* Chron. Gerv. 1346–47

The object is easily perceived. Henry of Blois backed by the gallant, rather than right reverend, prelates, who, to the number of eighteen, attended the synod, supposed that it would not be difficult to overawe the chapter, always and naturally opposed to the dictation of the sovereign.

All things were now prepared to hurl defiance at Stephen, if he should refuse to acknowledge, as archbishop, the elect of the monks.

One is almost tempted to smile at the thought, when we picture to ourselves the indignation and wrath, which such a proceeding would have roused in the breast of the preceding Norman kings. Stephen, almost powerless, only manœuvred. We trace the influence of female councils. At the request of the king and the queen, the Abbot of Bec appeared in England. The king and queen shrewdly suspected that the monks, uninfluenced by political feeling, would choose, if left to themselves, an Archbishop of Canterbury, as they would have chosen an abbot, with reference simply to his personal piety, especially as displayed in the exercise of monastic virtues. The royal manœuvrers were not disappointed. The monks of Canterbury were not prepared, if uninfluenced, to select a politician and a warrior, to preside over their cathedral and monastery. They might have yielded to the dictation of the king, backed by his peers and prelates, but, when left to their free choice, they were not desirous of hearing the clang of arms beneath the sacred vestments, or the songs of Sion intoned by a voice better adapted for secular debate or for command in battle. It is true that Henry of Blois had made a profession of religion at Clugni; but Clugni had degenerated, and the inconsistency between his former professions and his present conduct would only tell the more strongly against him. When the king and queen were canvassing for Theobald,

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the minds of the chapter were not likely to hesitate whom to elect, the Abbot of Bec or the episcopal baron.

The legate and Henry of Blois, though defeated in their object, were too wise to show any resentment. They entertained no unfriendly feelings towards Theobald. They officiated at his consecration on the 8th of January, 1139, and, in company with the Bishop of Ostia, the new archbishop proceeded to Rome to receive his pall.

There was evidently, in the whole of these transactions, an amount of intrigue which, with our present sources of information, we are unable to penetrate. Theobald was consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury. But almost immediately after, he found that the Bishop of Winchester had been invested with a legatine commission in England, on the strength of which, he claimed precedence of the primate, and held ecclesiastical courts, from which he would permit no appeal except to Rome.*

Soon after, Henry of Blois deserted the cause of his brother, and became one of the ministers of the Empress Matilda.

There were now two usurpers in the land; and there was civil war in Church and State.

* With respect to the legation of Henry of Blois there is considerable difficulty,—the kind of difficulty we should expect when intrigues were going on, the objects of which were not clearly known to the historians. According to Gervas it took place during the vacancy of the see of Canterbury, and terminated with the consecration of Theobald. In that case the legation was suspended during the visit of the Bishop of Ostia, and afterwards renewed. But William of Malmesbury, Hist. Novell. ii. 22, expressly says that it began on March 1st, 1139, i.e. after Theobald's consecration. In John of Salisbury, ep. 89, the legation of 1139 is spoken of as "primum legationis officium." Henry of Blois is accused of being the first prelate of the Church of England who permitted appeals to be made from national tribunals to a foreign authority. But of this offence he was not, strictly speaking, guilty. A legatine court, though held in England, was only a foreign court. It was not from national courts, therefore, that the appeals were made.

Theobald was not a man to endure this state of things for a continuance. Though calm and patient he was a person of determined character. He did not seek to control events, but he watched for opportunities. He hurried nothing, but he was always prepared for action when the time arrived. He stooped when the wave was coming and let it pass, and, soon after, his head was seen rising above the waters. He let the current rush, but wherever a stepping-stone appeared, his foot was upon it, until, landed safely on the opposite side, he could look down with complacency upon the angry stream, until its fury was spent. His opposition to Henry of Winchester was not open, violent, or personal, but it was sure and successful. Of humble birth compared to that of his antagonist *; of ordinary abilities; not deficient, but not distinguished for his learning; he was brought by circumstances into collision with the powerful talents, unscrupulously used, of a royal personage, who was, at one period, the arbitrator of the destinies of England. In process of time Henry of Blois sank down into comparative insignificance; Theobald died in possession of all the powers of his archiepiscopate, combined with those of a Papal legate, the patron of learning, the counsellor of kings. He had discernment to surround himself with wise advisers, and to watch the signs of the times.

In treating of ecclesiastical affairs during the present period, it is remarked by William of Malmesbury, that "we tread a mazy labyrinth of events." Our way will be the clearer, if, without following them in their chronological order, we arrange what is further to be said of Theobald under three heads; adverting, first, to his household, secondly, to his ecclesiastical government; and, thirdly, to his political conduct.

* Fitz-Stephen says of Theobald that he was "equestri ordine."

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I. It reflects credit upon the character of Theobald, that in this rude and boisterous age, his residence soon became the centre for all the learning and ability of the kingdom. For two generations, several of the most distinguished men in the country could refer to the happy and profitable hours they had passed at Theobald's court. Here was to be seen Richard, who afterwards himself became Archbishop of Canterbury. Walter the archbishop's brother, who afterwards became Bishop of Rochester, was no inconsiderable person. Roger of Pont l'Evêque was afterwards Archbishop of York. John of Salisbury, one of the most celebrated, and certainly one of the most classical writers of the age, was secretary to Theobald. He was residing in the archbishop's family when he wrote his "Polycraticus," and other literary works. He had been introduced to the archbishop by Peter de Celles, and by a person no less celebrated than St. Bernard himself. In close conversation with John of Salisbury, might be seen sitting a young man, whom no one could look upon without asking who he was.* In stature tall, of strength equal to any undertaking, with a keen eye, a quick ear, fluent in speech, cheerful in discourse, ready in debate, with the manners of a noble and a knight, Thomas of London, the son of Gilbert Becket, the portreeve of the city, at once commanded respect, secured attention, and won friends. He was not a man versed in the technicalities of learning, but by his ready conception he appropriated the learning of others. The young delighted in him, for he was ardent, impetuous, full of wit, thoroughly enjoying life. His elders and superiors valued him, for he was always ready on their suggestion, or at their command, to act with decision and promptitude. His friends loved him, for

* Roger Pont. i. 98; Fitz-Steph. i. 184.

he gave his whole soul to them, so long as they remained his friends, and sought heartily to serve them. To the few deep thinkers he appeared superficial; a man of talent rather than of genius; without that profundity of thought which originates ideas and sets other men a-thinking; but they knew him to be energetic, and they admired in him that unflinching sense of duty which is in itself, a talent and a virtue constituting greatness.

Becket had his enemies, and by his conduct he always contrived to make their enmity bitter. Plodding men, pedants, learned dullards, were offended at seeing the lead conceded to one, who, in the schools, was their acknowledged inferior. Men of the same age could not understand why he should be accounted better than themselves. The same man who was meek to his friends, displayed his "proud wrath" towards his enemies. He was violent in his temper when provoked; and, when once offended, he did not easily forgive.

The archbishop's court was soon disturbed by the quarrels between this young man and Roger Pont l'Evêque, who nicknamed him "the Baille-hache clerk,"* and twice succeeded in procuring his dismissal from the archbishop's family. But Thomas à Becket found a firm friend in Walter the archbishop's brother; and it is creditable to the archbishop himself, that he soon discovered the young man's merit, made him a member of his council, and employed him in some delicate transactions.

The great attraction to Theobald's court was the new studies which the archbishop introduced. Theobald was himself, in the character of his mind, more of a lawyer than a theologian. Although he, no doubt, denounced

* Baille-hache clerk, i.e. clerk with the hatchet, from the lay member of the household in whose company he first appeared at Harrow.

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as heretical the essays of Abelard, and was the friend of St. Bernard; yet, amid the bitter controversies which shook the Church to the centre, he directed his thoughts to the cultivation of the science of civil law, and promoted its study.

About the year 1135, it is said that a copy of Justinian's pandects was discovered at Amalfi, and that this discovery gave an impulse to the study of civil law. Whether this assertion rests on sufficient evidence or not, it is certain that, from some cause or other, the study of jurisprudence was revived in the Italian universities, and especially at Bologna.* The systematic method adopted in the Pandects was convenient to the lawyers engaged in the Italian municipalities; and was equally attractive to the better educated among the Normans, who were perplexed by the common law of England, a large portion of which was unwritten.

The attention of Theobald was directed to the subject when he visited Rome in 1139† to obtain his pall; and, on his return to England, many lawyers, or professors of the new system of law, were to be found in his retinue.

It does not appear that this proceeding at first gave any offence. On the contrary, in the celebrated action which arose out of Stephen's treatment of the Bishops of Salisbury, Ely, and Lincoln, the king was induced to employ a counsel or pleader; acting, we presume, under the advice of the archbishop. The trial is a memorable one; because from it we date the origin of a learned profession to the services of which the country is deeply

* Butler on Roman Law, p. 90; Blackstone, Introd. § 8; Hallam, Middle Ages, iii. 415, thinks that the study of civil law had commenced before the discovery of the Pandects. He refers to Tiraboschi and Ginguene.

† Gervas, 1665.

indebted, — the profession of the law. The whole transaction, however, was discreditable to all the parties concerned. The bishops of Salisbury, Ely, and Lincoln were among the most military of the prelates, and Stephen had good reason for suspecting their loyalty. The king became possessed of their persons and their castles by a union of fraud and violence.* Henry of Winchester determined to be revenged on his brother: he declared that, if the bishops had committed an offence, it pertained not to the king to judge them, but to the ecclesiastical court: that they ought not to be deprived of their possessions, except by a public ecclesiastical council. Finding his remonstrances were disregarded by the king, who refused the liberation of the bishops or the restitution of their property, Henry now promulgated his commission, as papal legate, which he had till this time, it is said, concealed; and he convened a council for the 26th of August, 1139. The bishops of the Church of England, having paid little attention to the rights and privileges of their order, followed the example of the archbishop, who was thoroughly imbued with Italian principles; and all either attended or apologized for their absence, owing to the state of the country, or on account of their age and infirmities. The lord Bishop of Winchester, as legate in England, opened the proceedings with a Latin speech. Affecting sorrow for being the accuser of his brother, he pleaded his zeal for the episcopal dignity (in his own person most dishonoured), and brought forward his charges against the king. The king had been admonished repeatedly, but had refused to amend his fault; it only remained, therefore, for the archbishop and the other prelates to decide upon the course to be pursued. Their sentence he was prepared to carry into effect, without

* Malmesbury, Hist. Nov. ann. 1139; Gesta Stephani, pp. 50–51.

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regard to his brotherly feelings, and at a risk of the loss of property, or even of life.

The king was weak enough on the 26th of August, to appear before a tribunal of his own subjects; not, indeed, in person, but by counsel. Aubrey de Vere, "a man deeply versed in legal affairs," argued the cause, on the king's side, with much temper and great skill. Roger, Bishop of Salisbury, conducted his own defence; and threatened, that if he could not have justice for the property wrested from him, in that council, he would seek it in a higher court.

While the discussion was in progress, the king's advocate applied for an adjournment of the council, on the ground that the Archbishop of Rouen was expected to arrive the next day. A further adjournment subsequently took place. At length the Archbishop of Rouen made his appearance. Every one was impatient to hear him, — an archbishop pleading the king's cause against the hierarchy of England. The Archbishop of Rouen commenced by stating that, on one condition, he was quite prepared to concede their castles to the bishops. The bishops were equally prepared to declare that a Daniel had come to judgment; — but their exultation was checked, when the Archbishop of Rouen calmly suggested that a previous question was to be decided, — namely, whether the possession of castles by prelates of the Church, were consistent with the canons. As this was plainly not the case; — as they had no canonical right to possess the castles, it was mere impudence to demand their restoration; for this was to contend against the canons. By this plain common sense view of the question, the bishops were put out of court; and the Archbishop of Rouen followed up the blow, willing to make a way for his victims to fall the more easily. Even admitting, he continued, that they might canonically retain their castles, yet most assuredly, in such eventful times,

all the great men in England, ought, after the custom of other nations, to deliver up the keys of their fortifications to the will of the king, who is bound to wage war for the common security.

The bishops were now, with the legate at their head, reduced to a non-plus. Aubrey de Vere was emboldened to take yet higher ground, and to assert the royal prerogative. He said that it had been signified to the king, that the bishops had muttered among themselves, and had even made preparations, that some of their party should proceed to Rome against him; and he warned them that, if any one left the kingdom without the king's permission, they might find it difficult to return.

Swords were drawn, and the bishops perceived that those, who had defeated them in argument, were prepared to maintain their cause with more substantial weapons. All parties were inclined to a compromise. The Bishop of Winchester, whose chief object was to let his brother perceive how great his powers of annoyance could be, was by no means desirous of pushing matters to an extremity. The Archbishop of Canterbury was always a man of peace. The two prelates sought an interview with the king, who bore his triumph meekly. They prostrated themselves before him, and entreated him not to cause a schism between the empire and the priesthood. A compromise ensued,—the king retained the episcopal castles, but did penance for doing so.

In this interesting trial, the weakness of all parties is to be perceived; and it is also clear that, notwithstanding the lamentable condition of the country, there was still left some respect for law.

The only inn of court for lawyers then existing was to be found in the archbishop's palace; but when Theobald, at a later period, endeavoured to force the civil law upon the country, he met with a sturdy resistance. He had

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been feeling his way; and, about the year 1144, Vacarius appeared in England, and was placed by the archbishop in Oxford, there to act as professor of the Roman law.* There was still enough of patriotism left, especially in the large towns, to create a feeling of indignation and alarm. It was suspected that an attempt was about to be made to supersede the common law of the land.† *Nolumus leges Angliæ mutari* began to be whispered, and the new professor was silenced by the royal command. Nevertheless, he resumed his lectures in 1149, which were attended by persons of every rank. At the request, and for the use of his poorer hearers, he drew up an abridgment of the codex and digests in nine books.

Notwithstanding the opposition, the study of civil law became a favourite pursuit with those who aspired to high offices in Church or state; there are, to the present hour, professors of civil law in our universities; many of its institutions have been received into our national law; and in several of our courts, as in the Court of Admiralty, the military courts and spiritual courts, the rules of civil law and its form of legal proceedings prevail; although over all, the courts of common law have a superintendence, while an appeal lies to the sovereign in the last resort.‡

The opposition and the controversy only determined

* Gervas, Act. Pontif. Cantuar. in X. Script. 1665; Blackstone, i. 12.

† "Tempore regis Stephani a regno jussæ sunt leges Romanæ, quas in Britanniam domus venerabilis patris Theobaldi, Britanniarum primatis asciverat. Ne quis etiam libros retineret, edicto regio prohibitum est, et Vacario nostro indictum silentium, sed Deo faciente, eo magis virtus legis invaluit, quo eam amplius nitebatur impietas infirmare." —*John Saris. Polycrat.* lib. viii. c. 22.

‡ Butler, Roman Law, p. 105. See also Blackstone's Commentaries, and Duck, De Usu et Auctoritate Juris Civilis in Dominiis Principum Christianorum.

Theobald and his court to pursue the course that they adopted, and to attempt a further innovation. It soon became known that, in imitation of the Pandects, a collection of canons, papal epistles, and sentences of the fathers had been made, and that, under the title of "The Decretum," or "Concordia discordantium Canonum," the work had been published by Gratian, a Benedictine monk in a monastery at Bologna. Theobald was determined to introduce it into England. The study of the Canon Law seemed to be a necessary consequence of the introduction of the legatine jurisdiction. The chief ability of Theobald consisted in his discrimination of character. His eye was upon young Becket, or, as he was then called, Thomas of London; and he sent him, not without attendants, to study the new science at Bologna and at Auxerre. The work of Gratian is notorious for its incorrectness*; and is especially censured for the authority assigned in it to the forged decretals of Isidore Peccator. At the same time, it is fair to remark, that Gratian is not himself to be blamed for this, as the forgeries were, at this time, everywhere received as genuine.† Of the two publications, an eminent Roman Catholic barrister, Charles Butler, has remarked: "To the compilations of Isidore and Gratian, one of the greatest misfortunes of the Church, the claim of the Popes to temporal power by Divine right, may, in some measure, be attributed. That a claim so unfounded, and so impious, so detrimental to religion, and so hostile to the peace of the world, should have been made is strange—stranger yet is the success it met with."‡

* For an account of the Decretals see Vol. I. p. 299.

† Griffiths on Inett. ii. 259.

‡ Butler on Canon Law, p. 171. Charles Butler, to whom the present Lord St. Leonard's was pupil, wrote in opposition to Southey, when the latter published his Book of the Church.

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II. It is just to have these circumstances in mind, when we pass on to the consideration of the conduct of Theobald, as a legislator of the Church of England. Looking at his ecclesiastical system, from our standing point in the nineteenth century, we find much to censure and many grounds for just complaint. But we are to regard him as a man of ordinary abilities, called to a high and difficult post in the twelfth century; and we have no right to expect him to be opposed to the spirit of the age, or to do more than follow the general opinion.

When Theobald went to Rome, in 1139, he was present at a meeting of the second Lateran council. Here, for the first time, the Pope distinctly claimed a feudal superiority over the whole clergy of Christendom.* Every ecclesiastical dignity was to be held of him as the the great Spiritual Lord. The Pope only gave a ready utterance to an opinion which had been silently growing with the growth of feudalism. The master spirit of that council was the celebrated St. Bernard; he may be said to have represented the religious world, and he applauded, if he did not suggest, this aggression upon the liberties of all provincial churches.

Theobald was not the man to resist. He yielded precedence to the Bishop of Winchester, as the Pope's representative, so long as his legatine commission lasted; but Theobald was biding his time, and at last superseded Henry, by procuring the legatine commission for himself. The manner, and even the time of doing this, is uncertain; but Thomas à Becket is supposed to have been his agent. If this was the case, he must have had considerable difficulty in arranging the business, owing to the unsettled state of affairs at Rome. Innocent II. died

* "Quia a Romanis pontificiis licentia ecclesiastici ordinis celsitudo, quasi feodalis juris consuetudine, suscipitur, et sine ejus permissione legaliter non tenetur." — *Chronicon Maurin apud Labbe*, ad ann. 1139.

in 1143, Celestine II. in 1144, Lucius II. in 1145, Eugenius III. in 1153. The legatine commission of Henry of Blois expired with Innocent; but, so far as we can discover, Theobald was not addressed as "Apostolicæ Sedis Legatus" till 1150. Henry of Blois, on several occasions, showed a friendly feeling towards Becket; we may presume, therefore, that this was an amicable settlement of differences.

The legatine commission granted to Theobald was the means of settling many other differences, and of obtaining a temporary triumph over more opponents than one.

The acceptance of the legatine office was not regarded as superseding the innate powers of the metropolitan see of Canterbury. It was merely an accession of authority and power. It was conceded, at this time, by all parties, that the Bishop of Rome possessed some jurisdiction in England; and now, whatever that jurisdiction was, the Archbishop of Canterbury, in addition to his own jurisdiction, was entitled to exercise it. He acted both in his own name and in that of the Pope. The two jurisdictions, however, might occasionally clash; it was, therefore, a part of the consistent policy of Rome, to reserve to the Pope the power of superseding the *legatus natus* by the appointment of a *legatus a latere*. But Theobald was not concerned in this. It was sufficient for him that, by the measure thus adopted, his right of precedence over the Archbishop of York was now established. If the northern metropolitan defied the Archbishop of Canterbury, the latter could fall back on his authority of legate, or representative of one who was acknowledged to be the suzerain of the hierarchy. Perhaps, what gave most satisfaction to Theobald, was the triumph over Henry of Blois.

Acting with his usual worldly wisdom and caution, Theobald was able to defeat a project of Henry, who, when disappointed of the throne of Canterbury, had

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endeavoured to convert the bishopric of Winchester into a metropolitan see, with the intention of abstracting seven suffragans from his rival.* An attempt was also made to reinvest the see of St. David's with metropolitan authority, and to place under its jurisdiction the whole church in Wales. This last would have been a beneficial arrangement, but the measure was frustrated by Theobald's influence. He does not, however, appear to have offered any opposition to the creation of four primates in the Church of Ireland, to whom palls were sent by Pope Eugenius III.†

On the death of Thurstan, Archbishop of York, King Stephen nominated to the vacant see his nephew William, who was duly elected by the chapter. The holiness and consistency of William's life and conduct was such that he was subsequently canonised.‡ But the cause of his rival, a Cistercian monk, for the election had not been unanimous, was espoused by Bernard of Clairvaux, commonly called St. Bernard; and Bernard's violence, and the calumnies he uttered against the saintly William, reflect discredit on a character in most respects worthy of admiration. Bernard was the *de facto* ruler of the Western Church; and, at his instigation, the Pope attempted to cancel the election of William. He added insult to injury, for he declared the election void, because of the nomination of Stephen; who had only exercised the undoubted prerogatives of the crown.

The spirit of Lanfranc no longer existed. We have seen that Lanfranc treated with contempt the entreaties of Gregory VII. to disobey his sovereign, in order that

* Matt. West. 1144; Ann. Wint. ann. 1143.

† The palls were sent by Cardinal Paparo, who delivered them at the synod of Wells to the prelates of Armagh, Dublin, Cashel, and Tuam, A.D. 1152. Cotton's Fast. Eccles. Hib. ii. 10.

‡ John of Hexham, ann. 1145-48. Butler, Lives of Saints, June 8th.

he might attend councils summoned by the Pope. Very different was the conduct of Theobald. In March, 1148, Eugenius III. held a council at Rheims, to which he summoned all the Cisalpine bishops. King Stephen prohibited the bishops of the Church of England from attending. It is satisfactory to find him displaying this spirit of independence, although he was too weak to enforce obedience.

But, although the insulted sovereign issued his prohibition, Archbishop Theobald, accompanied by Thomas à Becket, contrived to elude the coast-guard, and to cross the sea.* The primate was received, with extraordinary courtesy by the Pope, who jocosely remarked that the archbishop had arrived rather "by swimming than by sailing." At this council the deposition of William was pronounced. He, nevertheless, died Archbishop of York.

Notwithstanding his disloyal conduct, Theobald ventured to return to England; but he found cause to regret his contempt of the royal authority. There was still patriotism sufficient, in Church and state, to enable the king to drive the offending prelate into exile, and to confiscate his property. His banishment, however, was not of long continuance. When we remember that Thomas à Becket was at Theobald's right hand, we are not surprised to hear that the whole kingdom was threatened with an interdict; which, indeed, appears to have been partially carried into effect, in regard to the royal demesnes. When, on the other hand, we remember the calm temper and sound judgment of the archbishop, we are also prepared to hear of a reconciliation between him and the king, through the good offices of the nobles by whom Stephen was supported, and through the intervention of the loyal prelates.

The effects of the crusades were becoming visible in

* Becket, in a Letter to Boso, vol. iii. p. 103, refers to his attendance at this council.

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the awakening of the mind of Europe; the first symptoms of which, as is frequently the case, being painful.

In the eleventh century, the sect of the Albigenses made their appearance. They were accused of Manichæism. They first appeared in Toulouse, at one time the seat of an Arian monarchy. They soon spread over the neighbouring district, including that of Alby; hence their name, Albigenses. Unconnected with these heretics, the Waldenses, deriving their name from Waldo, appeared in Lyons, about the middle of the twelfth century. They are said to have preached strange doctrines, but they were not Manichæans. How far the Publicans, who appeared in England in the reign of Henry II., were connected with either of these parties, we do not know. According to William of Newburgh*, the heresy originated with an unknown author in Gascony; and, as he informs us, it spread through France, Spain, Italy, and Germany. About twenty men and women of this sect appeared in England under the conduct of Gerard. It is said that they succeeded in converting one weak woman, who was frightened into a recantation. They were examined as vagrants, but the king would not proceed to extremities against them, until they were examined at a council convened at Oxford. They declared themselves to be Christians, venerating the apostolical doctrine, holding

* William of Newburgh, lib. ii. c. 13. I have placed this subject in the time of Theobald, because I gather from William of Newburgh that these reputed heretics had been in the country for some time before the persecution commenced. Theobald was not himself answerable for the persecution, because the Council of Oxford, according to Wilkins, i. 438, did not meet till 1166, which is the date given by Matt. Paris and Diceto. In Spelman, ii. 52, the date of the council is 1160, Conc., ii. 52. But the second volume of Spelman is of no authority. The Publicans were denounced among other heretics in the Lateran Council held by Innocent III. in 1179. Concil. Labbe, 1516, 1518, 1522; Mansi, 226, 228, 232.

the articles of faith, but rejecting baptism, the Eucharist, and matrimony. The case is mentioned as the first instance in our history of religious persecution. Consigned by the bishops to the tender mercy of the civil authorities, they were branded on the forehead and whipped. While the lash yet resounded they were expelled the city, and miserably perished from the inclemency of the weather, for it was winter. Nobody showed them the slightest pity. The comment of William of Newburgh, while it shocks our feelings, shows us that, in the opinion of the age, they were only justly treated, as any other offenders against any of the other laws of the land. "The pious severity," he says, "of this discipline not only cleansed England from that pest which had crept into it, but also prevented its future intrusion by the terror it struck into heretics."

III. The political conduct of Theobald appears to have been consistent, and is perfectly intelligible. To Stephen, the anointed king, he remained loyal, except in the instance just referred to. Under a divided allegiance, the summons of an ecclesiastical superior appeared to him more obligatory than the mandate of his temporal prince. But the speedy reconciliation shows that on his loyalty, in general, Stephen felt he could depend; and Stephen could not afford to sacrifice a single friend. At the same time, Theobald clearly perceived that no peace, for this unhappy country, could be expected, unless the rights of the empress, and of her son were fully recognised; while, therefore, he resented all attempts to depose Stephen, he laboured effectually to secure the succession to the throne for the grandson of the late King Henry.

In 1141, when, after the battle of Lincoln, Stephen was a prisoner in the hands of his enemies, and Henry of Blois, was acting the part of a traitor in placing the empress on the throne; the archbishop nobly refused to

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promise fidelity to the dominant power until he had obtained the consent of Stephen. Stephen generously permitted the archbishop, and those who had followed his loyal example to submit to the exigency of the times. Theobald was, in consequence, with the empress at the siege of Winchester; when Henry of Blois, Bishop of Winchester, had again changed sides, and by defeating the empress replaced his brother on the throne. There is a graphic description of the occurrences at the termination of this siege in the Gesta Stephani. The archbishop being personally concerned, the passage is here presented to the reader. Such a passage, proceeding from the pen of a contemporary, is always valuable, not so much on account of the facts detailed, the accuracy of which must always be tested by comparison with the statements of other writers; but because of the insight it affords us into the manners and the tone of feeling prevalent in the age.

The party of the empress — generally designated by this writer, a partisan of Stephen, as the Countess of Anjou — being reduced to despair, arrangements were made for flight.

"Gathering their baggage together, they burst out of the gates at once, and, cautiously disposing the troops in close order for a retreat, they all fled in a body. An immense number of the king's army, however, hemming them in on every side, made a bold and furious attack upon them; and dispersing the whole force of the enemy in different directions, at length intercepted and took prisoner the Earl of Gloucester, the leader and commander of the rear, together with a large proportion of his men. The rabble finally spread themselves over the whole face of the country, and not only made prisoners all the men at arms they could lay their hands upon, but seized upon spoils of inestimable value, which lay scattered and exposed whithersoever they went. In one direction you might see chargers of splendid shape and form, galloping riderless over the plain; in another, gasping out their last breath, worn out with extremity of fatigue. Here,

shields and coats of mail, and armour of every kind, were lying strewed upon the ground; there, costly robes and vessels of precious metal, with other valuables, thrown out in heaps, presented themselves to the grasp of the finder. Why should I speak of the men-at-arms, nay, of the high barons, who, laying aside every token of military service, on foot, and in dishonourable flight gave themselves feigned names, some of whom, falling into the hands of the country people, were terribly scourged and beaten; others hiding themselves in filthy holes, either lay there pale and full of fear, until they found an opportunity of escape, or else, being at last found by the enemy, were dragged along with disgrace and insult? Why should I make any mention of the Scotch King, who, captured, as they say, for the third time, but always getting off by the interposition of a bribe, with difficulty escaped to his own country, with but a few followers, in heaviness of heart and sorrow? Why need I speak of the Archbishop of Canterbury, with certain other bishops, and men of the highest rank in England, who, on their comrades being routed, and their horses and garments being seized by some, and violently dragged off by others, were barely able to get to places which afforded anything like security or shelter in the midst of the confusion? The Countess of Anjou herself, always rising superior to the weakness of her sex, and preserving above all others an unbroken spirit and an iron resolution, in the midst of adverse fortunes, fled to Devizes, accompanied by Brien only, and a few followers; an action which redounded greatly to the credit both of Brien and herself, inasmuch as it showed that neither danger nor adversity had power to separate them, nor in any wise do away with the mutual and inseparable attachment which existed between them.

"During the various vicissitudes of the flight and dispersion, which, as has been explained, occurred in different localities, the Londoners, with a very large party of the king's troops, ransacked the city of Winchester in a fearful manner; and after ruining and pillaging houses and cellars, and not a few churches, all returned home with great gladness, carrying with them a quantity of costly spoil and a multitude of prisoners. Such was the rout of Winchester, acknowledged by all to be so wonderful

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and terrible that the oldest person can scarcely remember anything in our time to compare with it.

"The Earl of Gloucester having been in this wise taken prisoner, a short interval of time elapsed, after which an arrangement was made, and regularly entered into by the adherents of both parties, by which it was settled that, the king and the earl being mutually given up in exchange for each other, matters should stand upon the same footing as they were when the insurrection first broke out: a hard and unscrupulous condition, and calculated to be prejudicial to the whole country, but the only one by which present peace and amity seemed likely to be secured between the parties; for, in the midst of the dissensions which attended the settlement of its terms, this agreement was at length proposed and willingly acceded to on both sides. The king, therefore, was given up, and was attended by a stately and magnificent procession of barons who went to meet him, the festivity and delight of all being augmented by an extraordinary admixture of piety and joy; for, while some were moved to holy tears, by an amiable and religious feeling of the loving-kindness which God had so wonderfully and mightily exhibited towards him, others broke out into loud and jubilant exclamations of happiness at the sight of his safe restoration."*

On Stephen's restoration, Theobald continued loyal to the anointed king; but he resolutely refused to sanction any proceedings to secure the succession to his family. True to his principles, he again incurred the anger of Stephen by declining to crown his son Eustace, who hoped, if he received the unction, to succeed to his father's throne. In this conduct the archbishop was supported by all the leading persons in Church and state. All were weary of living in a constant state of civil war; and, although the doctrine of hereditary right was not yet fully established, they were aware that the powerful House of Anjou would not submit to be set aside without a struggle. The prevalence of this feeling could not

* Gesta Stephani, pp. 84 and 85.

escape the observation of the *versipellis episcopus* Henry, Bishop of Winchester; and we find him, soon after, co-operating with the archbishop in effecting the great act of pacification, which resulted from the consent of Henry Fitz-empress to concede the throne to the House of Blois, during Stephen's lifetime; and from the recognition by Stephen, on the other hand, of the right of Henry to the succession. This arrangement was effected, as soon as it became practicable, by the death of Eustace,—the queen, Matilda, having been previously removed by death from the councils of the king. The archbishop was now at the head of the Angevin party; and so great was the confidence of the young duke in the ability with which his affairs were conducted by Theobald and his advisers, that he did not think it necessary, on the death of Stephen, to hurry into England. He refused to suspend, for that purpose, the operations of a siege, which he was conducting against a castle in Normandy. In the mean time, under the archbishop, at the head of the regency or council of state, the affairs of the country, during the interregnum, were conducted with diligence, prudence, and firmness.

On the 7th of December, 1154, the young king, having narrowly escaped shipwreck, landed in the New Forest, near Hurst Castle. He hastened to Winchester, where he was enthusiastically received by all classes of the people. His progress to London was like a triumphal procession. On the 19th of December, Archbishop Theobald officiated at the coronation of the king and queen, under circumstances of much magnificence and splendour.

The king was quite aware that the weaker mind of Theobald had been long under the control of Thomas, his archdeacon; and when Becket was recommended by the archbishop, Henry was prepared to receive into his

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service a man, to whose good offices he was already much indebted.

The zeal which Thomas the archdeacon had evinced, in the various measures of ecclesiastical diplomacy in which he had been employed while a member of the archbishop's household, led Theobald to suppose that the new chancellor would employ the weight of his official character and his influence with the king, in furtherance of those ecclesiastical objects which the archbishop might, from time to time, recommend. But the servant of the king looked only to the interests of his master, and the minister of religion was soon merged in the minister of state. The new chancellor devoted the great powers of his mind and his commanding eloquence, not to party, but to his country. He who had thrown all his heart and soul into his work, when Theobald was his master, was equally energetic when he engaged in the service of the king. Whenever a dispute, at any time, occurred between the royal and the ecclesiastical authorities, the archbishop soon discovered that the advocacy of Becket would be, if not violently, yet unhesitatingly, on the side of the king.

That the primate was dissatisfied with Becket we know from a letter, addressed to the latter, by John of Salisbury* in Theobald's name, and the existence of this dissatisfaction was so well known that, in the political gossip of the day, it was whispered that the archbishop had threatened the chancellor with excommunication. For this report there was no foundation; for we find from his letters that Theobald, without concealing his mortification at some parts of their conduct, regarded both Henry and Becket, to the last, with feelings of paternal regard.

The king and the chancellor were on the continent

* Ep. 49.

when the archbishop felt his end approaching. In the tone of a man who felt that he had been unduly neglected, Theobald prayed that he might be permitted to see their faces once more before he died. Writing to the king*, he exhorts him to return to his own peculiar people. "Let their loyalty," he says, "move you, together with the affection for your children, from whom the sternest parent could hardly bear so long a separation. Let the love of your wife move you, the beauty of the country, and that union of delights which it is impossible to enumerate,—not to forget my own case; let my desolation move you, for my age and sickness will not enable me to wait long for your coming. In this hope I wait. With many a sigh I say, Will not my Christ give me to see him whom, at my desire, he gave me to anoint."

His allusion to Becket contains a reproach,—but the reproach arises from injured affection. He beseeches the king, if he cannot come to him himself, to send back his archdeacon. "He is the only one we have, and he is the first of our council. He *ought* to have come without a summons, and unless your need of him had excused him, he had been guilty of disobedience to God and man. But since we have ever preferred your will to our own, and have determined to further it in all that is lawful, we forgive him his fault. We wish him to remain in your service as long as you stand in need of his services, and we order him to give his whole zeal and attention to your wants. But permit him to return as soon as ever you can spare him."

There is something very touching in these letters of the poor old man, looking out for some one to love; at a time, when a cruel law of the Church excluded him from the legitimate exercise of his affections.

* Epp. 54, 63, 70.

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John of Salisbury wrote* to say that he never knew the archbishop so anxious about anything; and that, at one time, they thought of compelling Becket to return by the threat of Church censures.

But Becket went not. He entirely postponed his clerical duties to those which devolved upon him as the royal chancellor. He knew the character of courts too well to quit the king.

The see of Exeter had become vacant in 1159 by the death of Robert Warelwast. The archbishop was anxious to secure the appointment for the Archdeacon Bartholomew. With much difficulty he succeeded. He hoped to consecrate him, but Bartholomew had to go into Normandy to do homage to the king, and before he returned the archbishop was dead.†

Theobald appeared in public for the last time at the consecration of Richard Peche, Bishop of Lichfield. He was too infirm to officiate, but he was carried in his bed to the private chapel of his palace; and witnessed the consecration, his brother Walter, Bishop of Rochester, officiating.

His will was carefully worded, evidently in fear lest, at his death, the Church might be injured in its property.‡ With respect to his private fortune, he wrote to the king, requesting him to permit it to be distributed among the poor; and, with respect to his successor, he said, "I beseech you to hear me as you wish to be heard of God at your last hour. A blessing from our Lord Jesus Christ I send to you and to your children; and do you, in return, administer consolation to my bereaved ones. I commend to you the Holy Church of Canterbury, from which, by my ministry, you received the reins of government, that you may defend it from the attacks of wicked men; and to

* Ep. 78. † Ep. 90; Gerv. 1381. ‡ Ep. 57.

me, who, unworthy though I am, have yet by God's help, ruled it as best I knew how, give a successor worthy of this important see,—a pastor who will delight in religion and religious men. Your faithful servant must give you advice, and this, before the Lord and his saints, is my counsel. Seek not in this matter what is your own, but what is the Lord's; for I promise you that if you have a faithful care for His cause, He will greatly advance yours."*

On the 18th of April, 1161, the great bell of the cathedral of Canterbury announced to the inhabitants, that the munificent and charitable prelate, who had gone in and out among them for two and twenty years, had breathed his last.

Years passed on, and the name of Theobald was almost forgotten, except by the few who are students of ecclesiastical history; when, in the year 1787, it was determined to take up an old pavement in the body of Canterbury Cathedral and to replace it by new. While the workmen were engaged, for this purpose, in levelling the ground, at the east end of the north aisle, they discovered a leaden coffin. Upon opening it, the coffin was found to contain a body which had been wrapped in a robe of velvet or rich silk, fringed with gold; these remains were much decayed. Within the coffin an inscription was found on a piece of lead: "*Hic requiescit venerabilis memorie Theobaldus Cantuarie Archiepiscopus Britanie.*"†

* Ep. Joh. Salisb. 57.

† Archæol. vol. xv. 294; Willis. 140.

CHAP. VII.

BECKET.*

His early history. — Born in London. — Baptized at St. Mary Cole-Church. — His name. — Educated at Merton and London. — Becomes a Member of the Household of Richard de l'Aigle. — His taste for natural history and horticulture. — Goes to Paris. — In Eightpenny's

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* Authorities: — Vita Sancti Thomæ, auctore Edwardo Grim; Vita Sancti Thomæ, auctore Rogerio de Pontiniaco; Vita Sancti Thomæ, auctore Willelmo filio Stephani; Vita Sancti Thomæ, auctoribus Joanne Salesberiensi et Alano Abbati Teukesberiensi; Vita Sancti Thomæ, auctore Willelmo Canterburiensi; Vita Sancti Thomæ, Anonymo Lambethiensi. These six lives by authors contemporary, or nearly contemporary, are to be found reprinted, and in some respects enlarged from MSS., in the first two volumes of Dr. Giles's Sanctus Thomas Cantuariensis. In the third and fourth volumes of the same work, we have letters to and from Becket, or written in his name; in the fifth and sixth volumes, the letters of Bishop Foliot and others; in the seventh and eighth, we have the Vita Sancti Thomæ, auctore Herberto de Bosham. These publications have superseded the Quadrilogus or Historia Quadripartita. We are also indebted to Dr. Giles for the publication of the works of John of Salisbury, — Joannis Sarisburiensis Opera omnia. The deficiencies of Dr. Giles as an editor, are sufficiently known. He provokes censure by giving his readers an immense amount of trouble in their researches, which, by a very little additional industry on his part, he might have spared them. But while we complain of him for not having done more, we ought to thank him for having done much. The other contemporary authorities are a metrical life, in French, by Garnier, of Port St. Maxence, published by Professor Bekker from a MS. in the British Museum, 1844; together with the chroniclers, William of Newburgh, Hoveden, Gervas, Diceto, and Benedict of Peterborough.

The modern historians who have treated this portion of history critically are Lord Lyttleton, Berington, Froude, Canon Robertson, Dean Milman, and Professor Stanley. There is an anonymous article on Becket in the National Review, No. XX., by the hand of a master.

office.—Introduced to Archbishop Theobald.—Studies at Bologna.—Diplomatic success.—I. Becomes Chancellor to Henry II.—Nature of the office.—Curia Regis.—Case of Battle Abbey.—Courts of justice instituted.—Judicial functions.—Scutage.—War of Toulouse.—Becket a Soldier.—Embassy to France.—Becket an Ambassador.—Theobald's death.—State of the Church.—II. Becket Archbishop.—Appoints Festival of Trinity Sunday in commemoration of his consecration.—Rupture with the King.—Resigns Archdeaconry.—Redemption of Lands.—King's forbearance.—Council of Tours.—Splendid reception of Becket.—Schism in the Church of Rome.—Two Popes.—Continued forbearance of the King. First collision.—State of Parties.—Popular party with Becket.—Clerical delinquency.—Council of Westminster.—Reasonable demands of the King.—Interview at Northampton.—Bishops opposed to Becket.—Becket agrees to obey the Common Law.—Council of Clarendon.—Constitutions of Clarendon.—Accepted by Becket.—Becket's vacillating conduct.—His penitence.—Negotiations with Pope Alexander.—Becket attempts to leave the kingdom.—Interview with Henry.—Assembly at Northampton.—King persecutes Becket.—Becket's flight.—Visits Pope Alexander at Sens.—III. Politic conduct of Alexander.—Becket at Pontigny.—Different accounts of his asceticism and self-indulgence reconciled.—His illness.—His moral and intellectual improvement.—Cruelty of the King to Becket's kindred.—Becket's violence.—He is restrained by the Pope.—Henry thinks of changing the Pope.—Becket at Soissons.—Examinations at Vézelay.—Removal of Becket to Sens.—Commission of William and Otho.—Conferences at Gisors and Argentin.—Commission of Simon, Engelbert, and Bernard.—Conference at Montmerail.—Good conduct of the King.—Bad conduct of Becket.—Populace enthusiastic in Becket's favour.—Commission of Gratian and Vivian.—Conference at Montmartre.—Bad conduct of Becket.—Abjuration of the Pope in England.—Henry's change of Politics.—Commission of the Archbishop of Rouen and the Bishop of Nevers.—Reconciliation at Freteval.—IV. Becket's return to England.—Triumphant reception.—Visit to London.—Keeps Christmas at Canterbury.—Alarm of Government.—Becket's murder.

THOMAS, the son of Gilbert Becket and of his wife, Roesa or Matilda, was born on the 21st of December, 1118*, in his father's house, at Cheapside, London. The house was situated on the north side, near the east end, in Cheap

* Gervas makes 1162 the fortieth year of the archbishop's age.

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ward.* The boy was baptized in St. Mary Cole-Church †, where he was named from the saint, on whose festival he was born.‡ There were no doubt great festivities on the

* Newcourt, i. 553. Whether Gilbert Becket was the first of the family, who migrated to England may admit of a doubt; but, for the sake of those many readers who have been fascinated by Thierry, it is necessary to observe that there can be no doubt that both his parents were Normans by extraction and descent. From the following statement, it would appear that Gilbert Becket was a native of Rouen, and his wife Roesa or Matilda a native of Caen: "Ex horum numero fuit Gilbertus quidam cognomento Becchet, patria Rotomagensis. Habuit autem uxorem nomine Roesam, natione Cadomensem, genere burgensium quoque non disparem, corporis compositione decentem, sed moribus decentiorem, domuque suæ bene præpositam, et sibi sub Dei timore fideliter subditam."—*Auct. Anon. Lambeth., ed. Giles*, ii. 73. Fitz-Stephen (i. 184) says, speaking of the introduction of Thomas to Archbishop Theobald: "Gilbertus cum domino Archipræsule de propinquitate et genere loquebatur; ut ille ortu Normannus, et circa Tierrici villam de equestri ordine, natu vicinus." Canon Robertson, with his usual critical sagacity, suggests that the accounts, which must still, in some measure be inconsistent, may be harmonised, by supposing the grandfather of Thomas to have been the first settler in England. As regards the legendary statements which convert the honest citizen into the gay crusader, and transform the London matron into a Saracen lady who wandered through Europe, calling for her true love "Gilbert" until she found him at last in Cheapside, I do not think it necessary to do more than advert to them in a note; for although they lingered, till late years, in the pages of some modern historians, they are now universally exploded.

† Henry IV. granted a license to William Marshall and others to found a brotherhood of St. Katherine in St. Mary Cole-Church, "because Thomas Becket and St. Edmund the archbishop were baptized therein."—*Newcourt*, i. 448.

‡ The controversies with respect to Becket commence with his very name. His father was certainly called Gilbert Becket, and admitting that surnames in the twelfth century were not hereditary, yet we find Thomas addressed as Becket by his murderers. Giles, i. 75. The name was doubtless uttered by them as an expression of contempt. His style at that time was Thomas the Archbishop; but the one appellative, if it superseded, did not suppress the other. It would have been disrespectful to have addressed the ninetieth Archbishop of Canterbury as Howley: nevertheless Howley was his name. It has been suggested, that Becket

occasion, for Gilbert Becket was a citizen of credit and renown, at a time when a citizen of London ranked as the equal of nobles, and enjoyed aristocratic rights in all that related to field sports. Although afterwards unfortunate in business, he held, at one time, the office of portreeve; and we have ample testimony to the fact, that he sustained the character for hospitality, for which the chief magistrates of London have been, and are still esteemed.

His parents were careful to give young Thomas the advantages of a good education. At ten years of age, they placed their son under the tuition of the canons regular, who had not long before been established at Merton on the Wandle.* It always tells well, when a boy is attached to the place of his education, and is grateful to his instructors. We think the better of Becket, when we find him attended in his last moments, just before his murder, by Robert of Merton, from whom he received his earliest lessons. When, after his consecration, he was obliged to adopt a clerical dress, he arrayed himself, out of respect to his first preceptors, as a canon regular; until, from similar

was known to his contemporaries as Thomas of London, perhaps rather as Thomas of Cheapside, as we say John of Oxford, and Herbert of Bosham; and such, we can have little doubt, was the case until he became Thomas the Archdeacon, Thomas the Chancellor, and Thomas the Archbishop. In reference to this subject, I will remark that in this work we do not enter into critical discussions or antiquarian researches, except when they are absolutely necessary to elucidate the facts of history. For three centuries and a half the subject of this chapter was known as St. Thomas of Canterbury. Since the Reformation his historical name has been Thomas à Becket. The prefix (à) has no countenance from the old writers, and probably originated, as Canon Robertson remarks, in vulgar colloquial usage. But still here it is. I use it as a distinction, conventionally conferred upon a man whom we regard as one of the heroes of our country, although we may doubt any peculiar claims, on his part, to the saintly character. I employ also his name Becket, not as any mark of disrespect, but because it is convenient to adhere to that which is customary.

* Manning's Surrey, i. 243.

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feelings towards his friends at Pontigny, he assumed the cowl. Let it not be supposed, that these observations are insignificant and trivial: they are of historical value, for they let us into the secret of that affection towards himself, which Becket always inspired in the hearts of others. A man, to be loved, must be himself of a loving disposition.

From Merton, Becket passed into the schools of London, at that time in high repute.* Book-learning, however, was not the test of Becket's ability. He never became a scholar in the technical sense of the word. One of the characteristics of his mind, however, was a deep sense of duty, which impelled him to do with his might what his hand found to do. We cannot imagine him, therefore, an idle boy; although we can readily suppose, that he was able, by his ready wit, to master his lesson, in a shorter space of time than most of his schoolfellows; and that he would betake himself, with a keen relish, to those athletic sports, which are always delightful to youth, when endowed with a sound mind in a healthy body.

The parents of Thomas were evidently impressed with the notion, that their son was destined to rise to distinction, and they procured for him every advantage within their reach.

The only channel to distinction, except among the highest nobles in the land, was through the Church. But, in saying this, we must explain, that the sentence is intended to convey a meaning different from that, which we should attach to it in modern times. Through the Church, a man, however humble his birth or lowly his extraction, might rise to be the equal of kings and the superior of princes. But this does not imply, that he would have to make theology his study, or prepare himself to engage in

* Fitz-Steph. i. 183; Garnier, 57, 58. Gervas says of the schools of London, that they were celebrated for their privileges and ancient dignities.

the heavenly occupations of a parish priest. His genius might impel him to become a lawyer, a statesman, a soldier, or an artist. All these professions were open to a clergyman; and, until the close of Henry II.'s reign, few persons, of plebeian origin, could expect to rise through them to eminence, unless they first placed themselves on an equality with the nobles, by receiving holy orders.

The parents of young Thomas could not conceal from themselves the fact, that, although their son was, what he always continued to be, devout by desire, he was, by his natural disposition, worldly. Although, therefore, they may have anticipated the time, when he would be obliged to receive the tonsure, it was for worldly employments that they prepared his mind. Thomas had now quitted school, having acquired the art, so important in those days, of speaking Latin with ease and fluency; and his parents determined to obtain for him admission into the household of a baron, where he might be initiated into the arts of chivalry, and learn the other accomplishments of the age.

With one of the great nobles Gilbert Becket lived, on terms of intimacy. Richer de l'Aigle was accustomed to find a home in Gilbert Becket's house, whenever business or pleasure called him to London. He repaid the kindness by inviting young Thomas to Pevensey Castle,—"the house of the Eagle." *

* Pevensey Castle passed into the family of Richer de l'Aigle, in the year 1104, from that of Robert de Moreton, half-brother of the Conqueror; and then, or soon after, the barony was called, in compliment to its possessors, the House of the Eagle. There was nothing incongruous in the friendship which existed between the lord of Pevensey and the citizen of London; for a citizen of London, at this time, took rank with the minor barons. See the account of London, in the life of Hubert, *infra*. Although Becket, in a fit of humility, on one occasion, spoke of his progenitors as "non omnino infimi" (Ep. cxxx. ed. Giles, iii. 286), yet Fitz-Stephen refers to his family as of knightly origin. Fitz-Steph. i. 184.

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We can imagine the delight, with which the young citizen quitted the

"Fumum et opes strepitumque Romæ,"

for we happen to know, that Thomas à Becket could thoroughly appreciate and enjoy the pleasures and pursuits of a country life.

The Archbishops of Canterbury had several manors in the county of Sussex, where traditions were long devoutly cherished, and still linger, in relation to him, who was regarded, in the middle age, as the greatest of our primates. At West Tarring, is still shown the site of Becket's manor-house, and, what is more remarkable, the site of his menagerie and of his brewhouse. The reader will not forget these two circumstances, when we have occasion to refer to Becket's embassy to France. We may add, the tradition asserts that the menagerie was filled with monkeys. The fig-tree is remarkably luxuriant in this part of Sussex, and, according to a local tradition, which there is no reason to discredit, it was introduced into the country by Thomas à Becket, who brought the first plant from Italy.*

This taste for horticulture and for the pleasures of a country life, which Becket, when archbishop, indulged, as a relief from the toils and troubles of public life; he acquired in his youth, and probably during the happy period of his residence at Pevensey.

Equally alive was young Thomas to the elegances

* For a very interesting account of West Tarring, and the county traditions relating to Becket, the reader is referred to the Sussex Archæological Journal, but more particularly to Warter's Appendicia et Pertinentiæ. The brewhouse went by the name of the Brasenose. Brasinium, from brayes, briey, brees, malt, — hence a brewhouse or a malthouse. The word was corrupted as early as the thirteenth century into Brasenose. See Kelham's Norman Dictionary. The Brasenose men at Oxford affirm that their college stands on the site of King Alfred's malthouse.

and refinements of social life. With a temperament keenly disposed to mirth and enjoyment; impressionable and proportionably demonstrative; tall in person, with a firm-knit though delicate frame; he was universally popular, whether learning the art of war with the other squires of Pevensey, or following the chase with hawk or hound, or, seated in the Lady's Bower, fascinating all, who listened to his eloquence.

He lost his mother soon after he had reached his twenty-first year. This may, probably, have recalled him from Sussex to his home: and, instead of returning to Pevensey, he determined to complete his education in the schools of Paris.

Oxford was now rising, a friendly rival, as a school of theology, to the university of Paris. But to theological studies Thomas à Becket was never addicted; and we may presume that Paris had other attractions to the young Londoner. It was at that time celebrated, as we learn from a contemporary for its entertainments and its charming society.*

From the studies or the dissipations of Paris, Becket was called by his father's failure in business. For three years, he earned his livelihood as an accountant in the office of Master Eightpenny.† Master Eightpenny, a kins-

* Ep. Pet. Cel. iv. 10. Thierry (iii. 97), and Lord Campbell, following him, assert that Becket went to Paris to get rid of his English accent. But Canon Robertson affirms, that he is not aware that this object is mentioned by any of the old writers.

† "Rursus vero Osbernus Octonumini cognomine, vir insignis in civitate et multarum possessionum, cui carne propinquus erat, detentum circa se Thomam fere per triennium in breviandis sumptibus reditibusque suis jugiter occupabat."—*Grim*, p. 8, ed. Giles. The meaning of the word Octonumini was perplexing, until Mr. Morris and Mr. Robertson restored the correct reading, Octonummi. Garnier, according to one MS., has, "Osbern dit Deniers;" and according to another, "*Wit* deniers," or, in modern French, Huit deniers. Thus the French and Latin serve to correct each other. We have analogous names in Twopenny, Twentypenny, Pennithorne.

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man of the Beckets, was clerk to the portreeves of London; and, in his office, much business was transacted of a political nature, during the reign of Stephen.

We cannot but pause, for a moment, to observe the wonderful concurrence of circumstances, which educated Becket for the high position in society he was destined to occupy. As a scholar, as a knight, as a lawyer, he had now received an education, which qualified him for any situation in life, to which he might be called, with the exception of the clerical.

He had been, for three years, a clerk in Eightpenny's office, when two learned civilians, Archdeacon Baldwin and Master Eustace, revisited England from Normandy; invited by Archbishop Theobald, who was zealously encouraging the study of civil law. On former visits, these distinguished men had lodged with Gilbert Becket, and had taken notice of his son, who won favour with all persons, if, without pre-existing prejudices or counteracting interests, they were brought into his society.

Having discovered him in Master Eightpenny's office, they took him with them, on one occasion, to the archiepiscopal manor at Harrow, and introduced him to Theobald the primate, as a young man worthy of his patronage.

This was probably in the year 1142. It is to be observed, as indicative of the secular tastes of Becket, and his unwillingness to engage in clerical duty, that he did not seek ordination, on his quitting Paris, but was contented with the humble duties which devolved upon him in his kinsman's office. With his abilities and acquirements, he would have been gladly received into any of the many monasteries of London; or he might have found employment as a parish priest. But then, he must have devoted himself to theological studies or clerical duties.

Soon after his appointment in the household of Archbishop Theobald, he received the minor orders of the

church; but here, he was engaged in a secular office in the Archiepiscopal court, and he was admitted into the minor orders, not to perform any clerical duties, but simply that a sufficient income might be secured to him.

In the life of Theobald, we have alluded to the trials, the difficulties, and the final success of Becket as a servant of the archbishop. We have shown how he bound some persons to him by the ties of an enthusiastic friendship; and exasperated the evil passions of others, who regarded his advancement with envy, and his person with dislike. Theobald discovered, encouraged, and employed the talents of the young Londoner, now in the full vigour of his mind. He enabled him to complete his legal studies by a year's residence at Bologna, where no less a person, than Gratian himself was the lecturer; and afterwards, by a shorter residence at Auxerre. He employed him in some delicate negotiations with the court of Rome,—to obtain the revocation of the legatine commission of Henry of Blois, Bishop of Winchester; and to frustrate the design of Stephen, when that monarch was prepared to barter the independence of the English crown for the purpose of securing the interest of the Pope in favour of the coronation of his son Eustace. This good office, rendered by Becket to the house of Anjou, paved the way to his favour with Henry II.*

For a person thus employed it was necessary to procure an income; and Becket was accordingly admitted into the minor orders of the church. He became Rector of St. Mary le Strand, in London, and of Otford in Kent. He held a prebend in St. Paul's, and another in the cathedral of Lincoln. He was not qualified to perform the spiritual

* The story of Becket's diplomatic dealings with Rome, with reference to the legatine commission of Henry of Blois, is full of chronological difficulties. I should have been tempted to regard it as apocryphal, if it were not accepted by Dean Milman and Canon Robertson — authors who never make their assertions without good authority.

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duties, which devolved upon these offices, but he obtained the income, and out of it he paid a sufficient salary to a parish priest. When the archdeaconry of Canterbury became vacant by the elevation of Roger of Pont l'Evêque to the metropolitan see of York, Becket, though only a deacon, was appointed to the office, the most lucrative, next to a bishopric, in the Church of England.

It was not considered any misappropriation of the funds of the Church—not left for the endowment of the parochial clergy, but for general Church purposes—thus to make provision for a person employed by the primate in the Church's service.*

On the accession of Henry II., Thomas, the archdeacon, was removed, at the instance of Theobald himself, from the court of the archbishop to that of the king, and he became Thomas the chancellor.† According to Roger of Wendover, Becket's appointment as chancellor to the king took place in the year 1155: probably early in the year,

* We act on a similar principle, at the present time, although it is differently applied. It was determined by the legislature to redistribute a certain portion of the property of the Church. A considerable part of the cathedral property was for this purpose diverted from the purposes for which it was originally designed, in order that it might be employed to render the parochial work more efficient. For the redistribution of the property, lay commissioners were to be employed. How were they to be paid? Out of the Church property. Instead of going to the support of prebendaries and canons, or of the parochial clergy, a certain portion of the Church property is employed to remunerate the commissioners. The chief commissioner receives the income of two prebends and a living; the second of two prebends. Their secretary has the income of five livings; his work being considered equal to that of five clergymen. This is perfectly consistent with the modern notion, which looks upon the property of the Church, not as an inherited possession, but as the means of providing pay. But perhaps the ancient mode of doing the same thing was the better,—as provision was made for the contemporaneous performance of the clerical as well as the lay duty.

† It is thus that he describes himself in the charters which still exist.

as the king's coronation occurred on the 19th of December, 1154.*

We shall arrange the history of Thomas à Becket, from this time, under four distinct sections. We shall proceed to regard him in his chancellorship; in his episcopate; during his exile; and on his return to England.

I. The career of Thomas the Chancellor was a career of uninterrupted brilliancy; and he is entitled to rank among the most eminent of our statesmen.

We are told, that, at this period of our history, the chancellorship was not the high office which it subsequently became. While the primate of all England ranked, then as now, next to royalty itself; the chancellor yielded precedence to the justiciary, the constable, the marshal, the steward, and the chamberlain.†

This may be true; and in the absence of the sovereign, the justiciary was generally the regent.‡ But we are to observe, that the amount of a man's power and influence does not depend upon the precedence, which may or may not be conceded to him, on state occasions. In the present age, in point of power and influence, the prime minister, although a commoner, comes next to the sovereign; but, although his whisper in the sovereign's ear may make a peer, he yields precedence to every member of the House of Lords; and, although he leads the House of Commons, he admits the Speaker to be the first commoner in the land.

When we read of the chancellor of a Norman king, that he was his private secretary, his chaplain, his confessor, the keeper of his conscience; that he had the

* Dugdale gives the date 1157. But this is proved to be wrong by the entries on the Pipe Roll of 2 Henry II., 1155—1156, in which the name of Thomas the Chancellor frequently occurs.

† Campbell's Chancellors, i. 5.

‡ Under the present dynasty Lord's Justices were appointed when any of the Georges left the country.

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supervision of all the charters, letters, and other documents of the crown; that to his custody were confided all the vacant bishoprics, abbacies, and baronies, which fell into the king's hands; and that, in the Curia Regis, he acted as the king's assessor; we shall not be far wrong, if we think of him as a prime minister,—provided that we regard him as the prime minister of a sovereign, who not only reigned, but also ruled.*

Henry was prevented from becoming a great monarch, by his impotence to control his passions; and by the littlenesses, as well as the cruelties, to which he permitted himself to sink and be degraded, for their inordinate gratification. But he was a clear-headed, far-seeing, well-intentioned politician; a man of warm affections, and of generous impulses. We hear much of his munificence towards Becket; but the same generous conduct was evinced to all his ministers. A contemporary writes of him thus:—"That most illustrious King of England, Henry II., the greatest of earthly princes, always strove to increase the dignities of his officers, knowing for certain, that bestowing favours upon them would purchase glory to his own name, by titles of immortal fame." †

Such a sovereign was worthy of such a minister as Becket; and never had sovereign a minister more devoted to his master's service. Becket was one of those men, who throw themselves, heart and soul, into a cause; who convert their party into another self. A great deal is said of the immense expenditure of Becket, when he was chancellor. But we must harmonise the accounts which have come down to us. It is certain that his tastes were refined, and even luxurious; that he thus presented a striking contrast to the habits of the king, who affected

* Madox, 42; Foss, i. 14; Campbell, i. 5; Stephens's Blackstone, iii. 397. See also Fitz-Steph. i. 188.

† Dialogus de Scaccario, c. 13.

to despise almost the decencies of society.* He preferred, we know, the wing of a pheasant to pulse and beans; and he was also a good judge of wine. But we are not to suppose, that his whole time was passed in hunting and hawking, in feasting with the nobles, and playing chess with the king. He was a man much occupied in business, and he would lack both the time and the means for that incessant feasting and constant joviality, which are supposed sometimes to be characteristic of this period of his life.

The chancellor was a member of the royal household, resident with the king; and we happen to know what was the allowance made to the king's chancellor from the purveyor of the royal household. He received five shillings a day, a simnel, two seasoned simnels, one sextary of clear wine, and one sextary of household wine, one large wax candle, and forty pieces of candle in addition.†

From this we perceive, that his immediate attendants could not have been numerous, and that his own wants, on ordinary occasions, were easily supplied.

It is true that Thomas the Chancellor had, besides this, a large private income. He retained his archdeaconry, and the preferments which the archbishop had conferred upon him. To these were added the deanery of Hastings, and the wardenship of the castles of Eye and Berkhamstead—the former with a service of one hundred and fifty knights attached to it. But then, as we shall presently see, instead of spending his large income upon himself, he husbanded his resources, so as to be able to render the

* Henry is described as a middle-sized man, of a florid complexion, with red hair and grey eyes; careless in his dress; hurrying over his meals; with his hands and his feet livid with wounds from the hunting-field; restless at home; scarcely ever sitting down, except when engaged in business. He was a perfect contrast to Becket; just the man to make Becket preside at his banquets, and unexpectedly to vault over the table, or swallow a hasty draught of wine.

† Madox, Exchequer, 195.

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king effectual assistance in the time of war, and, at his own cost, to conduct an expensive embassy. If Becket had been involved in profuse expenditure; if, in his own house, he had lived in almost royal state, the rival of the king himself in his magnificence, he would not have possessed the means of expending his princely fortune, nobly, as he did, in his country's service; and he would probably have moved the king to envy and anger.

He acted, as the king's servant and representative. The Norman kings observed the festivals of Christmas, Easter, and Whitsuntide, in great state and with profuse hospitality. The barons were summoned from all quarters; and to the festive board all comers were welcomed. It was for the purpose of being able to entertain the aristocracy of England, and all, who had business to transact at court, that William Rufus erected his hall at Westminster. Lodgings were not provided; and temporary buildings were erected in the vicinity (similar probably to erections we see at Aldershott), for those who had no mansions in the neighbourhood, or who had no friend, like Gilbert Becket, to tender to them the rites of hospitality. But the feasting was on a scale of great magnificence, and the luxury was chiefly confined to the hall,—where the Normans had introduced the superior cookery of France.

The first measures of Henry had been energetic. The Flemish mercenaries, who had preyed on the land, in the reign of Stephen, were dismissed. The obnoxious castles, which had been little better than dens of robbers, were razed to the ground. The greater barons, who still retained their strong holds, were compelled to acknowledge the royal supremacy; and, instead of acting as rival kings, to aid their sovereign, by their counsel in peace, and by their arms in war. Justice was impartially administered; the fields were once more yellow with harvest; the arts of peace were cultivated; and commerce was encouraged.

The chancellor must share with the king the honour of

conducing to this happy state of affairs. But Becket also saw clearly that the Aula Regis would not be properly attended, at the festivals, unless its allurements were great; and, although his joyous and enthusiastic nature entered heartily into the pleasures both of the table and of the chase, it was part of his policy, also to sustain, in spite of the king's negligence in this respect, the splendour and hospitality of the court.

When we read of the vessels of gold, with which Becket's table was adorned, and, that no expense was spared in providing the most delicate as well as sumptuous fare,—that the wine, which freely flowed, was of the choicest vintage; we must bear in mind, that this feasting took place in the Aula Regis, and at the king's cost. The duty of presiding Henry delegated to the chancellor; but he would occasionally make his appearance, and, vaulting over the table, take his seat by the chancellor's side; or, riding into the hall, arrow in hand, as he came from hunting, he would call for the wine-cup, to drink to his guests, and to bid them welcome. Earls and barons, seldom brought together except on these occasions or in time of war, were entertained with all the honour due to their rank: even strangers were hospitably received, provided they were properly attired. The chancellor, like a great man, attended even to minute details; and, when every seat was occupied, those who had arrived late found the floor strewn, if in winter, with rushes, if in summer, with green branches, so that, if they were obliged to lie on the floor, their fine clothes might not be spoilt.* What a

* The apartments were not, as now, surrounded with sofas and settees, and the chairs were few. Yet wearied human nature sometimes required to *lounge*. The picture, therefore, is often presented to us of a great man sitting on his couch, with one or two persons in chairs around him, while many engaged with him in conversation were lying on the floor. In the halls there were benches; but when they were filled, it was not considered beneath the dignity of a guest to throw himself on

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state ball is in the time of Queen Victoria, such was a feast in Westminster Hall, in the time of the Norman kings. The feast indeed lasted as long as the council sat; and a minister like Becket would know how to pacify an adversary by a well-timed invitation to the king's table.

So popular did Thomas the Chancellor render the court, that the sons of the nobility, both English and foreign, resorted to it. Under the supervision of Becket, they were trained as knights, and yet breathed a moral atmosphere. Within his own precincts, Becket visited, with severity, every breach of morality; and the king's amours were, at this time, as in the case of the fair Rosamond, conducted in secret; they were not an open scandal. Among the pupils of Becket was the king's eldest son Henry.

No persons are so quicksighted to discover the weaknesses of their masters, as boys; and we may presume, that to the youths here assembled, the foibles of the chancellor, especially his foppery and luxurious tastes, were frequently the source of amusement. We know, that the king himself laughed at Becket's love of finery and display; and, only a youth himself, he sometimes joined with the boys of his court in making his chancellor the subject of practical jokes. To give probability to the well-known story, when Henry, in playful contest with his chancellor, transferred his well-furred cloak to the shoulders of a beggar; we must suppose them to have been attended with a frolicsome train of young aristocrats, backing first one and then the other, in an equestrian wrestling match; —Becket himself enjoying the fun.

We are not, however, to suppose, that the earls and barons were convened at the great festivals, for the mere

the ground, and there to take his food. In Walckenaer's description of a matinée at the Hôtel Rambouillet, in 1644, we find the gentlemen seated on their cloaks spread on the floor at the feet of the ladies.

purposes of feasting at the king's expense. The feast was an incident; the object of the assembly was the despatch of business.

At the Conquest, the Witenagemot was superseded by the king's council. The Witenagemot and the Curia Regis were alike in this, that they formed a high court of justice, and acted as a council to the sovereign. But they differed materially, in principle, as well as in the manner in which business was conducted. The Witenagemot possessed much of the popular element, and the king presided as the *primus inter pares*. The Conqueror's design was to make all power emanate from the crown, and to render every institution dependent upon the king. His council was formed by barons, to whom he issued a summons. The court of justice, which was there opened, not only took cognisance of great causes of public interest, but was a court of appeal from inferior tribunals, in which the king might reverse the sentence of the inferior magistrate. The Witenagemot had cognisance of both spiritual and civil causes; for, under the Saxon and Danish dynasties, Church and State were united. At the Conquest, the spiritual jurisdiction was separated from the civil, because William foresaw, that the spiritual authorities would not submit to his great principle, that all authority was derived from the royal will. He separated Church and State, a separation which gave rise to all the miseries of Becket's episcopate. The Conqueror had also distinguished the ministerial powers of his court, from the deliberative. The members were summoned, at certain times; but they came as judges, rather than counsellors, unless their counsel was asked. The practical tendency of this arrangement was, to leave the business in the hands of the great officers of state, resident in the king's palace, and usually attendant upon his person.* Among these, the

* Madox, 63.

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chancellor was always one ; his peculiar business being to keep the king's seal, and to examine all such writs, grants, and letters, as were to pass under that authority. The court, thus convened, assembled in the king's hall, and hence was called by Bracton and other old writers Aula Regia, or Aula Regis.* We have an example of the manner in which justice was administered, in the account we possess of a *cause célèbre*, which is narrated with minuteness of detail, in the Chronicle of Battle Abbey. It is the more interesting, as it shows us how entirely and heartily Becket was, at this time, on the king's side, and how opposed to any aggression on the part of the Church.

Hilary, Bishop of Chichester, claimed episcopal jurisdiction over Battle Abbey and its dependencies. The claim was resisted on the part of Walter, the abbot, on the ground of an exemption granted by the founder, William the Conqueror. The case had been long under discussion ; when, in 1157, it was appointed to be argued at Colchester, before the king himself.†

In the course of the proceedings, the Bishop of Chichester took occasion to remark, that it was not lawful for a layman,—"no, not for a king, to confer ecclesiastical liberties and dignities upon churches, or to take them away, when once they had been conferred ; unless by the permission or confirmation of the Pope."

This was more than a King of England could hear with patience. Henry was in a fury. With a terrible oath he exclaimed, "You imagine, by your craft and subtlety, to overturn those royal prerogatives with which God has been pleased to invest me ; but, on your oath of fealty, I charge you to submit to correction for these presumptuous words against my royal crown and dignity ; and I charge

* Bracton, 3, tr. 1. c. 7.

† The whole case is given at length in the Chronicon Monasterii de Bello, which has been well translated by my learned friend Mark Antony Lower, Esquire.

the archbishops and bishops here present, to do me justice upon you, agreeably to the rights of the crown granted to me by God Most High. Nothing can be clearer, than that you are acting in direct opposition to my royal dignities, —that you are labouring to deprive me of the privileges due to me of ancient right."

This speech occasioned great excitement. The chancellor solemnly warned the Bishop of Chichester, that he had violated his oath of fealty, and called upon him to be "more careful in his expressions."

The king would not permit the abbot to reply; "for," he said, "it is not for your prudence, henceforth, to make good your claim. It is my part, as my own royal prerogative, to defend it. The decision of the business is my concern."

An adjournment took place for a short time. On the return of the court, Becket, in a long and able speech, gave judgment against the bishop. He stated that the abbot sought to retain the privileges conceded to his abbey by William the Conqueror, and among them, an exemption from all episcopal jurisdiction. In those privileges he was now confirmed by the command of the king; "not for the purpose," Becket said, in conclusion, "of setting you at nought, but with the intention of defending, by sound reason, as royal rights, things which you have been pleased, in our hearing, to call frivolous."

The proceedings of this trial clearly establish the fact, that, when Henry afterwards proposed the Constitutions of Clarendon, he was not then, for the first time, advancing new claims. He only, at that time, re-asserted what he had employed Becket himself to assert, in his name, from the beginning of his reign.

The opinions of Becket underwent a change, at a later period of his life; but, notwithstanding an alteration in his views, there was no inconsistency in his character.

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Whatever principles he adopted, or whoever was the master he served, he was always a thorough-going partisan — an enthusiast in his cause. With an expansive selfishness, he would completely identify himself with the cause or party to which, through the force of circumstances, he was attached. When he was of the household of Theobald, the aged primate could find no friend or counsellor more devoted to his service than Thomas the Archdeacon. When Henry had acted on Theobald's advice, and Becket became an inmate of the royal palace, there was no one more zealous in maintaining the king's cause, and in upholding the royal authority, than Thomas the Chancellor. Thomas the Archbishop was prepared to defy king and pope, in defence of what he called the liberties of the Church *; and, always an enthusiast, he died in the cause.

The great and real event, which has made the reign of Henry II. famous, is the breaking-up of the Curia Regis into the several courts of justice, such as they at present exist. It was now, that the Court of Exchequer was formed to manage the king's revenue; the Common Pleas, to determine all causes between private subjects; the Court of Chancery, to issue all original writs, under the great seal, to the other courts. All these were, at first, only committees of the Curia Regis; and, consequently, the Court of King's Bench, representing the original authority, retained all the jurisdiction, which was not cantoned to other courts, and, particularly, the sole cognisance of the pleas of the crown, or criminal causes.†

* Siquidem quum ante promotionem suam tanquam unus excellentium enituisset seculo, non minus etiam postmodum inter præcipuos orthodoxorum eminere studuit militans Christo. Nesciebat enim nisi maximorum unus esse quemcumque sortitus esset ordinem vitæ."— *Will. Cant., ap. Giles*, ii. 130.

† On this subject we may refer to Madox, Foss, and Stephens' edition of Blackstone, iii. 389.

The chancellor, who acted with the other judges in the Curia Regis, shared also in the duties of a Justice Itinerant. We find Becket holding pleas, in the second and third years of Henry, with the Earl of Essex and the Earl of Leicester, respectively, in different counties. It is expressly stated of Becket, that he was much occupied *in causis perorandis et decidendis.** Hence Becket is the reputed founder of the Court of Chancery. His claim to that honour is sufficiently established, if, as it is said, with him the judicial functions of the chancellor commenced.

It was not till the later years of Henry's reign, that the different law courts were fully established. They seem to have originated, as many other important institutions have done, from reasons of convenience, rather than from a deep laid system. When business increased, the Curia Regis appointed committees; these committees gradually became permanent courts; the committee men were formed into permanent judges; and men qualified themselves for the judicial office, by first undertaking the duties of an advocate.

We may give credit to Becket, as the friend and counsellor of the king, for having given an impulse to this movement, through which law was reduced to a system; but we must remember that he was not the only great

* Wendover, ii. 293; see also Foss, i. 168. Fitz-Stephen says of himself that he was one of Becket's clerks and an inmate of his family: "and as by express invitation I was called to his service, I became Remembrancer of his Chancery; and when he sat to hear and determine causes, a reader of bills and petitions; and sometimes, when he was pleased to order it, I performed the office of advocate." This, however, possibly refers to Becket's own Chancery, when he became archbishop, as Fitz-stephen speaks of himself as at this time acting in Becket's chapel, as a sub-deacon, whenever the former officiated. The chancellor officiated in the king's chapel, and was himself only a deacon. The king's chaplain, however, though only a deacon, may have had a sub-deacon; and if causes were heard in a bishop's Chancery, we may be sure that they were not unheard in the king's.

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statesman of the age. The reign of Henry was adorned by many eminent men, from Robert de Beaumont and Richard de Luci, to the greatest of all, Ranulph de Glanville.

Nor may we fail to do justice to the king himself. It is stated, by a contemporary writer, or one who was nearly so, that Henry was one of the first of modern princes, who transacted business on a virtuous principle. "Having put down the enemies of peace with the strong hand, he studied how he might again bring about former times; and choosing prudent and discreet men, he divided the kingdom into six parts, that chosen justices, whom we call itinerant justices, might restore injured men to the rights they had been deprived of. Appointing, therefore, a proper number in each county, and doing full justice to those who thought themselves injured, they prevented the poor people's trouble and expense." *

We must add that, although to the zeal, the energy, and the experience of the chancellor, Henry was deeply indebted, yet it was expressly asserted by the friends and advocates of Becket himself, that he was only the minister and not the master of the king. We may refer, in the first instance, to what occurred on the introduction of the scutage, in 1159, in proof of this. To meet the exigencies of the king, in the war of Toulouse, an important change was effected in the constitution; and a principle was introduced, which led to the most important consequences. Instead of calling out the feudal militia, who, though they might be compelled to take the field without pay, were, nevertheless, at liberty to return home, at the end of forty days, a pecuniary satisfaction was levied by assessments at so much for every knight's fee, as an equivalent for actual military service. From this tax the clergy claimed exemption, on the ground that military service

* Dialogus de Scaccario, lib. ii. c. 2.

could not be exacted from them. The plea was not a valid one, for their lands had been granted, on the condition of their supplying their contingent of troops for the service of the country.* The government determined, therefore, that to the scutage the clergy should be subject. But, in the government, Becket was the person of most influence with the king; and the clergy, in their indignation, accused him of betraying the cause of the Church. The defence set up for him by his friends was, that the measure was not sanctioned by Becket; he merely suffered it to pass; his act being simply ministerial.† In other words, Henry, while consulting his minister, did not yield to his dictation; and the minister, though remembering what the Church expected of the Archdeacon of Canterbury, did not care sufficiently for the Church to quarrel with the king.

* "What escuage is, and why so called. It sometimes happens, upon the enemies making invasion or insurrection, that the king orders a certain sum to be paid out of every knight's fee, a mark or a pound, by which soldiers' wages or donations are raised. For the prince had rather that hirelings than his own countrymen and subjects should be exposed to the chance of war. This sum, therefore, because it is paid in the name of shields, is called scutage."—*Dial. de Scaccario*, lib. i. c. 9. It is added, "Those who sit at the exchequer are free from it." If any were to be free from the tax, the clergy thought that their claim for exemption ought to be urged.

"This kind of tenure" (we presume that assessment or service would be a more appropriate term) "was called *scutagium* in Latin, or *servitium scuti*; *scutum* being then a well known denomination for money; and in like manner it was called, in our Norman French, *escuage*, being indeed a pecuniary instead of a military service. The first time this appears to have been taken was in the fifth year of Henry II., on account of his expedition to Toulouse; but it soon came to be so universal, that personal attendance fell quite into disuse. Hence, we find, in our ancient histories, that from this period, when our kings went to war, they levied *scutages* on their tenants, that is, on all the landholders in the kingdom, to defray their expenses, and to hire troops."—*Stephens' Blackstone*, i. 202.

† Ep. John Salisb. 145.

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When the war of Toulouse commenced, Becket appeared at the head of the chivalry of England. Arrayed, not in cope or surplice*, but in helm and cuirass, he was attended by seven hundred knights, equipped and maintained by himself. First and foremost in every bold adventure, he especially displayed his personal courage in single combat with the good knight, Engelram de Trie, whom he unhorsed and made captive. Instead of seeing any incongruity in these warlike propensities, Edward Grim waxes warm in his panegyric of the warlike archdeacon, and exclaims, "Who can recount the carnage, the desolation he made at the head of a strong body of soldiers. He attacked castles, and razed towns and cities to the ground, he burned down houses and farms, and never showed the slightest touch of pity to any one who rose in insurrection against his master."†

But, gratified as Henry must have been by the loyalty of his friend, and the generous expenditure of the wealth he had accumulated, we find him rejecting the advice of his chancellor. The King of France had taken part, in the war, with the Count of St. Gilles, against the King of England. It was known, that Louis was within the walls of Toulouse, when the army of Henry approached the town. To direct an immediate attack, with the view of making Louis a prisoner, was the counsel of the hasty and impetuous Becket, who exhibited, before the walls of Toulouse, the same spirit, though differently directed, which was afterwards brought forth, in the fulminations of Vezelay. But Henry was a far-seeing politician, and, except when maddened by his passions, he could act with discretion. Being a vassal on the continent, though a suzerain in England, he positively refused to violate a principle which it was his interest to uphold; and, in opposition to his chancellor — ever more intent on the ends

* Garnier, fol. 76, 1, 21. † Grim, p. 12.

he aimed at, than careful of the means he employed — Henry exhibited an example of scrupulous delicacy, in the observance of feudal duty.

The generosity of Becket, and the noble manner in which he expended upon the public, the emoluments of his several offices, when he lived, as chancellor, at the king's expence; are shown not only in the fact just mentioned, when he supplied more than his contingent to the army, during the Toulouse war; but also in this, that he undertook, at his own charges, the celebrated embassy to France, in 1159. On this great occasion, he both evinced his patriotism, and indulged his own taste for magnificence. He well knew the importance of making an impression favourable to his master, by a lavish expenditure; — the very principle on which the present Emperor of the French has just acted at the coronation of the King of Prussia. The Emperor gave his ambassador *carte blanche* to draw, to any amount, upon the imperial treasury, and he supplied him with the loan of his own jewels. With similar policy Henry acted, at the suggestion of Becket, with this difference, that Becket exonerated the royal treasury, from the expenses necessary for the purposes of the embassy.

The object of the embassy was to seek in marriage the French King's daughter for the King of England's son. The match was, in every respect, a suitable one. The intended bridegroom was three years older than the French princess; and, although the bride elect had been only three months in this breathing world, yet our lord the king had taken precautions to ascertain, that she was a fine healthy child. The magnificence of Becket, on this occasion, baffles description. As he passed through the cities of France, all the population turned out to behold the procession. He rode, preceded, accompanied, or followed by two hundred and fifty men on horseback, in companies of six or ten, singing national songs. This guard of honour

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was composed of knights and the sons of the nobility, who, under their chosen leader, were performing their military service. At a little distance, followed huntsmen with their harriers, and falconers with their hawks, that in aristocratic sports the chancellor might beguile the tediousness of the journey, when arriving at a convenient halting-place. Eight vans, each drawn by five horses, in size and strength equal to chargers, and each horse led by a groom in a new livery, formed part of the procession. One of these vans was the chancellor's chapel; another was his chamber; another his kitchen. His wardrobe filled a fourth, for Becket was at this time a fop. He had four-and-twenty changes of garments, elegant tartans, grieze and foreign skins, cloaks and carpets; "such," says his biographer, "as those with which the bed and chamber of a bishop are adorned." From the same authority we learn, that two of these carriages contained iron-bound casks, filled with a liquor which the chancellor was taking to Paris, because it was much relished by the French; "being," as Fitz-Stephen informs us, "a wholesome drink, bright and clear, of a vinous colour, and superior taste." The author informs us, that it was a decoction of water made from the strength of corn; its vulgar name was beer. There were twelve sumpter horses and eight coffers to carry the chancellor's silver cups, and pitchers, and basins, and salts, and spoons, and knives, and other utensils, together with his plate of gold. There were coffers or chests to contain the chancellor's money, sufficient to pay his daily expenses. One sumpter horse preceded the others, being laden with the sacred vessels of the chapel, the books and ornaments of the altar. Each sumpter horse was attended by a groom, To each carriage a dog was tied, and on the back of each sumpter horse there was a long-tailed ape.

On arriving in Paris, Becket insisted upon paying his

own expenses, and was munificent in his presents to all sorts and conditions of people. Every nobleman, baron, knight, and servant of the French king, who waited upon him, retired with a splendid present. The chancellor did not forget the doctors and students of that university, of which he had himself been a member. Fabulous reports were spread of the sumptuousness of his table, and a dish of eels was reported to have cost, but it must have been a mistake, a hundred shillings "sterlingorum."*

There was, as we have observed, a politic object in all this magnificence; and that object was answered, when, passing from the capital of France, Becket returned through the provinces, and everywhere heard the people exclaiming, or else read the thought in their faces: If such be the King of England's chancellor, what manner of man must the King of England himself be!

It is the more important, to remark all this secularity on the part of Thomas à Becket, since it clearly acquits him of having any design upon the Archbishopric of Canterbury. As chancellor, he was in the very place adapted to his talents; and he seems thoroughly to have enjoyed all the worldly advantages of his position.

He was subjected, doubtless, like other men, to occasional annoyances from those who regarded his success with feelings of envy, and of this he complained; but he was conscious, that, to a person of his temperament and habits, the annoyances would be greater, if he exchanged the secular for the religious life. He knew, of course, that the archbishopric was within his reach, if, as was probable in the course of nature, he were to outlive Theobald. But he certainly did not seek the post. He did not use even the ordinary precautions, which would have suggested themselves to a person who entertained any thought of becoming a candidate for the office. He was perfectly

* Fitz-Stephen, 199.

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aware that, although the royal nomination was seldom resisted, it was not irresistible; and a chancellor, ambitious of becoming archbishop, would have sought to conciliate the various parties, whose consents were required before a valid election could take place. But the ministry of Becket, when he was chancellor to Henry, if not hostile to clerical pretensions, was, by no means, friendly to them. He was accounted by many of those suffragans, whose sanction to his election would at least be required, "a despiser of the clergy." He was declared to be "a persecutor and destroyer of Holy Church." And when his election to Canterbury was decided upon, Henry of Blois, his consecrator, was only able, in reply to objections, to express a hope that the wolf would be turned into a shepherd of Christ's sheep,—the persecuting Saul into a Paul.* It was reported and believed that Archbishop Theobald had, on one occasion, threatened him with excommunication. The report was probably without foundation; but its existence is indicative of an unfriendly feeling towards the chancellor on the part of the clergy.

The Chapter of Canterbury consisted of monks, who thought it impossible for any one except a monk to be religious. When Becket became archbishop, in order to conciliate them, he assumed, after a time, the monkish habit; but, instead of seeking their favour, during his tenure of the chancellorship, he knew full well, that to others, besides the monks, he gave offence by the secularity of a life devoted to the enjoyments, the vanities, the pride, the luxury, the ostentation, as well as the business of the world. It was considered, by all parties, that when he "put on the chancellor, he had put off the deacon."†

II. Archbishop Theobald died in April, 1161. Becket was with the king, in Normandy, but was proceeding to England on political business. When he was taking leave

* Garnier, 57.

† Herb. vii. 27.

of his master, Henry, for the first time, told him that he intended him to be Archbishop of Canterbury.

No one can fairly accuse Becket of duplicity, in any action of his life. His faults, as well as his virtues, lay in the opposite direction. When he was obliged, during the first days of his exile, to travel in disguise,— disguise was so abhorrent from his nature, that his friends had the greatest difficulty in persuading him to take even ordinary precautions for his safety. If, at any time, he deceived others, he first unconsciously deceived himself.

When the king announced to him, "It is my will that you should be Archbishop of Canterbury," Becket did not believe him to be in earnest. Pointing to his gay attire, indicative of his secular tastes and habits, "A pretty saint," he exclaimed, "you wish to place over that holy bishopric and that famous monastery."

On finding the king resolute in his determination, Becket fairly warned him that his appointment to the see of Canterbury would be the termination of their friendship.* He knew Henry. He knew himself. He knew why Henry selected a person so unfit for the episcopal office. He knew that the king would expect from an archbishop, nominated by himself, a compliance with his wishes, which an archbishop might feel it to be his duty to resist. He knew that, in performing what he thought to be his duty, he must stand forth as the king's chief opponent.

Becket had been trained in two courts; in that of the primate and in that of the King of England, and he was perfectly aware that their interests and objects differed widely, and were in some points directly opposed.

The great point, on which the religious world was, at this time, fanatical, was the separation of Church and State. It was this desire, on the part of a large portion

* Herbert, vii. 27. Cf. Rog. ii. 108; Fitz-Steph. ii. 193; Alan, ii. 322.

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of the ecclesiastics of the age, which had led to the detachment of the ecclesiastical from the civil jurisdiction, the evil of which neither William the Conqueror nor Lanfranc had foreseen. The Church had always been an *imperium*. It possessed its own laws, its discipline, its legislative authority, its duly subordinated functionaries. But in Christian lands, it had, hitherto, existed only as an *imperium in imperio*. In Anglo-Saxon times, there had been an entire union of Church and State. The primate had been the chief adviser of the crown; and crown and mitre, in action, were as one. But feudalism had introduced new notions. Instead of occupying a subordinate position, the ecclesiastical functionaries claimed, in every land, a co-ordinate jurisdiction. As Henry was a suzerain in England but a vassal in Normandy,—so the Archbishop of Canterbury admitted that, in temporals, he was the King of England's vassal; while, at the same time, in spirituals he claimed vassalage of the king. As an ecclesiastical sovereign, the primate assumed to possess a separate jurisdiction over his own subjects,—that is to say, not only over bishops, priests, and deacons, but over the humblest official, who had received the tonsure. This was, on one occasion, most clearly stated by Becket himself: "Holy Church," he said, "is the mother of all, both kings and priests,—and she has two kings, two laws, two jurisdictions, two controlling powers; one over the soul, one over the body. Two swords are here."*

The introduction of the Hildebrandine principle had carried the religious world still further. There were two powers. Which was to be the greater? Which was to succumb to other, when their interests clashed?

Becket knew, that the whole policy of Henry was opposed to that principle, which, as primate of the Church, he would have to support, if he were not to sink

* Herbert of Bosham, vii. 107.

into utter insignificance. The king's object was to uphold the prerogatives of the crown, and to bring the law to bear upon all causes and over all persons, ecclesiastical as well as civil. He had succeeded in reducing the refractory barons to obedience. His judges were administering justice to the terror of thieves and robbers. "The ravening wolves fled," says William of Newburgh, or, were changed into sheep; or, if not really changed, yet, through fear of the laws, were harmless."*

In effecting all this, Becket had been, not Henry's sole minister, but—as we have adopted the phrase—his prime minister. He knew that Henry only waited till Theobald's death, to bring the law to bear upon the church and clergy. The higher dignitaries of the Church were, many of them, men of learning and of correct morals. But, at this time, the most lawless class in the community was that of the clergy (including under that title all who held office in the Church), by whom the worst crimes were committed, almost with impunity. Henry anticipated the support of Becket, when archbishop, in bringing the rebellious clergy under the strong arm of the law; as he had aided him, when chancellor, in reducing the barons to obedience.

If we place any reliance on history, we must believe that Becket forewarned the king, that, in forcing him upon the chapter of Canterbury, he would lose a servant,—if not a friend.

There are writers, who state that this warning was given with a smile; or with some such inflexion of voice, as would show, that the speaker meant one thing, while he said another. But these writers only inform us of what they themselves, under the circumstances, would have done,—not what was really the fact.

Becket's conduct was not that of a very high-minded

* W. Newburgh, ii. 1.

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man; but it is perfectly intelligible. When the king suggested his appointment to the archbishopric, the suggestion took him by surprise. The primacy was not a post that he desired. He felt, that there was something incongruous, if not absurd, in placing him, a mere worldling, at the head of a society of monks;—for this was the incongruity, that first occurred to his mind. The pious thought more of the abbacy than of the primacy. He warned the king, that his appointment to the archbishopric would not further the object, which Henry had in view, in making him the offer. Having done what it was his duty to do, he seems then to have begun to listen to the promptings of ambition.

From a servant of the crown he had now the prospect of rising to an equality with the king,—in some respects to become his superior,—"his lord, his patron." *

Becket finally determined to let things take their course. He could not feel very desirous of an office, for which he did not regard himself qualified; which would require a change in all his habits of life; which would involve him in many troubles, and in a breach with one who had been to him as a brother. But, on the other hand, to become a prince of the Church, a great potentate, the pope of the western world, the equal of kings, — if this honour were thrust upon him, — he was not the man to refuse it.

* These are not the expressions of a proud prelate. They are the words of Louis VII., King of France, applied afterwards to Becket himself, with reference to his relation to Henry, after his consecration. When Becket was expecting to be exiled, Louis, on another occasion, remarked that he should esteem him in France not as bishop or archbishop, but as "partner of his throne."—*John Salisb.* ep. 134. The words are to be understood as uttered in feudal times, when it was understood that, in one sense, the archbishop might be superior, and in another inferior: they were also uttered in the spirit of party. But for that very reason they are of importance: the speaker may have been insincere, but he uttered what he knew would be a popular sentiment.

Pending the election, Becket's conduct was consistent and dignified. It was the consistency and dignity of a man, who knows not exactly what to wish; of one, who has been forced into an election, in which he would not have volunteered to be a candidate. Such a one would feel mortified by defeat, and yet he would not exult in success. Becket did not interfere or canvass, yet he did not oppose the king's wishes. He waited patiently, for the decision of those, with whom the appointment rested; and he had to wait a considerable time.

There was a strong opposition. The grounds of the opposition have been already intimated. More than a year elapsed, after the death of Theobald, before the king could carry his point. Richard de Luci, at that time a friend of Becket, presided at the election in May, 1162. His presence was in accordance with the custom, which at that time prevailed, of conducting the election in the presence of the king, or of his representative. Richard de Luci, as grand-justiciary, represented the king; but it was known that he was there, not only to express the royal wish, but, if need were, to enforce it.

A *congé d'élire* did not convey much more freedom to the electors, at that time, than it does now. This was fairly stated, when the bishops were called upon to confirm the election. Foliot, at that time, Bishop of Hereford, afterwards, the celebrated Bishop of London, declared, that he only gave his consent upon compulsion. After the appointment had been actually made, the same prelate remarked sarcastically, that the king had wrought a miracle in turning a soldier into an archbishop.

When the election was completed and confirmed, a controversy arose—Who was to ordain the deacon? and who, after his ordination as priest, was to consecrate the new-made priest to the episcopal office?

It ended in a compromise. The claim of the Arch-

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bishop of York was put aside, on the ground of his continued refusal to make profession of obedience to the see of Canterbury. London was vacant. It was determined, therefore, that the deacon, Thomas, should be ordained priest, by his friend, Walter, Bishop of Rochester, on the Saturday in Whitsun week; and that he should be consecrated, on the octave of Whitsunday, by Henry of Blois, Bishop of Winchester.

The first act of the new archbishop was to appoint the day of his consecration, the octave of Whitsunday, to form a festival in the Church of England, in honour of the Holy and Undivided Trinity. From that day to this, the festival of Trinity Sunday, by the ordinance of Thomas à Becket, has been thus observed in our Church.*

During the interval between his first nomination by the king and his election, Becket had been occupied in deciding upon the line of conduct he should pursue, in the probable event of his success.

Immediately after his consecration, Becket caused it to be notified to the king that the Archbishop of Canterbury was no longer his chancellor.

It is anything but pleasant to read of the cool and deliberate manner, in which Becket abruptly terminated his friendship with the king. His conduct appears to be heartless in the extreme. He quitted the service of Henry, with as little regret, as he had left that of Theobald. A

* A festival was very generally observed in the 11th century in honour of the Holy and Undivided Trinity in the different churches of Europe, but not on the same day. Each church adhered to its own usage. No special day was appointed by the Church of Rome until the 14th century, when the same day which had been previously selected by the Church of England was appointed by Pope John XXII. The calendar of the Church of Rome still differs from the calendar of the Church of England, by reckoning the Sundays before Advent not as "after Trinity," but as "after Pentecost." Martene, cap. xxvii. § 22; Benedict XIV. de fest. Dom. ix. p. 135, 137.

neutral position it was not in his nature to occupy. He was now the king's opponent, and he acted, probably, with a political object in view. He foresaw a rupture, and he wished the king to be the aggressor in the quarrel. He knew the fiery temper of Henry, and expected what occurred,—that he would denounce him, in no measured terms. Henry displayed that littleness of mind, or pettishness of temper, which so frequently disgraced him. He demanded why the Archbishop had not resigned also his lucrative archdeaconry? Why he did not, it is impossible, at this distance of time, to say. Henry insisted upon the resignation, and Becket was obliged, though reluctantly, to give way.

Becket seems to have been still determined to force a breach between himself and the king; he proceeded, *vi et armis*, to eject certain occupiers of Church lands. He may have been in the right, when he asserted that the Church had been unjustly deprived of the lands; but the whole principle of the government, of which he had lately been a prominent member, had been, to prevent men from taking the law into their own hands.

The king showed much more feeling, however much he may have been provoked. When he returned to England at Christmas, 1162, and Becket accompanied the young prince to meet him at Southampton, Henry opened his arms, and once more cordially embraced his old friend. Becket was softened. They conversed together, on their former familiar terms. The king showed himself quite prepared to forget the differences that had occurred, and was ready to return to their former terms of intimacy and friendship.* He, soon after, visited the Archbishop at Canterbury, and was hospitably entertained.

* Herbert of Bosham, iii. c. 14. The accounts of the interview are contradictory. Diceto, col. 534; Anon. Lamb. 84; but I think Henry's

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Becket succeeded an archbishop celebrated for his hospitality and alms-deeds: he doubled his charities and lived in the same splendour as his predecessor. He was surrounded, as Theobald had been, by men of rank and of intellectual accomplishments. There were grumblers, who maintained that intellect was more thought of than piety, but he made no change in the establishment.

Of his magnificence, when he visited the court of France, as the King of England's ambassador, an account has been already given. The magnificence was not abated, when, in May 1163, as primate of all England, he passed, once more, into France to attend the Council of Tours. His state was royal, and he was received with the honours due to a sovereign.* When he landed at Gravelines, on the coast of Flanders, Philip, the Earl, was there to meet him. His court was attended by the gentry and nobility, who placed everything at his disposal. Through Normandy, through Maine, his progress was a triumphal procession. On the third day, before the opening of the council, he approached Tours. The whole population went forth to greet him. Citizens mingled with ecclesiastics from all parts of Europe. The rigid etiquette of the Roman court was disregarded. The pope was deserted by his cardinals, who went forth to pay their homage to the new archbishop, still supposed to be the favourite of the King of England. When Becket arrived at the papal palace, the hall of reception was filled by an enthusiastic mob of divines; and the pope, to escape the pressure, took refuge in his private apartments. Thither Becket followed him, but the interview was as brief as possible. The pope felt sure, that his honoured guest must be fatigued by his journey; and was, by no means, sorry to

visit to Canterbury confirms the statement of Herbert, who probably received the account from Becket.

* Herb. 88.

see him pass, with his retinue, to the king's palace, which had been placed at Becket's disposal.

The Church, throughout Europe, was in a state of schism. Through the influence of the forged decretals it was now, indeed, admitted that the pope of Rome was suzerain of the Western Church, but there was still a question who was pope. As we have seen, on other occasions, one half of the Church denounced anathemas against the other half; and, in point of fact, all Western Christendom was thus in a state of excommunication; one portion excommunicated by pope Victor, the other by pope Alexander. The emperor had chosen Victor IV. for his pope; so that the attendance of the Primate of all England, with his suffragans, at a council summoned by pope Alexander, was, at this period, of immense importance to that pope's cause. They attended by permission of King Henry, whose dominions, on the continent alone, exceeded those of the King of France, and whose power was inferior only to that of the emperor. It was a public declaration of his adhesion to Alexander's cause, which he had supported from the beginning. The highest honours were, in consequence, paid to the hierarchy of the Church of England. On the right side of the pope, sat the Archbishop of Canterbury with his suffragans: the Archbishop of York was seated on the left side, accompanied by one of his two suffragans, the Bishop of Durham.*

To appreciate properly the honour thus conferred on the Church of England, we must remember that the council was attended by 17 cardinals, 124 bishops, and 144 abbots.

The synod was held in the church of St. Maurice, on the 19th of May, on the octave of Whitsunday, the anni-

* The Archbishop of York had one other suffragan besides Durham, the Bishop of Whithern.

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versary of Becket's consecration. The synodical sermon was preached by a man of renown, Arnulf of Lisieux. The preacher was eloquent in asserting the unity and independence of the Church, and vehement in the denunciation of secular tyrants. His allusion was to the emperor, but Becket thought of a tyrant, *in posse*, nearer home. So anxious was he, to compel his king to understand the course he was determined to pursue, as primate, that he applied to the pope for the canonisation of Anselm. Anselm was to be his example and model. The successor of Anselm was determined to be as resolute as his predecessor, in maintaining the cause of Rome; and the king might take warning, from the history of Rufus and the first Henry. The wiser Alexander had no wish to menace a king, who had, hitherto, shown no intention of interfering with the rights of the Church, and who had always been his own supporter; and Anselm was not canonised before the 15th century.

Becket returned to England, an impassioned man; not only excited to a state of fanaticism in the cause he had now heartily adopted, but under the influence of hatred to the king. When those, who have once been bound by ties of friendship, have determined to burst them, the friendship is too often succeeded by the extreme of hatred. This is particularly the case, when the friendship has originated in a similarity of party or political views, rather than in congeniality of taste and feeling. The bitterness is increased, if one of the dissentients has been benefited by the other. The benefactor inflames his passions, by recurring to the benefits he has conferred, and by magnifying their importance in his mind; the benefited is still more inflamed with anger, when, by his being reproached for ingratitude, it is insinuated that the friendship, which formerly existed, instead of resting on a reciprocity of good offices, was regarded as purchased by

favours: he is insulted by the thought that he has been regarded, rather as a servant receiving wages, than as an equal, returning love for love. We may say of Mr. Burke, when he, like Becket, on principle, changed his party, that he hated Fox more than he ever loved Pitt.

In the present history, we find no relaxation of his hatred, on the part of Becket: he does not seem, even once, to have softened towards the king. Henry, on the contrary, violent as he was, and sometimes outrageous in his proceedings, more than once evinced a disposition to be reconciled; and, in his last interview with the archbishop, he showed that, so far as he was concerned, a return to their former terms of friendship was not a thing impossible. If Becket was a good lover, he was also a good hater.

On Becket's return to England, the king showed a desire to conciliate the archbishop, by attending at the consecration of the Abbey of Reading; and at the translation, in Westminster Abbey, of Edward the Confessor, who had been canonised by pope Alexander. When the archbishop urged upon Henry the duty of filling up the vacant bishoprics of Worcester and Hereford, the king immediately consented. The conduct of Henry was the more meritorious, as Becket had already done much to provoke him. On the ground, that Church property is inalienable, the archbishop had claimed the custody of Rochester Castle; and for the Castle of Tunbridge he demanded the homage of the Earl of Clare;—very questionable proceedings. A dispute having arisen between the archbishop and William of Eynesford, with respect to an advowson, although the latter was a tenant holding *in capite* of the crown, he was excommunicated by Becket. This was so clearly an infraction of the law, that the archbishop was, after a time, obliged to recall the excommunication; but not till he had excited, with justice, the king's anger.

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The first collision took place, at a council held by the king at Woodstock; and it is remarkable, that it was not with reference to ecclesiastical affairs. The king, acting under advice, proposed to convert a certain customary payment made to the sheriffs of the several counties, into a compulsory tax to be paid to the crown. There were reasonable objections to this mode of proceeding, and they were urged, with his usual ability, by Becket; who thus placed himself openly in opposition to the government he had hitherto served. He, probably, had no other object in view than to show his independence. But the unexpected opposition of one, who had, till this time, been foremost in his zeal to carry the wishes of his sovereign into effect, excited Henry into one of his paroxysms of rage; and he shouted out: "By God's eyes, the money shall be paid as revenue, and registered in the king's books." Becket equally irritable, and always, in his anger, forgetful of the dignity of his office, retorted: "And by God's eyes, while I live, from land of mine, no such payment shall be made — of the Church's right not one penny."

From this time, the history of Becket becomes the narrative of an incessant warfare between him and the king. Each was supported by a strong party, and both commenced the controversy influenced, the one by a patriotic, the other, by a religious motive,—motives which ought always to be in union, but were now divided.*

On the side of the king, were the officers of state, the justiciaries, magistrates, and the great barons, together with the men of learning and piety, in the various monasteries, who, untroubled by politics, sought only to lead a quiet life. The abbots were, though not zealously, yet very generally, against Becket, animated partly by

* The biographers of Becket have done justice to the motives of Henry. Herbert, vii. 102, 122; Anon. Lambeth. ii. 85, 86.

their habitual opposition to the episcopate. The Cistercian monasteries form an important exception, and they had been rendered political by St. Bernard. The bishops were on the side of Henry, influenced by what we should now call conservative principles, "stare decisis et non quieta movere."

The king, however, was really weak, with a party in appearance strong. The civil functionaries were conscious, that they were acting in opposition to the spirit of the age; and the ecclesiastics were painfully sensible that, what we should now call the religious world, was against them — those noisy, intolerant, ignorant, yet sincere and zealous religionists, who, by their vehemence and violence, overawe, if they do not overpower, wiser and better men. Hence the vacillation of individuals; and the feeling, on the part of Henry, that he never could depend, for continuous and systematic support, upon the great body of those, who, for various reasons, stood opposed to Becket.

Although Becket could reckon among his supporters, especially on the continent, several great, good, and wise men, his main strength lay, in the knowledge, that he was the head and the leader of the religious world; that the religious world was with him. We find him vacillating in the early part of the controversy. We attribute it to the fact, that he had not established his position. An enthusiast must be supported by enthusiasm. His own fire is quenched, if all around him is cold. Becket was sounding his way, to find whether the hearts of his suffragans beat in unison with his own; whether the party, he was prepared to lead, would receive him as their commander. At first, he was strongly opposed on the one side, and only feebly supported on the other. In the absence of sympathy, he felt as a coward, and fled from Northampton:

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when the whole religious world was with him, he felt as a giant refreshed with wine; he dared the worst, and bravely died.*

When Becket was once trusted, the whole movement party was with him. He raised his war-cry, Liberty of the Church, and the people felt the cause to be theirs; liberty of the Church, they regarded as tantamount to liberty for the People. The movement might be — it *was*, revolutionary: but any revolution was better than the existing state of things.† Notwithstanding the complaints justly raised of the dissolute behaviour of the lower clergy, the conduct of the higher clergy contrasted favourably with that of the barons and the kings. As landlords, as rulers, they were, generally, favourable to the commonalty.

If the supreme power of the state had passed in England to the Archbishop of Canterbury, as the civil authority of Rome had become vested in the pope of that city, there were many, among the contemporaries of Becket, who would have preferred such a state of things to the tyranny of the Norman kings. But no one, perhaps, anticipated this: what was desired was, the control of the kingly power by that of the primate. If the ecclesias-

* Arnulf of Lisieux speaks of the nobles having formed a league against the Church, and of the bishops acting through fear. John of Salisbury admits that the men who professed extraordinary strictness of life allied themselves with the men of the world in opposition to the Becket party. De Nugis Curial. vii. c. 21. Fitz-Stephen complains that those who had the highest reputation for learning became the most ready to crush the liberty of the Church, p. 213. Grim asks, "How should the king suspect himself to be in the wrong, when all but the archbishop were with him," p. 37. It is mere party verbiage which attributes corrupt motives to all who were opposed to Becket. On either side motives were mixed. Who ever was solely under the influence of one motive, and that the highest — except our Master, the Lord from heaven?

† See Introductory Chapter.

tical party had succeeded, a curse would have been entailed upon the country, of which it is impossible to conjecture the consequences. By the merciful providence of God, this evil was averted; but still, if we cannot sympathise in the objects, which great men have immediately in view, we may admire their virtues, while we point out their defects; and we may feel grateful for the beneficial result of their labours, even though it be not the result they expected or desired.

The tendency of Becket's principles was to supersede a *civil* despotism, and to establish what is worse, a *spiritual* despotism; but, in point of fact, he was a high-principled, high-spirited demagogue, who was teaching the people how to struggle for their liberties—a struggle which was soon to commence.

It not unfrequently happens, that a revolutionary movement takes place, in the reign of a sovereign, who, inheriting the odium justly incurred by his ancestors, is himself sincere in his desire to promote the welfare of his country, and the happiness of his subjects.

Henry II., as we have already seen, was a reformer; and, until Becket rose to lead the opposition to his government, a successful reformer. He had expelled the foreign banditti, and brought the law home to every man's door. But, as we have remarked, there was one large class of criminals who escaped almost with impunity —the clergy.*

The crimes committed by those, who claimed to be tried in the courts spiritual, were of the grossest character —theft, arson, rape, and murder. The mercenaries of Stephen had been banished the country, but these "ton-

* Under the name of clergy were, at that time, included all who had received the tonsure, and who discharged the offices now performed by clerks, sextons, and gravediggers; those also who performed menial offices in convents.

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sured demons, workmen of the devil, clerks in name, but belonging to the devil's portion," roamed the country at large, and were the terror of the people.*

The spiritual courts were inadequate to remedy the evil. Capital punishment could not be there awarded. A murderer, if a layman, was either hanged or mutilated; but a clerk convicted of any of the crimes, to which allusion has been made, could only be consigned to the easy imprisonment of a monastery, or be degraded. If he committed murder, a second time, or after his degradation, then he might be brought before the king's Justices, but not before.

The king, acting under advice†, for he still had wise counsellors, although Becket had left him, determined to make the very reasonable proposal to the clergy, that a clerical offender, on conviction, should be immediately degraded, and then handed over for punishment to the secular power. With this object in view, he convened a council, to which the bishops and abbots were duly summoned, to meet at Westminster in October, 1163.

After certain preliminary proceedings, the king came at once to the point. He complained of the disorderly and criminal conduct of the clergy, who escaped with comparative impunity. "I am bent," he said, "on maintaining peace and tranquillity, throughout my dominions, and much annoyed I am, by the disturbances which are occasioned, through the crimes of the clergy. They do not hesitate to commit robbery of all kinds, and sometimes even murder. I request, therefore, the consent, my Lord of Canterbury, of yourselves, and of the other bishops, that, when clerics are detected in crimes such as these, and convicted, either by the judgment of the court or

* Herbert, vii. 100.

† "Quorumdam fretus consilio utriusque juris se habere peritiam ostentantium."—*Herb.* vii. 103.

by their own confession, they shall be delivered over to the officers of my court, to receive corporal punishment, without any protection from the Church. It is also my will and request, that, while the ceremony of degradation is going on, you should allow the presence of some of my officials, to prevent the escape of the criminal."

Anything more reasonable, than this proposal, we cannot imagine; and it was proposed in a manner the least offensive,—in the form of a request instead of a demand. The bishops were prepared, at once, to accede to it. But it did not escape the sagacity of Becket, that, though not designed, it was, in reality, a deadly blow at the very vitals of the principle he was determined to uphold. Instead of that separation of the Church from the State, and the assertion of the independence of the spiritual power and of the distinctive jurisdiction of the Primate, which he was maintaining; it was proposed, that the supremacy of the State should be conceded and acknowledged. But Becket was, by no means, certain of the support of his suffragans, if he, at once, opposed the measure. He obtained permission, therefore, to withdraw, for a short time, that there might be a conference among the bishops.

It was as he feared. The bishops were prepared to make the reasonable concession, which the king proposed. They argued, with justice, that if clerics were not deterred from crime by their greater privileges, they deserved to be punished more severely than laymen; and, that they could not complain if, after degradation, they were subjected to the usual sentence. In support of this view of the subject, they quoted Scripture, and showed, that the Levites, when convicted of great offences, were punished with death, and in the case of inferior crimes, with the loss of limbs.

They were met by the impassioned eloquence of Becket. Having denounced the injustice of punishing a man twice for the same offence, he raised his war cry, The Liberty

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of the Church *; in the maintenance of which cause, he called upon his suffragans to dare the worst, and, if need should be, to die.

When the less enthusiastic prelates demurred to risk life and limb in such a cause, he upbraided them as cowards and traitors, he accused them of folly and want of faith. The bishops were reduced to a dilemma. They were afraid to offend the king, and yet they shrank from incurring the unpopularity, which would attach to them, if they appeared unwilling to maintain the liberty of the Church.† They yielded, at last, to the eloquent violence of their leader, and the archbishop stated the result of their consultation:—it was inconsistent with their duty to the Church, to give an unqualified assent to the king's demands.

The king, with some adroitness, abandoned the immediate point in dispute; and demanded, whether they would conform, unreservedly, to the usages of his kingdom, and the royal constitutions of his ancestors. Becket readily replied. "We will, in all things, saving our order."

The royal patience was now exhausted, and Henry burst out into one of his uncontrollable fits of rage. "By God's eyes," he swore, "nought shall ye say of your order: my constitutions you shall accept and confirm outright, and in plain words."‡ He left the meeting without the usual

* In the reigns of the first two Georges, the Church was on the popular side, because unfriendly to the government; and political party leaders could rally their forces by the war cry of "the Church in danger." In the 12th century the liberty of the people was so connected in the minds of men with the liberty of the Church, that the liberty of the Church became the watchword of the demagogue.

† The liberty of which was unconsciously betrayed by king and prelates, when, to serve party purposes, each side appealed to the pope as arbitrator.

‡ Roger of Pontigny, p. 117; Herb. vii. 109, 110.

parting salutation to the bishops; and, with that tyrannical littleness of mind, conspicuous in all the Norman kings, he sent, next morning, to demand of Becket, the surrender of the castles and honours which, having been granted to him, when chancellor, he had not yet resigned.

When his anger subsided, the king determined on another course. He resolved to seek an interview with his old friend, to remonstrate with him in private, and to make one last appeal to his affections.

Becket was invited to wait upon the king at Northampton. He accepted the invitation, but had no intention of obeying the royal summons, as if he were still the servant of the crown. He was to appear, as in all things, the king's equal, in some respects, his superior. He approached Northampton, attended by a magnificent cavalcade, such as he thought befitted his high position in the country. The king was taken by surprise. He had designed a private conference. Northampton could not contain the archiepiscopal, as well as the royal suite; and Becket received a message from the king, to direct him to remain where he was, in the plain, by which the town was surrounded. Thither the king soon after repaired. It was no place for a private interview, the very thing which the archbishop wished to avoid. Both the king and the prelate were mounted on fiery steeds. The horses began to kick and to neigh; and the two parties could not approach near enough for a conference, until they had exchanged their steeds for more manageable palfreys. Then they rode apart from their respective suites. The king, frustrated in his intentions, was in no good humour, and in appealing to the feelings of his former friend he, in fact, insulted him: "Have I not," he said," elevated you from a humble station of life, to the very height of honour? It seemed but little to me to make you father of my kingdom, and even to prefer you to myself. Why, then, forgetful of my past

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favours,—forgetful of the affection for you, of which I have given such substantial evidence? why have you, all of a sudden, become not merely ungrateful to me, but, in all things, my opponent?"

Becket answered in a set speech: "No, my lord the king. I am not ungrateful for blessings I have received,—received, be it observed, not simply from you, but only through you, from God. Far be it from me, therefore, to show ingratitude to your will,—so long as your will is in accordance with the will of God. Your highness is well aware how faithful I have been to you, although from you I could receive a recompence only in things temporal; how much more, therefore, must I do faithful service to Almighty God, from whom I receive all the blessings, which I enjoy in this life, and from whom I hope to receive the things eternal. You are, indeed, *my* lord, but He is *your* Lord as well as mine; and to disregard His will, in order that I might acquiesce in yours, would be advantageous neither to you nor to me. In the tremendous day of judgment, we shall both be judged as the servants of the same Master, and one will not be able to answer for the other. We are, indeed, to obey our temporal lords, but not against God; for as St. Peter saith, 'We must obey God rather than man.'"

Roger of Pontigny gives this speech, having received it, probably, from Becket himself: he regards it as an edifying discourse. Some of our readers, considering the man, who uttered it, and the circumstances, under which it was delivered, will regard it as mere professional verbiage or cant. Becket did not, perhaps, understand the amount of insolence or fanaticism, which was implied in a discourse, that took it for granted that the king was an enemy to God, and, of consequence, on the side of the devil. They must be endowed with more than ordinary placidity of temper, at all events, who imagine that such an harangue, under

the circumstances, could be uttered, without exciting the anger of the hearer. Henry was furious; and the innate vulgarity of the royal mind burst forth. "Don't preach to me," he said, "but tell me, wast not thou the servant of one of my villeins?" The prelate answered, "Verily, *non sum, atavis editus regibus.** I am not sprung from royal ancestors, neither so was the Prince of the Apostles, St. Peter. And yet the Lord conferred upon him the keys of heaven, and the headship of the universal Church." "True," said the king, "but he died for his Lord." "And for the Lord," replied the prelate, "when the time shall come, I too am prepared to die." "You trust too much," retorted the king contemptuously, "to the ladder by which you are elevated." "My trust is in the Lord," was the reply, "for cursed is he that putteth his trust in man. Nevertheless, as of old, so now, I am ready to meet your wishes, saving my order."

This mention of his order was the very thing, of which the king complained; — and Becket not only refused to yield the point, but recurred to it in a manner peculiarly offensive.†

The two friends parted, each in deadly hatred of the other; *odia in longum jaciens, quæ reconderet, auctaque promeret.*‡

In his interview with the other prelates, the king was more successful; and following, it is said, the advice of Arnulf of Lisieux, he organised a party, to act in opposition to the primate. He assured the bishops, that although he had objected to the clause, "saving their own order," it was far from his intention, to require anything which should militate against their canonical vows. The

* Horat. Od. i. 1.

† The account of the interview is given by Roger of Pontigny, 118, 119.

‡ Tacitus.

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prelates declared, that, as far as they were themselves concerned, they were prepared to observe the royal constitutions, and they expressed their regret, that the primate should create such a disputation on account of mere words. Finally they offered to mediate between the parties at variance.*

Becket had assumed, that the bishops were all of them of the same way of thinking as himself, and, that they were only deterred from avowing their principles, by lacking that courage, which he possessed in abundance.† He was not prepared to find, that although they had supported their primate, they, speaking of the majority, had regarded the archbishop as being in error.

There was a pause in Becket's career. The bishops argued the point with him in private; and insinuated, that the king still retained an affection for his old friend, whose ingratitude was a subject of remark. Becket was at Harrow, when an emissary arrived from Sens, bringing letters from pope Alexander. The pope could not afford to lose the friendship of Henry, and he accordingly entreated the archbishop to yield to the wishes of the king for the sake of peace. Letters were received from several of the cardinals to the same effect.‡ Few things can be more humiliating than for a man to find himself repudiated by the very party, to the cause of which he has been rendering unacceptable service; and to have it gently intimated that he has, by his indiscretion, done to it more harm than good. The proud prelate, whose word, as chancellor, had

* Grim, 26; Herb. iii. c. 19; Arnulf, 150; Garnier, 68.

† The partisans of Becket attributed corrupt motives to all who were opposed to their master. Such men as Gilbert Foliot, Roger of York, Hilary of Chichester, Robert of Melun, Robert of Lincoln, even Arnulf of Lisieux, while, like all other men, they had their faults, were in no respect inferior to Becket, and, in point of theological learning and attention to their religious duties, they were his superiors.

‡ Garnier, 69; Gervas, 1385.

for many years, been law to prince and people, was now humbled; and our feelings are, perhaps, more engaged on the side of Becket at this, the time of his weakness, than at any other period in his career. Becket yielded to these united influences. He went without parade to Woodstock*, and was received by the king with civility, though not, of course, with that cordiality of friendship which no longer existed. The archbishop promised to omit the phrase, which had given so much offence.

Henry rejoiced in the humiliation of his enemy, and followed up the advantage. "This statement," he said, "must be publicly made. Publicly, you opposed my wishes, and publicly you must yield your assent. I will fix a day for a council, to which I shall invite my barons to meet you, the bishops and the clergy; that from henceforth no one may dare to contravene my laws."

This was more than Becket expected; but he could not withhold his consent, and the council was called. It met at the Castle of Clarendon, a royal manor within a few miles of Salisbury, in January, 1164.

At this council, which was attended by the two archbishops and eleven bishops, and thirty or forty of the highest nobles, together with a multitude of inferior barons; the question was put to the prelates, whether they would observe the royal prerogative, which the kings of England had enjoyed by prescription, from time immemorial. This led to a further inquiry as to the nature of these prerogatives; and the result of that inquiry we have in the sixteen Constitutions of Clarendon, drawn up, with legal technicality, by Richard de Luci, Grand-Justiciary, assisted by Jocelin de Bailleul.

These constitutions are so frequently referred to, in ecclesiastical history, and have so seldom been presented

* Roger Pont. 123. According to Herbert, vii. 113, the place of meeting was Oxford.

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in extenso to the English reader, that it may be expedient to print them, as they are given in Matthew Paris.*

I. Of the advowson and presentation to churches: if any dispute shall arise between laics, or between clerks and laics, or between clerks, let it be tried and decided in the court of our lord the king.

II. Churches of the king's fee shall not be given in perpetuity without his consent and license.

III. Clerks accused of any crime shall be summoned by the king's justice into the king's court to answer there for whatever the king's court shall determine they ought to answer there; and in the ecclesiastical court, for whatever it shall be determined that they ought to answer there; yet so that the king's justice shall send into the court of holy Church to see in what way the matter shall there be handled; and if the clerk shall confess or be convicted, the Church for the future shall not protect him.

IV. No archbishop, bishop, or other exalted person shall leave the kingdom without the king's licence; and if they wish to leave it, the king shall be empowered, if he pleases, to take security from them, that they will do no harm to the king or kingdom, either in going or remaining, or in returning.

V. Persons excommunicated are not to give bail, *ad remanentiam*, nor to make oath, but only to give bail and pledge that they will stand by the judgment of the church where they are absolved.

VI. Laics shall not be accused, save by certain and legal accusers and witnesses in presence of the bishop, so that the archdeacon may not lose his rights, or anything which accrues to him therefrom. And if those who are arraigned are such that no one is willing or dares to accuse them, the sheriff, on demand from the bishop, shall cause twelve loyal men of the village to swear before the bishop that they will declare the truth in that matter according to their conscience.

* There are some various readings of the Constitutions of Clarendon, in Gervas and Herbert of Bosham, to which the learned reader will refer; but I have not thought it necessary to notice them.

VII. No one who holds of the king in chief, nor any of his domestic servants, shall be excommunicated, nor his lands be put under an interdict, until the king shall be consulted, if he is in the kingdom; or, if he is abroad, his justiciary, that he may do what is right in that matter, and so that whatever belongs to the king's court may therein be settled, and the same on the other hand of the ecclesiastical court.

VIII. Appeals, if they arise, must be made from the archdeacon to the bishop, and from the bishop to the archbishop; and if the archbishop shall fail in administering justice, the parties shall come before our lord the king, that by his precept the controversy may be terminated in the archbishop's court, so that it may not proceed further without the consent of our lord the king.

IX. If a dispute shall arise between a clerk and a laic, or between a laic and a clerk about a tenement, which the clerk wishes to claim as eleemosynary, but the laic claims as lay fee, it shall be settled by the declaration of twelve qualified men, through the agency of the king's capital Justice, whether the tenement is eleemosynary or lay fee, in presence of the king's Justice. And if it shall be declared that it is eleemosynary, it shall be pleaded in the ecclesiastical court; but, if a lay fee, unless both shall claim the tenement of the same bishop or baron, it shall be pleaded in the king's court; but if both shall claim of that fee from the same bishop or baron, it shall be pleaded in his court, yet so that the same declaration abovenamed shall not deprive of seizin him who before was seized, until he shall be divested by the pleadings.

X. If any man belonging to a city, castle, borough, or king's royal manor shall be summoned by the archdeacon or bishop to answer for a crime, and shall not comply with the summons, it shall be lawful to place him under an interdict, but not to excommunicate him, until the king's principal officer of that place be informed thereof, that he may justify his appearing to the summons; and if the king's officer shall fail in that matter, he shall be at the king's mercy, and the bishop shall forthwith coerce the party accused with ecclesiastical discipline.

XI. The archbishops, bishops, and all other persons of the kingdom who hold of the king in chief, shall hold their pos-

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sessions of the king as barony, and answer for the same to the king's justices and officers, and follow and observe all the king's customs and rectitudes; and be bound to be present, in the judgment of the king's court with the barons, like other barons, until the judgment proceeds to mutilation or death.

XII. When an archbishopric, bishopric, abbacy, or priory of the king's domain shall be vacant, it shall be in his hand, and he shall receive from it all the revenues and proceeds, as of his domains. And when the time shall come for providing for that church, our lord the king shall recommend the best persons to that church, and the election shall be made in the king's chapel, with the king's consent, and the advice of the persons of the kingdom whom he shall have summoned for that purpose. And the person elected shall there do homage and fealty to our lord the king, as to his liege lord, of life and limb, and of his earthly honours saving his orders, before he is consecrated.

XIII. If any of the king's nobles shall have refused to render justice to an archbishop or bishop or archdeacon, for himself or any of his men, our lord the king shall justice them. And if by chance any one shall have deforced our lord the king of his rights, the archbishops, bishops, and archdeacons shall justice him, that he may render satisfaction to the king.

XIV. The chattels of those who are in forfeiture to the king shall not be detained by the church or the cemetery, in opposition to the king's justice, for they belong to the king, whether they are found in the Church or without.

XV. Pleas for debts which are due, whether with the interposition of a pledge of faith or not, belong to the king's court.

XVI. The sons of rustics shall not be ordained without the consent of the lord, in whose land they are known to have been born." *

It will be observed, by the attentive reader, that these

* Matt. Paris. pp. 100, 101. The Constitutions of Clarendon have been preserved only by the relations of the historians and by a copy in the British Museum (Cotton. MS. Claud. B. fol. 26). The Constitutions as given in Wilkins are taken from M. Paris. They clearly establish the fact that Henry had other wise counsellors besides Thomas à Becket.

constitutions contained nothing novel; they were only the ancient principles of the realm and church of England, as laid down by William the Conqueror, and endorsed by Lanfranc.

The Romanising party had, indeed, been gaining ground, since the time of Anselm; and against their views, the constitutions were a strong and decided protest. They may have become obsolete, but they certainly were no new invention. It will be also remarked, that most of the inconveniences, which these articles were intended to cure, and the disputes, which now arose between the ecclesiastical and secular powers, owed their origin to the great error, in the Conqueror's legislation, by which he separated the two jurisdictions.

The proceedings of the council are involved in considerable obscurity, and the reports are so contradictory, that I shall not attempt to arrange the order of events. What we gather from the accounts is this, that Becket was taken by surprise. He had promised *bonâ fide* to accept the customs; but it was a general promise, and like general promises, it meant very little. Nothing was defined. When, however, the constitutions were read, he found that he was required to make concessions, which involved the sacrifice of the great principle, to the maintenance of which he had devoted his life. Instead of a distinct *imperium*, of which he was to be the head, the Church was to be reduced to its ancient condition under the Anglo-Saxons and the Conqueror, and become merely an *imperium in imperio*.

What was he to do? On the second day of the council, the archbishop signified his determination not to accept the constitutions, as presented, in writing, to the council. The king was furious. He accused Becket of having receded from the promise he had made at Woodstock. But Becket now found the bishops prepared to support him.

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They thought him unreasonable in resisting the previous request of the king with reference to the trial of delinquent clerks,—but they demurred to the further constitutions now proposed, which, though certainly in accordance with ancient usage, had many of them become obsolete, as is soon the case with unwritten laws; while others were, as certainly, contrary to the spirit of the age, or, at all events, to the feelings of the religious world.

The peers, meantime, determined to follow the example of the prelates, in supporting their chief. They were the vassals of the king, as the bishops were the suffragans of the primate; their hands, their arms, they said, were not their own: they were the king's men, and his commands they were prepared to execute, against all, who should contemn the laws of the realm. Swords were drawn, axes brandished, and there was just cause of alarm. The king, when in a rage, was little less than a madman. At the slightest word of the madman, the barons were prepared to act; and to what extent, their angry passions, now excited into frenzy, while instigated by a sense of duty to their sovereign, might have carried them, we may easily surmise from the last scene in Becket's life.

The bishops, who had retired from the council to deliberate apart, were greatly alarmed by these demonstrations; but, as a body, they acted with becoming dignity. If the barons would fight for their king, they were prepared to die with their primate.

But there were prelates not ambitious of martyrdom, and two of them, of whom one was the Bishop of Salisbury*, entreated the archbishop to yield to the king's demands.

* Who was the bishop joined with Jocelin of Salisbury in intercession with the archbishop? Herbert says, Henry of Winchester; Roger of Pontigny says, Roger of Norwich; Roger of Hoveden, Edward Grim, and William of Canterbury say, William of Norwich. Canon Robertson decides for William of Norwich. By Roger of Norwich, Roger of Pontigny means Roger Bishop elect of Worcester, cousin to the king.

Their entreaties were enforced by the earnest remonstrances of the Earls of Cornwall and Leicester; one of these the king's uncle, the other the joint justiciary of England. They apprehended, they said, some unheard of violence. Becket was not the man to be moved by threats; his courage rose as danger approached. He was prepared, he said, for martyrdom.

Something, however, occurred which induced him to change his resolution. The sudden change was regarded as unaccountable by his contemporaries, and remains so still. He was visited by two Knights Templars* of great reputation and influence,—Richard of Hastings, Master of the English Templars, and Hostis of Boulogne. The result of this interview shall be given by the Bishop of London. Alluding to the menaces of the lay peers, "Did any one," he asks, "of the bishops turn his back and flee? Was any one's resolution shaken? . . . . Let the truth then be told; let the light of day be thrown on what was then done in presence of us all. It was the leader of our chivalry himself, who turned his back, the captain of our camp, who fled; his lordship of Canterbury himself withdrew from our fraternity and from our determination, and, after holding counsel for awhile apart, he returned to us and said aloud, 'It is God's will that I should perjure myself; for the present, I submit and incur perjury, to repent of it hereafter as I best may!' We were thunderstruck at these words, and gazed one upon another, groaning in spirit at this fall of one, whom we had thought a champion of virtue and constancy."†

* Garnier, 70, 1.

† An attempt has been made to prove this letter or pamphlet a forgery; but with what little success, and with what weak arguments, may be seen in Robertson's appendix, vi. p. 325. The letter was first published by Lord Lyttleton, iii. 186, from a MS. in the Cotton Collection. The genuineness of the letter is admitted by Turner, i. 233; Milman, iii. 454; Pauli, iii. 69; Buss. 429.

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Attended by his suffragans, Becket now went to the king and declared his assent to the constitutions proposed. He promised, in the word of truth, that he would observe them in good faith and without deceit.*

The king was pacified,—triumphant: "You have all heard," he said, "what the archbishop hath promised me on his own part; it now only remains that at his bidding, the other bishops should do the same." Becket answered, "I will that they satisfy your honour as I have done." The bishops rose and gave their consent.

If this sudden change of mind in the archbishop is unaccountable and strange, his next act is even more so. The king required the archbishop and bishops to affix their seals to the constitutions. Becket, irritated perhaps by the triumphant air of the king, exclaimed, "By God Almighty, never, while there is breath in my body, shall seal of mine touch them." †

The refusal to seal was, perhaps, only the hasty utterance of a passionate man provoked, for Fitz-Stephen ‡ says that to the document Becket's seal was attached after all. It is highly probable, that this was the case; for a perseverance, in his refusal to sign or seal, would have been regarded as indicative of his intention to evade his promise; and if such a suspicion had arisen, the swords of the barons would have been again unsheathed and placed under the command of the angry monarch.

The constitutions were written in triplicate; one part was given to the king; one to the Archbishop of York; and one to the primate.

* Grim, i. p. 30; Roger Pont. i. p. 126; Herbert, vii. 114. According to Alan, i. p. 341, and Gervas, p. 1386, he made the declaration "on the word of a priest," but all agree that he added the clause, "in the word of truth," which was then considered equivalent to an oath.

† Grim, 31; Roger Pont. 127; Garnier, 72; Herbert, vii. 125, says that Becket endeavoured to elude the king's demand by asking for time for consideration.

Becket was quite aware, that he had acted, as we never find him acting at any other time, with weakness as well as inconsistency. He was a miserable man, as he rode from Salisbury to Winchester. He was generally cheerful and facetious on a journey, for he never felt more at home, than on horseback. But now, moody and sad, he rode apart from his train, and his depression of spirits lasted long. There was in him that peculiar force of character which, without saying a word, compelled his followers both to understand and to fulfil his every wish. His companions and subordinates soon perceived that he desired to be reproached. There are, on certain occasions, both flattery and comfort in reproaches, uttered with apparent boldness and real discretion; that is to say, when the reproach implies surprise, at an error committed by a man, whose superiority in wisdom and virtue is generally admitted and admired. In his self-reproaches, Becket himself attributed the present slavery of the Church, as he called it, to the sins of his past life; and to the fact, that, unlike his predecessor, he had been called to his present high station, not from a cloister, not from a religious house, not from any school of the Saviour, but from Cæsar's household: "a proud, vain man, from a keeper of birds, I was called to be the pastor of sheep; I, the patron of stage players; I, the follower of hounds; I am called to be the shepherd of so many souls! Of a truth my past life was very far from conducing to the safety of the Church; and now these are my works; I am deserted by God, and fit only to be cast out of the see I fill."* Such language from such a man is affecting. How great were his mental sufferings! Religion was beginning to have its influence on his mind, and religion, in a mind so constituted as his, was sure to become at first an enthusiasm. Throughout Becket's history, we must also make allowance

* Herbert, vii. 125.

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for his extreme sensitiveness—a failing in which many will sympathise with him.

The last sentence of his speech was suggestive of the consolation he desired to receive, from those who, so far from thinking that he ought to be deprived of his see, reminded him that Peter fell, and rose from his fall, a greater man than before. The archbishop found consolation in imposing upon himself the most rigorous penitential exercises.* Always careful also to make an impression upon the public mind, he proclaimed his penitence; and he elicited the sympathy of the pious, by suspending himself from the performance of his sacred duties. The Church was made aware that the archbishop was a penitent, humiliated man; his penitence and humiliation being a tacit condemnation and renunciation of the Constitutions of Clarendon.

The real gainer, in all these struggles between the kings of England and the primates of the Church, was the pope. Either party, forgetting their principle, in the indulgence of spiteful feelings the one against the other, sought the alliance of the pope, acknowledging, by so doing, the assumed authority of the papacy, and bringing the Church of England into slavery to a foreign potentate.

As in the case of Rufus and Anselm, so now, both parties had their emissaries at the papal court. They acknowledged the right of Alexander III. to the papal throne; and hence their communications with the pope were the more easy; for, while the other pope reigned in Rome, Alexander held his court at Sens.

Becket applied, through his envoys, for advice and absolution, both of which were as readily granted as they were easily asked. The pope reminded him of the difference between sins of deliberation and malice, and sins

* Anon. Lamb. ii. 96.

of ignorance and frailty; advised him to confess and receive absolution from a discreet and prudent priest, and then to resume his ministerial duties.

Meantime, the king, in order to complete his triumph against Becket, attempted to obtain for the Archbishop of York a legatine commission over the whole of England; such as, in the preceding reign, had been granted to Henry of Blois, Bishop of Winchester.

Alexander III. was in a dilemma; afraid to irritate the king, and, equally afraid of incurring popular odium, by seeming to take part against Becket. In endeavouring to conciliate both parties, he succeeded in pleasing neither. He sent the legatine commission to the king, with permission to hand it over to the Archbishop of York; but he clogged it with conditions which made the grant nugatory, as may be seen from the following letters which he addressed to the primate:—

"Although your great prudence and integrity entitle you always to our regard, and make us ever anxious to maintain your honour, yet we must watch the temper of the times, and endeavour by prudent management to mitigate the wrath of kings. You know how much zeal our dearly beloved son Henry, the illustrious King of England, has shown in attending to the affairs of his kingdom, and how desirous he is that his arrangements should receive our ratification. Wherefore, when his late messengers, our venerable brother Arnulf, Bishop of Lisieux, and our dear son, the Archdeacon of Poitiers, petitioned us to grant the legation of all England to the Archbishop of York, and to command you, and all the bishops, to observe the ancient constitutions and dignities of his kingdom, and we unexpectedly modified his petition, he hardly listened to their report, but despatched Geoffrey, your archdeacon, and Master John, to request the same things again, and even more; and he accompanied his petition with letters from yourself and the Archbishop of York. In the matter of the dignities, though you and others had given your consent to them, yet we could not grant his request. But that we might not altogether exasperate him against us, and

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also for your own sake, and considering the evil nature of the times, we have granted the legation to the above-named archbishop. And, forasmuch as condecension must be shown to the will of princes, we advise, and in every way exhort your prudence, to consider well the necessities of the times, and the perils which may befall the Church, and so endeavour to please the king, saving the credit of the ecclesiastical order, that you may not, by doing otherwise, set him against both you and us, and cause those who are of a different spirit to mock and deride us. We will not fail, when an opportunity offers, to speak to the king in every way that may tend to maintain and to increase your honour and the rights and privileges of your Church.

"Given at Sens, the 27th of February.

"Let not your heart fail you, my brother, because the legation has been granted; for the ambassadors gave us beforehand an assurance from the king, and offered themselves to confirm it with an oath that the letters should not be delivered to the archbishop without your knowledge and consent. You cannot believe that it is our wish to humble you or your Church by subjecting it to any other than to the Roman pontiff. Wherefore we advise your prudence, as soon as ever the king shall be known to have delivered the letters, which we cannot easily believe he will do without your knowledge, to inform us at once of it by letter, that we may, without delay, declare you and your Church and city to be exempt from all legatine jurisdiction."

The proud spirit of Becket, accustomed to command, could ill brook this kind of patronage. He had other business to transact at the papal court, for his controversy with the king was not the only controversy in which he had been involved. Besides the present aggression of the see of York, the old controversy with the northern metropolitan had been revived. Archbishop Roger, supported by the king, persisted in having his cross carried before him, not only in the province of York, where his right was indisputable; but wherever he went in England, thereby placing himself on an equality with

his brother of Canterbury. The old controversy also, now encouraged by the king, between the archbishop and the Abbot of St. Augustine's, was revived. Clarembald, on his appointment, as abbot, demanded that the pastoral benediction should be conferred upon him, not in the cathedral, but in the chapel of the monastery. A new controversy had arisen, between the archbishop and the Bishop of London. Gilbert Foliot, on his consecration to the see of Hereford, had made profession of canonical obedience to Archbishop Theobald. He was now translated to the see of London, and Archbishop Becket required him, to repeat the profession. This, backed by the king, the Bishop of London refused to do, on the ground that, as the translation was only to another bishopric in the same province, the demand of the primate was not sanctioned, by the canons of the Church. The conduct of Foliot originated, as the archbishop knew, in certain concealed notions, on the part of the bishop, that London itself had metropolitan rights, which he did not wish to preclude himself from asserting, at the proper time.

As Becket's opponents were supported by the king, Becket had sought to fortify himself by obtaining the support of the pope, to whom he had appealed for protection, hitherto without success. Master Henry, the archbishop's legate to the court of Sens, writing in October 1164, complained of the pope and his cardinals, that they were lost in imbecility, fearing man rather than God, being utterly deficient in that courage, which they extolled in Becket. They would only prohibit the Archbishop of York from carrying his cross in the diocese of Canterbury, refusing to extend the prohibition to the whole province. With respect to the Bishop of London, the pope would advise him, but would not enjoin him, to renew the oath of canonical obedience. The papal court took part with the Prior of St. Augustine's against

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the primate, on the old principle of supporting the monasteries, in their independence of their diocesans.

Under these circumstances, Becket, aware of his powers of influencing and persuading others, had, for some time, entertained a strong desire of visiting the pope in person. The pope, in sufficient perplexity about his own affairs, was, by no means, anxious for the honour of entertaining so troublesome a guest. In polite terms, he refused to summon Becket to his court: he could not think, he said, of bereaving the Church of England of its archbishop at the present crisis.

But, after the late occurrences, Becket was determined to go. Twice he embarked at Romney: but the sailors, after his embarkation, put back to the port from which they started, under pretence, that the wind was adverse; but, most probably, from fear of the penalty, which they might incur from aiding him to flee the country.

By an attempt to leave the country, without the king's permission, Becket had offended against the law of the land; and had violated the oath, which he had taken to observe the Constitutions of Clarendon. But the king, instead of being offended; when he again granted the archbishop an interview at Woodstock, merely remarked, with sarcastic jocularity: "And so, my lord, you wish to leave my kingdom; I suppose that it is not large enough to contain us both."

Henry refused to give him permission to depart, for his departure would not have served the king's purpose, unless he were, at the same time, proclaimed to be an outlaw, whose property was confiscated to the crown. The king wished to compel him to resign the archbishopric: if he failed in this, he then desired to alarm him into self-banishment.

And now we come to a memorable passage of arms between these redoubted combatants;—in which the strength

of will, on either side, is displayed in a remarkable manner, although neither retired from the combat with the approbation or sympathy of those who can view their proceedings dispassionately, and without prejudice.

The first attack was made by the king. Becket was summoned before his peers, as one of the subjects of the realm, to answer for his conduct in affairs purely secular. Everything was done, on the part of the king, in a merciless and vindictive spirit. Citations were addressed to all bishops and abbots, to earls, barons, high officers of state, and "to all of every kind who were of any authority and name,"* to meet the king in a national assembly to be held at Northampton on the 6th of October, 1164. But the archbishop himself did not receive the usual summons; his attendance was commanded, by a precept addressed to the sheriff of Kent. The purpose of the king was to humble Becket, who was cited, not as primate of England, but as a culprit.

There was nothing little about Thomas à Becket. He did not condescend to notice the insult, but met it in his own way. He proceeded to Northampton, with a princely retinue. As he approached the town, information was brought to him that the accommodation, which he had caused to be provided for his suite, had been occupied by the king's people. Henry's object, as on a former occasion, was to compel his appearance with only a few attendants, but the king was obliged to give way. The archbishop, at once, halted; and sent an embassy to the king, to announce his intention of returning to Canterbury, unless the king's people evacuated the quarters bespoken for the servants of the archbishop. The archbishop himself was received in the Cluniac monastery of St. Andrew, lately restored by Simon de Liz, the Earl of Northampton.

* Roger Pont. 132; Garnier, 77.

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Henry, engaged in hawking along the Nene, would not condescend to quit his sports, in order to receive the archbishop. Becket took no offence, but went to the castle on the following morning to pay his respects to the king. The king could not be interrupted; he was attending Divine Service, and the archbishop remained in the antechamber. The king and the archbishop had been accustomed to kiss when they met,—a salutation, at that time, as usual in England as it is, at the present time, on the continent; and denoting the amount of friendliness, which is now evinced, when a superior shakes hands with a person of lower grade in society. No kiss was offered.

It would be neither interesting nor instructive to enter into the details of the prosecution of Becket, which now took place. He was put upon his trial. The king was so clearly in the wrong, that Becket was able to keep his temper, throughout the investigation; and he vindicated himself with great success. He was first arraigned for having neglected to attend to a citation from the king, in the case of John the Marshal, without sending any satisfactory excuse for so doing. Whether influenced by fear of the king or by dislike of Becket, the council, bishops as well as lay peers, were unanimous in their sentence of condemnation. The archbishop's defence,—that he had been ill and was unable to travel,—was rejected as insufficient to excuse his neglect of his liege lord's summons, and it was adjudged, that he was "at the king's mercy." The sentence implied the forfeiture of all his moveable possessions. Further demands were made upon him, on that and the following day, for 300*l.*, which Becket had received as warden of Eye and Berkhamstead. The money had been spent in the repairs of these castles, and of the Tower of London, but he could produce no order from the king for the expenditure. A demand was then made for 500 marks, connected with the war of Toulouse. This Becket

said was a gift,—the king declared that it was only a loan. Another sum of the same amount, was demanded, which Becket had borrowed of a Jew, and for the payment of which the king had made himself responsible. The council decided, that all these sums must be paid by Becket, since he could produce no evidence, in support of his own statements,—though of their truth no one perhaps had the slightest doubt. He received information, that heavier charges were in reserve. On Friday, October the 9th, the archbishop was required to produce his receipts of the revenues of all bishoprics and abbacies, which, during their vacancies, had been paid into the chancery when Becket was chancellor. This, it was calculated, would amount to the enormous sum of 30,000 marks. The archbishop here protested against the injustice of these proceedings. He had been summoned to give answer to a specific charge brought against him, concerning John the Marshal; and he was suddenly, and without warning, put upon his trial for peculation when chancellor,—and this, too, after having received, at the time of his election, an express declaration of his discharge from all secular obligations. He asked for delay to consult with his brethren the bishops. The king declared, with an oath, that he would tolerate no delay beyond the morrow.

And so the king rejoiced. He had gained a triumph over his enemy. He had reduced to beggary the proud man, who had asserted his superiority over kings and emperors. He had surprised the prelate, who had defied the king's courts, into a trial before a lay convention. He had seen the man, whom he once delighted to honour,—now avoided by the barons, unsupported by the prelates,—reduced to such circumstances, as must, to all appearance, render his resignation of the archbishopric a necessity.

Becket himself was perplexed and alarmed. On the Saturday, he held a conference with the bishops, and soon

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perceived that he could depend for sympathy and effectual support upon no one, except Henry, Bishop of Winchester, the brother of the late King Stephen, and the hereditary enemy of the house of Anjou. The speech of Hilary Bishop of Chichester was perhaps expressive of the general sentiment: "Oh! that you were only Thomas, and not archbishop!" No one could approach Becket, unless he came with malice prepense and aforethought, without loving the man; but with the demagogue, the disturber of the peace of the country, the bishops would have gladly dispensed.

Becket, whose own sympathies were easily excited, required sympathy on the part of others, without which, like other enthusiastic men, his courage failed.

He could not depend upon his suffragans, for that support which he required. He would appeal to the people. Inasmuch as he was the opponent of the king and the barons, his cause was theirs.

Everything favoured his design of appealing from kings, barons and prelates to the people. When he entered the hall of the monastery, on the Saturday, Becket looked in vain for the obsequious crowd of knights, barons, clergy, and courtiers, whom he was accustomed to see around him. They shrank from the king's enemy, a ruined man. Instantly, he sent forth his servants to bid all comers welcome, and the hall was filled with the poor. They saw the archbishop careworn and of sorrowful countenance; and their pride was gratified, when they heard him say, that their prayers would be more efficacious to assist him, in his hour of danger, than would have been the swords of the craven sycophants, if they had remained faithful to him, of whose bread they had partaken.

Henry was, without knowing it, fighting Becket's battle. It was noised abroad, that the "king was swearing at the archbishop with more than usual vehemence, only waiting

to decide whether, he should imprison him, tear out his eyes and tongue, or put him to death." *

Becket had not yet acquired that morbid appetite for martyrdom, of which his friends, at one time, complained. His sensitive nature gave way under the late excitement; and, on Monday the 12th, he was unable to appear at court from illness. The king and the courtiers represented the illness as feigned, and the earls of Cornwall and Leicester were sent to ascertain its reality. The illness could not be denied, and the sympathy of the people for the great man, suffering in their cause, increased.

Tuesday, the 13th, was the last and most memorable day of the council. The bishops waited upon the archbishop, to urge his resignation, and to entreat him to throw himself unreservedly on the king's mercy. They told him, that he might thus avert the dangers, by which the Church was threatened; whereas, by his perverseness and obstinacy, he would incur, at once, the charges of treason for a breach of his feudal duties, and of perjury for his violation of the engagement into which he had entered to observe the Constitutions of Clarendon. The archbishop had prepared a set speech for the bishops: — "Our enemies, as you perceive, are pressing upon us, and the whole world is against us; but my chief sorrow is, that you, who are the sons of my mother (the Church), do not take my part. Though I were to say nothing, yet all future ages will declare that you deserted me in the battle,—me, your father and archbishop, sinner though I am. For two whole days, you sat as judges over me, and were a mote in my eye and a goad in my sides,—you, who ought to have taken part with me against my enemies. And I doubt not, from the words which have dropped from you, that you would sit as judges over me in

* Grim, i. 42; Roger Pont. i. 135; Garnier, 35.

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criminal causes, as you have already done in civil matters, before this secular tribunal. But I now enjoin you all, in virtue of your obedience, and in peril of your orders, not to be present in any cause, which may be moved against my person; and, to prevent you from doing so, I appeal to that refuge of the distressed, the Holy Roman See. Moreover, if, as I have heard it intimated, and indeed as is already reported publicly, the secular authority should lay violent hands upon me, I command you, by virtue of your obedience, to put forth the censures of the Church, in behalf of your father and your archbishop. For, be assured of one thing, though enemies shall press hard upon me, and the world itself be against me; though this frail body yield to their persecution, because all flesh is weak; yet shall my spirit never yield, nor will I ever, by God's mercy, turn my back in flight, or basely desert the flock committed to my care."

The feelings of the people were now excited to the utmost. They crowded into the church, to unite their prayers with those of the archbishop, before he proceeded to the council. Becket was always aware of the advantages of a *coup de théâtre*. He determined to perform the service himself. The archbishop was seen, this day, to enter the church in full pontificals, and arrayed in the pallium, only worn on solemn occasions. He thought, and would have others to think, that this would be a day for ever memorable in the Church of England. When the people were looking for the primate to approach the high altar, they saw his procession bearing round into St. Stephen's chapel, though it was not St. Stephen's day. The significance of the action was immediately recognised. He who was kneeling, in contrite humility, at the altar of the protomartyr, might himself be a martyr ere the sun went down. Sobs were heard all around, the archbishop himself was weeping; there was not a dry

eye in the multitude of worshippers. All were infected by the sorrows which, for another rather than for himself, oppressed their holy father's heart. Suddenly every sigh was suppressed, as Becket's sonorous voice was heard, chanting the introit appointed for the festival of St. Stephen, *Etenim sederunt principes*, "Princes also did sit and speak against me."*

When Becket turned to give the benediction, it was seen that his fears were now dissipated. His tall figure was drawn up to its full height, his piercing eye flashed fire, his handsome countenance expressed a determination both to endure the worst and to defy his enemies. His face, it was said, appeared like the face of a man, and at the same time as the face of a lion.

He was about to proceed, in his full pontificals, from the monastery to the castle,—the head of the Church to defy the rival head of the state. What would have been the consequence of such a course of conduct, in the excited state of public feeling, it is impossible to surmise. His attendants entreated him to desist; and, in their entreaties, they were supported by certain knights templars, who seem to have had considerable influence over Becket's mind.

He consented to attend the secular court of the king, as the other bishops did, in his ordinary dress, — that of a canon regular.

In putting off his robe of office, Becket's fears were again excited. He superstitiously secreted a portion of the eucharist on his person, to act as a kind of charm. He took his cross from the bearer, and determined not to trust it out of his own hands. By carrying his cross, he

* The authorities for these occurrences may be here given at once: Roger, i. 135, 136; Fitz-Steph. i. 223—225; Alan, i. 346, 347; Herbert, vii. 142; Garnier, 35—38, 42—44; Gervas, 1391, 1392; Hoveden, 283; Grim, i. 43; Wendover, ii. 307.

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placed himself in sanctuary*; by placing himself in sanctuary, he hoped for personal security, and he made proclamation, that his life was in danger.

This was understood by the people, who prostrated themselves before him, as he passed up the street, and with tears and prayers besought his blessing. The sight revived the martial spirit of Becket. He thought that, supported by the multitude, he might have done battle with the king, and he expressed to his cross-bearer his regret, that he had not appeared among the people accoutred as he had, at first, intended.

The excitement without, caused alarm within, the castle. Becket, with his immediate attendants, was admitted; but instantly the portcullis fell, and the gates were closed. The sound was ominous, and the thought occurred to Becket that he was now a prisoner. His fears, in this respect, were increased, when the Bishop of London claimed the privilege of acting as the cross-bearer of the primate. Beneath his cross there was a sanctuary; and with his crosier Becket, therefore, was determined not to part. But this very circumstance was an implied insult to the king and the other members of the council; it was as

* Ad crucem confugere, veluti ad locum asyli et immunitatis jure donatum, in Concilio Claromontensi, ann. 1093, can. 29, 30. Si quis ad aliquam crucem in via persequentibus inimicis confugit, liber ac si in ipsa Ecclesia permaneat. Quod si quis pro securitate Ecclesiæ vel prædictæ crucis aliquod crimen peregerit, et ad ecclesiam vel crucem confugerit, accepta securitate vitæ et membrorum, reddatur justitiæ. Vetus consuetudo Normanniæ, cap. 23. Si comme il advient de ceux qui sont fuitifs pour aucun crime, ou qui sont en chartre, ou en lieux, qui eschappent et s'enfuient en l'Eglise, où ils embrassent une croix. Cap. 82. Se aucun damné ou fuitif s'enfuit à l'Eglise, ou en cymitiere, ou en lieu saint, ou si il s'aërt à une croix que soit fichée en terre, la Justice laye le doit laisser en paix par le privilege de l'Eglise, si qu'elle ne mette la main à luy, &c. Ubi Latina editio, vel Cruci fixe adhæret. Vide Anonymum Combesisianum in Leone Philos. n. 22; Ducange, ii. 1184.

much as to tell them that the archbishop suspected them of violent, if not of murderous, intentions.

The bishops entreated Becket to lay aside his crosier, and permit it to be carried in the usual way. He still refused. "Good man," exclaimed the Bishop of London, "he always was a fool, and ever will be;" saying which, he made a dash at the crosier, and, for a few minutes, there was a struggle—a fight—between the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London. Becket, the younger and the stronger man, retained his own.

Becket entered the hall and took his seat. The Bishop of London again approached him, and, in the name of the suffragans of Canterbury, he said, "See now, my Lord Archbishop, such conduct as this, tends only to disturb the peace, for the king will arm himself with the sword, and then we shall have a king and an archbishop matched against each other." "Be it so," replied the archbishop; "my cross is the sign of peace; I will not let it go. The king's sword is an instrument of war."

Instead of entering the public hall, the king remained in an inner apartment, to which he had retired when he heard of Becket's proceedings. Thither no one could come, unless he were invited. One by one, the barons and bishops were summoned to the royal chamber; and, one by one, they passed by Becket, who, deserted and shunned by all, remained with his two chaplains, watched by some of the royal guard.

Voices loud and angry were heard proceeding from the inner chamber; there was also the clang of arms. The archbishop and his chaplains crossed themselves. "My lord," whispered Herbert of Bosham, "if they lay violent hands upon you, it is still in your power to excommunicate them all." "That be far from our lord," said Fitz-Stephen in a loud clear voice; "rather let the Primate of England follow the pattern of God's ancient

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confessors and martyrs, let him pray for his enemies and persecutors; if it be God's will, that he shall suffer in this righteous cause, his soul shall enjoy happiness in heaven, and blessings will be bestowed on his memory upon earth." These were both of them biographers of Becket, to whom we are deeply indebted. "A little later," says Fitz-Stephen, "when one of the king's marshals would not let me speak to the archbishop, I made a sign to him and drew his attention to the Saviour on the cross." It is pleasant, under these circumstances, not generally creditable to our religion, to know that some, among the actors, were influenced by a truly Christian spirit.

They sat silent and sad. At length, there came a deputation from the inner chamber. The bishops had informed the king, that the primate had forbidden them to take any further part in the proceedings against him, and that he had appealed to the pope. The Earls of Leicester and Cornwall were commissioned to inquire whether this assertion were correct; reminding Becket, at the same time, that such a proceeding was a violation of his allegiance to the crown, and of his oath to observe the Constitutions of Clarendon; by which, among other things, the bishops were bound to attend the king, in all trials, except such as involved life. The archbishop replied in a long and dignified speech; the speech, probably, which he had prepared to address to the council, if it had assembled. He vindicated his conduct, complained of the treatment he had received, and concluded by saying: "As to the prohibition I have placed upon the bishops, I acknowledge that I told them, that they had condemned me too severely for a single absence, which was not contumacious; and, therefore, I appealed against them, forbidding them, during this appeal, to judge me for a secular offence, committed before I was archbishop. Again I

appeal. I place my person and the Church of Canterbury under the protection of God, and of my lord the pope."

The earls, and the barons who attended them, heard with indignation and surprise this defiance of the King of England,—this first appeal that was ever made to a foreign prince or potentate in a case purely secular. The earls were silent. But others there were, who expressed a hope, that the king would follow the example of his great ancestor, the Conqueror; who imprisoned his own brother Odo, Bishop of Bayeux, and chastised him for his rebellion. Some of the bishops endeavoured to prevail on the primate to yield; and Roger, Archbishop of York, implored him, for the sake of all the bishops, to comply with the king's wishes. "Hence, Satan!" was Becket's reply.

The laity and the clergy returned to the inner chamber. The archbishop and his chaplains remained in the cold deserted hall, not permitted to speak. As the door occasionally opened, they heard the clamour within, and the king's voice, giving utterance to his rage.

After a time, the bishops were seen to descend from the inner apartment. They arranged themselves before the primate, and, in the name of all, Hilary, Bishop of Chichester, addressed him. "My lord, we have just cause of complaint against you; you have placed us in a most unpleasant dilemma, by the prohibition which you have laid upon us. When we were all assembled with you at Clarendon, we were required, by our lord the king, to promise obedience to his royal dignities; and, to save us from doubt, they were placed before us in writing; we pledged our assent to them, your lordship first, and then we, the suffragans, by your orders. The king then demanded an oath of us, and also that we should attach our seals to the writing; but we replied that our oath, as priests, to observe his laws in

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good faith, without dishonesty, and lawfully, ought to be sufficient. The king acquiesced in this; yet now, my lord, you forbid us, to take part in the proceedings of the king's courts, which, nevertheless, we are bound to do by the laws which you and we swore to observe at Clarendon. We, therefore, hold that you have perjured yourself, my lord, and we can no longer yield obedience to a perjured archbishop: wherefore, we place ourselves under the protection of our lord the pope, and summon you, by appeal, to his presence."

To this speech, the archbishop replied thus:—"I hear what you say, my lords, and will meet you on the day of appeal; but what took place at Clarendon was done *saving the honour of the Church.* For, as you yourselves have just admitted, we attached three conditions to our promise, by which our ecclesiastical dignities are safe. For whatever is against the faith of the Church, and the laws of God, cannot 'in good faith' or 'lawfully' be done; nor can the 'dignity' of a king consist in destroying the liberty of the Church, which he has sworn to defend. But, besides all this, the king sent his royal dignities, as you term them, to be confirmed by the pope, and they came back not confirmed but annulled. This is an example which the holy father has given us to imitate. If we fell at Clarendon, (for all flesh is weak,) we should resume our courage, and again contend with our foe, in the strength of God's Holy Spirit. If we pledged ourselves to what was unlawful; you well know that an unlawful oath is not binding."

The bishops now arranged themselves in the hall opposite the primate. The door of the inner apartment reopened, and a solemn procession of the nobles came forth, headed by the earl of Leicester. It had been determined that, as the archbishop had refused to abide a trial in the king's court, his contumacy must be punished

by imprisonment. The barons of England now appeared to pronounce the sentence.

It was a very solemn moment. No one could calculate the consequences. The archbishop himself was awe-struck but determined. The Earl of Leicester, formerly a friend of the archbishop, was deeply affected. With great solemnity, he deliberately stated the benefits which the king had conferred upon Becket, and Becket's ingratitude. "And now," he said, "hear the judgment of the court." "Nay, Son Earl," said Becket, "first hear me," He then proceeded to deny the right of the court to pronounce judgment upon one who had appealed to a higher tribunal. "What!" said the earl, "can you decline the king's judgment, when you hold your estates of him in fee and barony?" Becket denied that he held anything in fee and barony; "what the Church holds," he said, "she holds in free and perpetual alms, without being subject to any earthly dominion." He declared the sacerdotal power to be as much superior to the regal as gold is to lead; and he solemnly charged the earl to obey God rather than man. He exhorted him to proceed no further, since he had appealed to the pope, who was alone competent to judge him. He rose with dignity. He raised his cross, and, followed by Herbert of Bosham, he proceeded slowly to quit the hall.

He was immediately assailed by a torrent of abuse; "Traitor, perjurer, stay, hear your judgment!" was the shout, that was raised against him; filthy missiles from the floor were hurled at him. He, in some measure, sustained an air of dignity; and, proceeding towards the door, kept his temper under restraint, until he struck his foot against a pile of fire-wood which lay in his way. The proud prelate was nearly falling to the ground, amidst the yellings, hootings, and derisive laughter, long and loud, of the bystanders. Contempt is difficult to

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bear. He could restrain himself no longer; but, turning sharply upon a knight, who called him traitor, he retorted in a truly secular spirit: "But for my sacred orders, I'd make you rue that word." He fell foul upon Ranulf de Broc, as kinsman to a man who had been hanged. The Earl Hamelin, the king's brother, he called "a lout and a bastard."*

In the courtyard, he mounted his horse. After some difficulty, the gates of the castle were opened, and then another sight was seen and other sounds were heard. One long, loud shout of exultation burst from an enthusiastic mob, who thought that he had been already murdered. Becket rode on in triumph, holding his crosier in one hand, and blessing the people with the other: rejoicing in what he called, with truth, his glorious procession.

Such consolation he required, for he must have felt deeply mortified at the result of this day's proceedings. His plan had been defeated. His conduct had been undignified, and such as became neither a chivalrous chancellor, nor a saintly archbishop. His fears were excited. His nerves, after such scenes, must have been shaken. He commissioned the Bishops of Worcester, Hereford, and Rochester to apply to the king, first for a safe conduct for his return to Canterbury, and then for permission to go abroad.

The deputation found the king in high good-humour; he was exhilarated by his triumph. He clearly wished Becket should take his departure from the realm,—but not with the royal permission. If he went with the royal permission, he would have gone as a princely prelate, able to conduct his opposition to the king as effectually abroad as at home,—perhaps more so. But if he went without

* Will. Cant. ii. 13.

the royal permission, he would go, as a perjured outlaw. The king would seize his property; and, after the support he had received from his lay barons, and most of his bishops, Henry may have felt, that the withdrawal of the royal favour, from a powerless man, would have crushed him on the continent, as it had done in England. Henry's whole conduct shows his desire to alarm the archbishop. His answer to the deputation was, "I will lay his request before the council to-morrow."

A herald had, before this, appeared, making proclamation in the king's name, that, under pain of death, no violence or insult should be offered to the archbishop. This served a double purpose; it declared the clemency of the king, whose conduct was compared to that of David, when he gave it in charge against a rebel prince: "Deal gently with the young man Absalom;" and it also suggested, that a conspiracy against the archbishop existed. That a conspiracy against his life did exist, was solemnly asserted by those noblemen, who visited him, at a late hour, in the evening. The fears of the archbishop were so excited, that, in order to be in a place of greater security, he ordered his bed to be laid in the church; and before midnight, attended by two monks and a servant, he left the convent in disguise, and made the best of his way towards the fens of Lincolnshire.

He travelled by night, concealing himself in the daytime. He remained at an hermitage, in the fens, for three days. Thence, he proceeded to the south-east, and journeyed till he came to Eastry in Kent. At the end of fifteen days of peril and adventure, he embarked in an open boat at Sandwich; and, after a rough passage, during which he appears to have suffered from sea-sickness, he landed in a cove on the opposite coast, in the neighbourhood of Gravelines. Being in the country of the Earl of Boulogne, an enemy, he had still to travel in the disguise of a Cister-

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cian monk, and was addressed as Brother Christian. He was exposed to the danger of detection by his frequent indiscretions, and by his inability, habituated as he was to luxury, to undergo, without complaint or suffering, the hardships to which he was exposed. At St. Omer, he was hospitably entertained, in the abbey of St. Bertin. Suspecting, however, the good intentions of the Earl of Flanders, he proceeded to Soissons, where, through the munificence of Louis VII., he resumed his state as Archbishop of Canterbury; and was soon enabled to visit pope Alexander at Sens, attended by an escort of three hundred knights.

III. The envoys of Henry had preceded Becket; but, notwithstanding their intrigues, and the English money, which had circulated freely among the papal ecclesiastics and lawyers, the Archbishop of Canterbury was received, with all the honours due to his high position in the Church. The cardinals went out, on horseback, to meet the archbishop's cavalcade; and, as formerly at the Council of Tours, when he entered the papal presence, his holiness rose from his seat to receive him.

But when, from ceremony, they proceeded to business, Becket was evidently disappointed at the amount of support, which the pope was prepared to afford him. Alexander is severely censured by the partisans of Becket. Even John of Salisbury says of him, that he often preferred might to right, and tolerated, as a statesman, what he could not approve as a prelate. Viewing the subject, however, from a distance, we may perhaps come to a different conclusion. We shall have occasion, presently, to notice the difficulties, under which Alexander was placed; and, when these difficulties are taken into consideration, we may be inclined to think that his policy, though not magnanimous, was nevertheless discreet and wise. On the one hand, he would not yield to the solicitations of

Becket, that he would take it upon himself to try his cause by summoning all parties from England; for such an attempt would have been resisted, with indignation, by the barons, as well as the king, and would have caused a rupture between the Church of England, and the Church of Rome: but, on the other hand, he as resolutely refused the king's request, that he should send legates to try the cause, in Henry's dominions; since, by so doing, he would place Becket in the hands of the very enemies, from whom he had made his escape.

He gave offence to both parties,— the highest compliment that can be paid to a referee. His great desire was to keep Becket quiet; and having assured him of his constant support and sympathy, he procured him an asylum in the Cistercian monastery of Pontigny, about twelve leagues from Sens. He dismissed him with a wise and Christian admonition.* "Hitherto you have lived in abundance and luxury; but that you may learn to be, in future, what you ought to be, the comforter of the poor, — a lesson which can only be learnt, under the tuition of poverty herself, who is the mother of religion,— we commit you to the poor of Christ."

While Becket was at Sens, an extraordinary scene took place. At a public audience, having stated his case to the pope and the cardinals, he lamented the unhappy condition of his Church, and attributed all his calamities to his own promotion, which had been effected, not by canonical election, but by the intrusion of royal power. With tears rolling down his cheeks, he then arose, drew off the episcopal ring, and delivering it to the Pope, resigned the see of Canterbury into his hands. He entreated him to

* This assertion shows that his contemporaries were not aware of any great change in Becket's mode of living, after his consecration to the see of Canterbury.

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appoint to it a successor, more capable, than himself, of doing service to the Church.

This was one of those theatrical displays, in which Becket took delight or found consolation. The pope knew well enough that his nominee, if he endeavoured to take possession of the first see of the Church of England, in the reign of Henry II. would be doomed to death, the very moment he dared to touch English soil. Although, therefore, he made a show of accepting the resignation, he immediately reinstated Becket. And Becket now felt, that cavillers were silenced; and, moreover, that he could henceforth assert that he was not indebted for his archbishopric to the king.*

On St. Andrew's day, 1164, the archbishop arrived at Pontigny, where he remained for nearly two years, hospitably entertained, together with his numerous attendants, by the abbot and the brethren. Here every thing conspired to afford him means and opportunity for the meditation on sacred subjects, and the self-discipline, of which he stood in need. The monastery stood in a broad and fertile valley, and its chapel was, in character and size, qualified to receive an archbishop's cathedra. It still remains to connect the present with the past.

We have reserved for this place, the observations which must be made, on what is called the conversion of Becket, or the change of life which ensued, immediately after his consecration.

The fruit of the Spirit is "love, joy, peace, long-suffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness, and temperance." † In every age of Christianity, Blessed be God, this fruit has been produced in Christian hearts; and the Church, even

* When, at a subsequent period, a translation was suggested as the means of ending the controversy, Becket treated the proposal with indignation.

† Gal. v. 22.

when deviating, in many respects, from the simplicity of revealed truth, has ever been the depository of grace. These Christian graces were visible in many, who were contemporary, or nearly so, with Becket; and who, in the administration of public affairs, accorded with him in their principles. Anselm, St. Bernard, John of Salisbury, may at once be named. We believe these fruits to have been visible, to the heart-searching eye of our Divine Master, in many a pious heart, living in remote cloisters, or in peaceful homes, where the din of controversy was never heard. How far and to what extent they existed in the soul of St. Thomas of Canterbury, it is not for us to say. We know him to have been a man of strict morality; for Henry, during their intimacy, resorted to the various arts of the Tempter to degrade him to his own level: and Henry was not the man to have abstained from proclaiming his shame, if the moral conduct of Becket had not been unimpeachable. Although we may think Becket mistaken in his views, yet we recognise in him a nobleness of character and an elevation of soul, in the manner in which he devoted himself to what he believed to be the cause of God and his Church. To have led a strictly moral life under such circumstances, and in such an age, is sufficient to secure for Becket our respect, even if we are not among those who regard him as a model of Christian excellence, — or rather, although we desiderate in him some of the chief signs of what, according to the Gospel, is the saintly character.

The hagiographers come to details. They tell us, that, immediately after his consecration, although there was no outward change in his appearance or mode of living, yet he wore a hair shirt, delicate and sensitive as he was by nature,— and as dirt was, at this time, almost deified in the religious world,— we are informed that the hair shirt was peopled by vermin. His food was coarse, and

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the water he drank was rendered nauseous, by an infusion of fennel. He wandered, melancholy and musing, in the cloisters of his cathedral, and often submitted his back to the scourge.*

When he arrived at Pontigny, he adopted the monastic habit, and then, as if he had relapsed from the asceticism of Canterbury, it is mentioned, as remarkable and praiseworthy, that he professed a desire to conform to the strict discipline of the Cistercians. We are informed, that he partook of the coarse unsavoury food,— the pulse and gruel,—which formed the dietary of that monastery. He submitted to manual labour. We are also told that, his mornings were given to the intense and exclusive study of Scripture, which he found it hard to understand: and, that his nights were passed in prayer, interrupted by flagellations: that he would rouse his sleepy chaplain, Robert of Merton, to flog him; and, when, from fatigue, the

* The disciplining whip, says Dupin, unknown to antiquity, began to be used in the eleventh century, having had its opponents and maintainers. Cent. xi. p. 126. We may add that in point of fact it was introduced by Peter Damiani, a canonised fanatic, who was born at the commencement of the eleventh century. He was one of the hermits of Fonte Avellana near Gubbio, among whom existed a perfect fury for penance. The monks with bare shoulders lashed themselves, or gave themselves with rods or leather thongs to the music of the psalms, a hundred blows to a psalm or 15,000 to the entire psalter. The spirit of the age caused the discipline to become fashionable. Men were treated like boys. It was said, when you have done wrong you must be punished. When you have been punished, then you have nothing to fear for the past, be more careful for the future. And so there was in too many a constant alternation of sinning and repenting and repenting and sinning. The system indeed added strength to temptation, as men would calculate the amount of penance which the indulgence of a sin would cost: and according to the toughness of their hide they would decide. Acta SS. Mens. Feb. 23. Acta SS. ord. Bened. Sec. vi. ii. 245, 299. Alban Butler, Feb. 23. Butler, with modern feelings, warns his reader against the abuse of a system, which he does not venture to condemn, but does not care to approve.

chaplain could apply the lash no longer, he would look down from his couch and see the poor archbishop rolling in his sackcloth, amidst its many inhabitants, on the floor; the boards his bed, a stone his pillow.*

There are no grounds whatever, for discrediting these statements; but they must be balanced by others. We must compare the assertions of the hagiographers with certain contradictory statements, which we discover in the copious correspondence we possess of Becket and his friends.

We find John of Salisbury, Becket's true and best friend, entreating him to commit his soul to God, and to become earnest in prayer. He reproaches him, for having forsaken the study of Scripture, for the study of the laws and canons; adding: —

"Believe me,

'Non hæc ista sibi tempus spectacula poscit.'

These things are better food for curiosity, than for devotion. Your lordship recollects, how it is written, that, in the sorrows of the people, 'Let the priests, the ministers of the Lord, weep between the porch and the altar; and let them say, Spare thy people, O Lord!' 'I communed with my own heart,' saith the prophet, 'and my spirit made diligent search.' 'In the day

* Becket was not quite orthodox in his flagellations: the orthodox discipline is thus described. "Flagelli disciplina, in Regula S. Aureliani, cap. 41. Liber Ordinis S. Victoris Parisiensis, MS. c. 33. Si aliquis disciplinam accipere debeat, erigens se super genua, modeste vestimenta sua exuat, deinde procumbens a cinctura deorsum eisdem vestimentis tectus remaneat, et sic jacens aut prorsus taceat, aut hoc solummodo dicat: Mea culpa, ego me emendabo. Sed neque alius interim loquatur, nisi forte aliquis de Prioribus pro eo intercedat usque ad jussionem Abbatis. Qui cum cessaverit, adjuvet illum fratrem ad induendum: qui indutus et erectus non se moveat, donec Abbas dicat. Ito sessum: et tunc inclinans eat in locum suum. Hoc etiam sciendum est, quod ille qui inferioris gradus est, non debet verberare superiorem, id est, Diaconus Sacerdotem, sed æqualis æqualem, vel superior inferiorem."—*Ducange*, ii. 1528.

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of my trouble I sought the Lord: thus teaching us that, to cleanse and discipline our spirit is the way to ward off the lash of conscience, and to obtain for us the loving mercies of God. Who ever arose with a feeling of contrition, from the study either of the laws, or even of the canons? The exercises of the schools, too, are more likely to puff us up with the pride of science, than to kindle within us any feeling of devotion. I would far rather see your lordship's thoughts employed upon the Psalms, or on the sermons of the blessed Gregory, than intent upon this philosophy of the schools. Far better were it, to confer on serious subjects with some spiritual person, and to warm your feelings with his example, than to dwell upon and discuss the subtle controversies of secular literature. God knows the sincerity with which I speak this. Your lordship will receive it as seems good to you. Yet be assured, that if you do these things God will be on your side, and you need not fear what flesh can do unto you. He knows, that, in our present troubles we have no mortal man to lean upon." *

This is the earnest, pious, and friendly advice of a true friend. It would not have been written, if Becket had been leading habitually an ascetic life.

We have a letter from another friend, remonstrating with him upon his luxurious style of living; and warning him against unnecessary extravagance. John of Poictiers writes —

"It will be necessary, as far as one can judge from the present aspect of your affairs, to husband your resources in every possible way; to let your enemies see, that you are prepared for any sufferings, to which your exile may reduce you. For this reason, I have often warned your discretion, and must still earnestly press you to get rid of your superfluous incumbrances, and to consider the badness of the times, which promises you neither a speedy return nor a safe one. Your wisdom ought to know, that no one will think the less of you, if, in conformity to your circumstances, and, in condescension to the

* John Salis. ep. 138.

religious house, which entertains you, you content yourself with a moderate establishment of horses and men, such as your necessities require.*

The abbot of Pontigny, of whose generous hospitality it is impossible to speak in terms too high; and who had to pay for the luxuries of the archbishop, from which he himself abstained; could not refrain, upon one occasion, from remarking upon the discrepancy, which existed between the pretensions of the archbishop and his conduct. Becket told him of a dream or vision, by which he had been inspired in the night, and from which, he augured, that he should be called to the crown of martyrdom, — a subject to which, with questionable taste, Becket was prone to allude. The abbot was provoked to reply: "How can one who eats and drinks as you do, die a martyr? The cup of wine which you drink, ill accords with the cup of martyrdom." †

On another occasion, even when he was at Canterbury, where so much is said of his asceticism, a hungry monk

* Gilb. Fol. vi. 250.

† The whole passage, as it occurs in a fragment of William of Canterbury, is remarkable:—

"Cumque itaque territorium Senonense petens, vale jam se deducentibus facturus esset, erupit in lachrymas, quas increpans venerabilis abbas loci inquit: Quid agis? Miror virum invictæ constantiæ femineam in mollitiem degenerare. Nunquid rei familiaris necessitas majores expensus exposcit? An comitatus rarior et famulatus minor lachrymas istas excutiunt? Si quid tua poscit indulgentia, quod nŏstra facultas supplere possit, ostendatur, et fiet. Respondit igitur archiepiscopus: Nihil istorum, sed quæ de me sunt, finem habent. Dominus servo suo vitæ finem, finisque modum in visu præteritæ noctis præostendere dignatus est. Gladium spiculatoris subterfugere non potero. Subridens abbas inquit: Ergo martyris interibis? Quid esculento, temulento, et martyri? Non bene conveniunt, nec in una sede morantur calix vini quem potas, et calix martyrii. Archiepiscopus inquit: Fateor, corporeis voluptatibus indulgeo, bonus tamen Dominus, qui justificat impium, indigno dignatus est revelare mysterium."—*Vit. S. Thomæ, Auct. Will. Cant. ed. Giles*, ii. 18.

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remarked, with a smile, on Becket's delicate fare; and the archbishop was provoked to exclaim, "I tell you what, my brother, I suspect that you swallow your beans with greater eagerness, than I this wing of a pheasant." *

We reconcile these statements and counter-statements, by supposing the real case to have been, that Becket, being, from early habits of indulgence, unable to persevere, for any great length of time, in ascetic practices, had recourse occasionally to what was subsequently called a retreat; and that, on these occasions, of not very frequent occurrence, he, with his usual impetuosity, imposed upon himself austerities, which his constitution was unable to support. He certainly tried hard to conform to the Cistercian rule at Pontigny, and the result was a serious if not a dangerous illness.†

Instead of treating with ridicule his failures, when trying to conform to the religious world of his time, we ought rather to do him justice for making the attempt; and to feel grateful to Divine Providence, that we live at a period, when a man may partake of wholesome food and wear clean linen, without any compunctious visitings of conscience; and without exposing himself to the reproach of the truly pious. We will not quit this part of our subject, without giving another passage from the estimable John of Salisbury, which leaves a favourable impression on the mind.

"Without doubt, this exile has been of the greatest service to my lord of Canterbury, both in regard to his literary attainments and the tone of his mind. I hope,

* Herb. vii. 68.

† Herbert of Bosham attributed the illness to his unwholesome diet, and persuaded him to return to his former mode of living. Herb. vii. 215. The illness, according to Grim, began with a frightful swelling in the face, until it ended in a fistula. He says that he was cured by the extraction of two of his teeth.

too, it has not been lost upon myself." In the summer of the same year (1166), writing to another friend, he remarks, "Concerning the cause of my lord of Canterbury, I do not despair; for he himself hath hope in the Lord, penancing himself for the deeds he did as a courtier; nor, as I think, doth he make flesh his arm." And again, in the autumn following, "With regard to my lord of Canterbury, rest assured that what he has gained in moral and intellectual graces, far outweighs all that the king's malignity hath been able to deprive him of."

The studies or the austerities of the recluse were to be soon disturbed, by a ragged multitude, looking more like ghosts then men, who gathered around the gates of the monastery. Orphans, widows, children, aged men, women with their little ones hanging at their breasts, clerks and lay folk of all ages, and of either sex; — there they lay, emaciated, woe-worn, without food, with scanty raiment, — there they lay, in the midst of winter, dropping in one after another, invoking the pity and the piety of the monks, and calling for the archbishop, before whom they had sworn to present themselves, and upon whom they depended for their very lives. Well known faces met his eye, never forgetful of what it once had seen; cries of distress pierced his ears, and sank into his soul.

Henry II., having confiscated the archbishop's property, kept his Christmas, by issuing a decree of banishment and exile against all the relations of Becket, male and female, his clerks, dependants, friends, and servants, together with those who had harboured him in his flight. The execution of the decree was intrusted to the archbishop's inveterate enemy, the ruffian baron, Ranulf de Broc. On the 27th of December, 1164, they were summoned by the king's officials to Lambeth, and, with a refinement of cruelty, they were made to swear, that they would immediately proceed to Pontigny, that the archbishop might be eye-witness of

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the misery of which he had been the unintentional cause. Four hundred individuals, of all classes of society, were in the dead of winter, thrown on a foreign coast, without food or clothing, and with no apparent means of subsistence. They had to force their way through the woods and uninhabited wilds, which, at that time, occupied the intervening space between town and town in France. In the towns, they were the objects of pity and charity, but the towns they passed through, were too small or too poor to support them for any length of time, and their only course was to pursue their way and seek the protection of the archbishop,— himself, an impoverished exile, dependent upon the charity of others.

From his influence with the French king, and from the generosity of the French people, the archbishop was enabled to procure for them the necessaries of life; and, to her honour it is to be mentioned, the Empress Maude alleviated the sufferings of her son's subjects, and mitigated the effects of his unchristian vengeance.

The exiles had further to inform the archbishop, that his suffragans were prohibited from holding communication with their primate, and were forbidden to name him in the public prayers. The sheriffs were charged to arrest and imprison all persons, who should appeal to the pope; and every one who was detected in bringing letters, either from the pope or the archbishop, was to be put into a boat, and then turned adrift to the mercy of the waves.* The Peter-pence were to be paid into the royal treasury until further order.

Such of the archbishop's friends, as were supposed to

* Fitz-Steph. i. 243; Will. Cant. ii. 15; Anon. Lamb. ii. 100; Roger Pont. i. 156. It is to be observed that there was no inconsistency on the part of Henry when he appealed to the pope or deputed his bishops to do so. The object of the Constitutions of Clarendon was simply to prevent appeals *without* the king's permission.

be in possession of wealth, were impoverished, before they were dismissed by having to pay a heavy fine; or in default of payment, they were committed to prison. Henry perhaps regarded his cruelty, as a mere act of policy, that the archbishop might be humbled to obedience, when he saw what his mighty opponent was both able and determined to do. The conduct, however, had the very opposite effect on Becket. His proud spirit determined, that the king should feel the full weight of an archbishop's power and vengeance, and he was preparing to excommunicate Henry, and to place the kingdom under an interdict, when he received the following letter from pope Alexander: —

"*Alexander the Pope to Thomas of Canterbury the Archbishop.*

"Since we live in evil days, when, from the temper of the times, many things must be tolerated, of which we do not approve, we appeal to your good sense; and we beg, we admonish, we advise, we entreat you, to act cautiously, prudently, and with circumspection in all things whether relating to your own cause or the affairs of the Church: and, while doing nothing rashly or in a hurry, to strive and exert yourself, without, of course, sacrificing the liberty of the Church, or the dignity of your office, to regain the favour and good will of the illustrious King of England. You must bear with the said king, till Easter; and, until that time, forbear from all proceedings against his person or his territories. The Lord will, by that time, have granted better days, and we shall both of us be able to proceed more securely in this matter." *

Becket, on his own principle of paying that deference to the pope, which the forged decretals imposed upon him, was obliged to refrain from acting till Easter. The pope evidently supposed and hoped that, before the occurrence

* Opp. Becket, iv. 6.

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of the festival, a reconciliation might be effected, or that Becket's angry passions would have subsided. But when Easter day 1166 arrived, the inhibition to proceed against the king expired, and, on that very day, a commission was issued which gave Becket a legatine power over all England, the Province of York excepted. This commission was granted, no doubt, to annoy the king, against whom the pope, now in a more independent position than heretofore, had, as we shall presently see, several grounds of complaint. At the same time, from what afterwards transpired, compared with the advice in the letter, which has just been presented to the reader, we infer that Alexander did not anticipate, that Becket would act with that precipitation and perverseness, which involved himself and his friends in difficulties almost inextricable.

Becket consulted no one. His friends knew not what he intended or designed. He made a sudden journey to Soissons; there, as John of Salisbury expresses it, to gird himself against the day of battle. This he did by visiting three celebrated shrines, which existed at that place; that of the Virgin Mary and that of Gregory the Great *, — but more especially the shrine of Drausius: "the blessed Drausius," remarks John of Salisbury, "is that most glorious confessor, who, according to the belief of France and Lorraine, imparts the certainty of victory to all, who watch a night before his shrine. The Burgundians, too, and the Italians," he adds, "fly to him for succour before any perilous adventure."

Here our spiritual knight-errant, before engaging in a duel with Henry, paid his devoirs.

Three days spent in his devotions at these shrines, to nerve himself for an action, from which he knew the

* There may have been relics of Gregory in this place, but it is incorrect to say, as in some writers, that he was buried here. He was buried at Rome.

firmest of his friends and the bravest of his followers would have dissuaded him. He then proceeded on his way to Vézelay, a town, at that time, of considerable importance, on the borders of Burgundy and Nivernois. As he passed through the broad and fertile valley, which is watered by the Cure, all nature spake of peace, while the Church itself was celebrating the coming of the Spirit of Peace; but Becket's eye was fixed upon the battlemented walls and towers, which looked down, from the conical eminence, upon which the city stood, upon the plain beneath, with threatening aspect, speaking not of peace but of war. On the feast day*, he entered the cathedral, still existing—a long, gloomy, edifice possessing the simple solemn grandeur of the Norman architecture. It was filled by an immense congregation, who had come to keep the Whitsun festival. The archbishop ascended the pulpit, and thence he publicly denounced as excommunicate, John of Oxford, "for having fallen into a damnable heresy in taking a sacrilegious oath to the emperor, for having communicated with the schismatic of Cologne, and for having usurped to himself the deanery of the church of Salisbury against the commands of his lordship the pope." These are his words as given by John of Salisbury. After alleging various causes, he excommunicated Richard Archdeacon of Poictiers and Richard de Luci, Jocelin of Bailleul, Raoul de Broc, Hugh de St. Clair, and Thomas Fitz-Bernard, "together with all, who, for the future, should put their hands against the goods and property of the Church of Canterbury, or ill use or interfere with those, for whose necessities they have been set apart." He suspended the Bishop of Salisbury, for having instituted John of Oxford into his deanery. He anathematized six

* There are differences of opinion as to the precise day of the Vézelay excommunications, but the subject is fairly stated by Canon Robertson, Appendix, 25.

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of the Constitutions of Clarendon; and absolved the bishops of the Church of England, from the oath they had taken to observe them.

He had intended to excommunicate the King of England at the same time. But probably his courage failed him, and he availed himself of a rumour, which had reached him, of the serious illness of the king, to suspend the anathema and to content himself with a threat. The detailed reasons for anathematising John of Oxford were indeed an indirect attack upon Henry, who had written the following letter not long before to Reginald Archbishop of Cologne:

"I have long wished for an opportunity to recede from pope Alexander and his perfidious cardinals, who dare to uphold against me the traitor Thomas, once Archbishop of Canterbury. With this object, by the advice of all my barons, and with the consent of my clergy, I intend to send to Rome the following great men of my kingdom: — the Archbishop of York, the Bishop of London, the Archdeacon of Poitiers, John of Oxford, and Richard de Luci, who shall demand on my behalf, publicly and distinctly, that Pope Alexander and his cardinals, desist forthwith from upholding the traitor, and disengage me from him, in such a way, that I may appoint another to fill the see of Canterbury. They are to demand, moreover, that all the acts of this Thomas be annulled, and to require from the court of Rome, a public oath, that the Pope and all his successors will preserve inviolate to me and my posterity, all those privileges and prerogatives which were enjoyed by my grandfather Henry.

"If they hesitate to acquiesce in any one of these demands, I and my barons, and my clergy, will, at once, renounce our allegiance to him, and will exert ourselves, to the utmost, to overthrow his authority. And if any one in my territory shall, after that, dare to adhere to him he shall be banished." *

This was afterwards explained away. The proceedings

* Gilb. Fol. vi. 289.

of Henry's representatives at Würzburg are involved in some mystery,—but Becket's object is obvious enough,—to implicate the pope in his own cause.

Of all the persons assembled in the church of Vézelay, none were more astonished at this rash, headstrong proceeding of Becket, than his own clerks, to whom he had not given a hint of his purpose.

Nevertheless, the king, who was better acquainted with the precipitate rashness of Becket, had already taken alarm. He had, previously to these proceedings, received, and been enraged, by three threatening letters from the archbishop. In the last of these, Becket called upon him to restore to the church of Canterbury, from which the king had received his promotion and consecration, all the property and rights, which he had appropriated or invaded. He concluded with the significant threat, "if you will not do these things, know for a certainty that you shall feel the just severity of God's judgment."

Excommunications had become so frequent and common, as to have lost a considerable portion of the power, with which they, at one time, invested ecclesiastical authority.*

For offences personal to themselves, for withholding their property, or even for treating their animals with

* That excommunications were frequently disregarded we may infer from the necessity which existed of warning men against the offence. "Excommunications are despised," says Lyndwood, "1. When the excommunicate adds to his fault. 2. When he comes into the church though divine service be not then said (unless it be to hear sermon, and to go out as soon as that is done). 3. If he stand without at the church door while divine service is saying" (and clergymen, if they know it and do not forbear celebrating divine offices are to be punished with excommunication. Decretal, lib. v. tit. 39 c. 18). "4. If he thrust himself into communion with other men when it is in his power to avoid it. 5. If he continue long under the sentence. In forty days the secular arm is invoked in England; if he continue under it for a year he may be treated as one suspected of heresy."

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cruelty, ecclesiastics were accustomed to fulminate their excommunications; and what issued from the interested passions of one class of men, the passions of another class were interested in despising.* A person excommunicated for anything, but a high moral offence, could afford to laugh, at what he would call a *brutum fulmen;* and, even among the clergy, he would find many, who were ready to live with him on the same terms as before. Nevertheless, he would be shunned by the devout, and the whole feeling of the religious world would be against him. He could not be placed in a prominent position, and was always liable to little annoyances, which are sometimes more hard to bear, than the greater trials of life. Then again, it was fully believed that, if he died in a state of excommunication, his soul, instead of passing into purgatory, would go direct to hell. Many a wicked man indulged in crime, from the hope that, either by penance in this world or by suffering in purgatory, he might expiate his offences; and the thought of this life being the only time of trial frequently became overwhelming to those, who, in a state of constant warfare, were always in danger of sudden death. Excommunication was, therefore, still a very powerful weapon.

When Henry suspected Becket's design, he sent envoys to Pontigny, to lodge an appeal to the pope. If an appeal were made, before the deed was done, the deed itself would be invalid; but it was still in effect, until officially reversed, if the appeal was *ex post facto.*

There was some irregularity, on this occasion, in serving the notice, and the validity of the excommunication was maintained by the followers of Becket,—but not so by the bishops of the Church of England, who

* From John of Salisbury, epp. 180, 181, we find that little respect was generally paid to the charge that all Christians should avoid the society of parties excommunicated at Vézelay.

addressed to the archbishop the following very strong remonstrance.

"To their venerable father and lord, Thomas, by the grace of God, Archbishop of Canterbury, the suffragan bishops of the same church and others throughout their dioceses due subjection and obedience.

"Whatever disturbances, father, your unexpected departure to so great a distance has produced among us, we had hoped by God's grace, and by your own humility and discretion might have been appeased. It was consolatory to us after your departure to hear it reported, on all sides, that, in your solitary and exiled condition, you indulged no vain imaginations and were forming no scheme against our lord the king or his kingdom, but bore, with modesty, the burden of poverty, which you had voluntarily taken upon yourself. It was said, that your attention was given to study and prayer, and to redeem with fasting, watching, and tears, the time which you had lost; and that, absorbed in these spiritual occupations, you were ascending, through the blessed steps of a holy life, towards the summit of Christian perfection. We rejoiced, that by such studies you were zealously preparing the way to the renewal of peace and all its blessings, and hoped that you might by these means call down the divine grace into the heart of our lord the king, that his royal clemency might relax from anger, and forget the injuries brought about by your departure. Your friends and well wishers found access to his Majesty, so long as these reports prevailed, and he received, with kindness, the petitions that were made to restore you to his favour. Now, however, a rumour has reached us, which we call to mind with the deepest concern. It is reported, that you have sent him a letter of commination, in which you omit the usual salutation and use neither counsel nor petition, whereby to obtain his grace; but your words and sentiments are alike hostile, and you threaten, with expressions of the deepest severity, to launch an interdict against him, and cut him off at once from the communion of the Church. Should this sentence be as rigidly executed, as it has been bitterly denounced, so far from hoping to restore tranquillity after our late convulsions we fear that they will be kindled into a flame ending

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in a lasting and irreconcilable hatred. Prudence is a holy virtue, looks carefully to the end of all things, and is ever careful to conclude with success, what has been commenced in wisdom. We would, therefore, pray your discretion, to consider what will be the result; whether by such a course the desired end can be obtained. For ourselves, we confess that it has cast us down from great hopes; all our expectations of peace are now dissipated; we are driven back from their very threshold by a gloomy feeling of despair; and now, that war is to be waged, as it were with drawn swords, a place can no longer be found for intercession. For this reason we counsel you as our father, with love unfeigned, not to persist in adding toil to toil, injury to injury; but, laying aside menace, to wait in patience and humility. Commit your cause to the mercy of God, and the condescending kindness of our lord. By so doing, you will heap coals of fire on many heads; a kindlier feeling will, in this manner, be restored, and what threats could never extort, a submissive piety may obtain. Better were it, to enjoy the esteem of all for voluntary poverty than to incur the imputation of ingratitude.

"As it is, an impression prevails unfavourable to you among those, who are aware of your obligations to our lord the king. They recollect, how he elevated you from a low condition, received you into his closest friendship, entrusted to you his whole territory from the Northern Ocean to the Pyrenees; so that none were esteemed happy but in proportion as they gained your favour. Lastly, to secure you against worldly reverses, he wished to establish your power in the things of God; and against the advice of his mother, the remonstrances of the kingdom, and all the sighs and groanings which the Church ventured to express, exerted all his influence to place you in your present exalted position; hoping thereby, to secure the happiness and prosperity of his reign. What will the world say of you, if, after all, he receives the blow from the very quarter from which he looked for security? What will be, for the future, though of this most unheard-of return of favours? For these reasons, we entreat you to desist from a course, which cannot fail to tarnish your fair fame; and study to overcome with humility your sovereign and with charity your son.

"And further, should these reasons seem insufficient, some

consideration appears due to the interests of our lord the pope and of the Holy Church of Rome; lest your measures should aggravate the sufferings of our already suffering mother, and embitter her sorrows for her disobedient children, by alienating from her those, who yet obey. For what if our lord the king, on whom by the grace of God whole nations attend, should, which God avert, allow his irritation at your lordship's conduct to shake his allegiance towards our lord the pope? Overtures to this effect are daily made to his majesty, and of a most pressing kind. As yet, he has indeed stood firm and founded on a rock, treading under foot all the seductions the world can offer; but we cannot assure ourselves that anger may not at length overcome a mind, which is proof against interest. Should this come to pass through your instrumentality, you will doubtless be swallowed up in lamentation, nor will the fountain of your tears be ever again dried up.

"Again then we entreat you, to desist from measures so fraught with danger to the Supreme Pontiff, and the Holy Church of Rome.

"But, perhaps, those who are about you hold their heads on high, and will not allow you to adopt this course. They exhort you to try your strength, and to exert the power entrusted to you against the king and his territory. Now with regard to his lordship, the king, we do not indeed deny, that he may in some instances have acted wrongly; but this we do say and confidently affirm, that, in every instance, he has been most ready to make amends. Having received his kingdom from God, he is, of course, anxious to preserve peace among his subjects; and with this intention, as well towards the clergy as the people, he exacts the recognition of those prerogatives which were enjoyed by the kings, his predecessors. On this head, if any slight dispute has arisen between you and him, yet when admonished through the paternal care of his Holiness, by the bishops of London and Hereford, he did not elevate his head to the clouds, but offered, with all gentleness and humility, to refer the points in question to the judgment of the English Church. By this offer he is still ready to stand. Indeed if he has done anything amiss he looks on advice to correct it, as a pleasing attention. He is prepared for every just and proper compliance, and even

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for reparation, if it shall be deemed right. By what law, then, or by what right, or by what canon can you subject to interdict, or, which God forbid, to excommunication, one, who is thus ready to make amends, and who shows not the least disposition to withdraw his neck from Christ's yoke?

"It is praiseworthy not to be borne away by passion, but to be guided by prudence and discretion. Wherefore it is the common petition of all of us, that you will not, by too hasty measures, slay and destroy; but provide, with paternal solicitude, that the sheep committed to your care may enjoy life, peace, and security. We all of us sympathise in what has been lately done — some think preposterously — against our brother the lord Bishop of Salisbury and his dean, against whom you have hurled the sentence of suspension, and condemned, before inquiry had been made into their fault, following as it seemed to us the heat of passion, rather than the course of justice. To condemn first, and then to take cognizance of the offence, is surely a novel process; unknown, as we suppose, alike to the laws and the canons. That you may not attempt to exercise or to extend this prerogative against our lord the king and his kingdom, against ourselves and the churches and parishes committed to our charge to the injury of our lord the pope, and the disgrace and detriment of the holy Roman Church, and to the no slight augmentation of our own confusion, we stand upon the remedy we possess, and appeal against you. And whereas, we have already in the face of the Church made a personal appeal to our lord the pope against the sentence, which we feared; we here also appeal a second time to the same, in writing, and we fix as the term for the appeal, the day of our Lord's Ascension, praying most fervently that you may adopt more salutary counsel, that you may spare this expense and toil to both of us; and that you may study so to shape your cause, that a remedy may be found for it. We bid you, Father, farewell in the Lord."*

Henry, in the meantime, had been as decided and rapid in his proceedings as Becket. He signified to the Great Chapter of Pontigny, that if they continued to harbour

* Ep. Foliot, 436; ed. Giles, vi. 185.

his enemy, they must abide the consequences; and, that he should confiscate all the Cistercian property in his dominions. Becket knew, that Henry would be as good as his word, and he relieved his hosts, from the predicament in which they were thus placed, by removing from Pontigny to Sens; where he resided, under the protection of the King of France, during the remainder of his exile.

The history of that exile becomes now so complicated and uninteresting, that I shall not attempt to present the reader with a detailed account of a controversy, creditable to none of the parties, who were concerned in it, and needlessly prolonged, by the mutual hatred and ill conduct of the leaders.

We possess, in the works of Becket, Foliot, and John of Salisbury, a mass of correspondence, which throws light upon the manners and opinions of the age. The chief value of these letters consists in the facilities they afford us, for correcting the party statements of Becket's biographers; and in their revealing to us, the pretexts, if not the real motives, of the public men. The public men of the twelfth century were not what our public men, trained under our developed constitution, and under purer religious principles, have now become. But, from the correspondence before us, we must candidly admit, that they were not inferior to the political and religious characters, who took a prominent part in public affairs, during the reign of the first two Georges; or to some others, with whose avowed motives and objects we have lately been made acquainted, by the publication of their letters and journals.

The hagiographers and martyrologists, ancient and modern, are severe in their remarks upon the character and conduct of pope Alexander III. But the impartial historian will perhaps find less to blame in Alexander,

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than in the other actors, in this great controversy. While the angry passions and fiery temper of Henry and of Becket were continually hurrying them into conduct, injurious to the important interests, in Church and in State, which they respectively represented; the counsels of Alexander were directed, generally with decorum, and always with caution. He was not a magnanimous man; and, like Becket, he was a statesman rather than a divine, looking, also like Becket, at all things from an ecclesiastico-political, instead of a religious point of view. Though not a man of fervent piety, still like Becket, Alexander was a moral man. It is true, that Henry declared, at one time, that he had the pope and the cardinals in his purse; but although the venality of the Roman Curia is not to be denied, and although the necessities of a scanty treasury did, at certain periods, influence the policy of Alexander, he was, certainly, above all sordid motives of a mere personal nature. He was under deep obligations to Henry, who, the greatest of European sovereigns next to the Emperor, had maintained the cause of pope Alexander, in opposition to that of pope Victor IV., even when the French king was wavering in his allegiance; and yet he was aware, that Henry was quite capable of transferring his papal affections to pope Paschal, if Alexander took a decided part against him. No less a person than the Bishop of London, representing the English hierarchy, had, in respectful though significant terms, hinted the possibility of such a proceeding; and the envoys of the English king, at the Diet of Würzburg, had caused it to be supposed, throughout Europe, that the thing possible had become a probability.

While every motive, if not of gratitude yet of sound policy, rendered it necessary for Alexander to pacify Henry, he was urged continually to the adoption of extreme measures against him, not only by Becket but by

Louis VII.; and, at the same time, by the inconsiderate impetuosity of the English primate, his deep-laid political designs and interests were continually thwarted. Pope Alexander, in his relation to Becket, was in much the same position, as that of a prime minister, at the present time, who, pledged to the support of certain principles, is continually brought into difficulties by the indiscretions of some wrong-headed member of his party; whose support he cares not to lose, whose conduct he is bound to defend, and yet over whose acts and words he can exercise little control. Becket, while provoking his enemies to the verge of madness, drove his friends, not unfrequently, to the borders of despair,—and yet there was something about him, which placed his friends, whenever they approached him, entirely at his service and disposal.

These were the circumstances, under which Alexander III. was placed, when all parties, Henry and the bishops of the Church of England on the one side, and Becket on the other, appealed to him to mediate in their controversy.

Alexander's policy was to promote peace; for it is to be remembered that, although the same principles influenced both Alexander and Becket,—although both of them were endeavouring to assert the supremacy of the Church over the State,—they were each fighting a different battle, the one against the Emperor Frederick, the other against Henry. If the pope triumphed over the emperor, the subjugation of other princes and potentates would follow. But the impolicy was apparent, of forcing a great king to side with the emperor, by involving him prematurely in the contest.

What remains to be told of the history of Becket's exile, will be more clearly understood, if we arrange the facts round the four commissions, which Alexander insti-

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tuted with the view of effecting peace between Becket and Henry.

1. The first commission was that, which was intrusted to William and Otho, two cardinals, who came to Normandy, with the authority of legates *a latere*.

Their commission was announced to Becket, soon after his removal from Pontigny to Sens,—in a letter from pope Alexander himself, similar in style and purport to that, which has been already given. He mentions, that the object of the mission was to effect a reconciliation between the archbishop and the king. He proceeds to entreat the archbishop, to consider how much damage was done to his church by his absence, and the want of superintendence; to remember, that he could not expect to carry all things his own way; and he implored him, to sacrifice something for the sake of peace, provided it were consistent with his own honour and the credit of the Church.

We must briefly attend to some circumstances, which occurred between the excommunications at Vézelay and the mission of William and Otho. Alexander, having received, probably, an exaggerated account of the proceedings of the royal envoys at the Diet of Würzburg, found it necessary to alarm the king, by confirming the harsh proceedings of Becket. Meanwhile, Henry having become aware, that it was more easy for a king to change his pope, than to persuade a whole nation to follow his example and endorse his proceedings, had sent envoys to Alexander, to assure him that nothing had been really done to his detriment, and in short to renew his allegiance.

The remonstrance addressed by the bishops of the Church of England to Becket, was followed by an address to Alexander, in which they referred to the wisdom of Henry's policy. A policy, which had been disturbed by

the factious proceedings of Becket; by whom, the king was now threatened with excommunication, and the realm with an interdict.*

The commission was the result. The violence of Becket, who was then, on his own principles, to be, for a time suspended, may be seen from his letters, and will surprise those who peruse them. He complained especially, of the appointment of William of Pavia, who was a personal friend of the Bishop of London, and whom he denounced as a partisan of the king. When the cardinal wrote to him, in friendly terms, he repelled the offer of friendship, in a letter so violent, that John of Salisbury would not permit him to send it. He threatened to excommunicate the Bishop of London, for daring to complain of the suspension of the Bishop of Salisbury. "Remember," he said, "the fate of Ucalegon. He trembled, when his neighbour's house was on fire." He spoke of the king, in his letter to the pope, as a malignant tyrant. He reproached Alexander, and accused him of neglecting his duty. He evidently wrote under feelings, which he would have expressed more strongly, if he had not restrained himself, under some remaining sense of propriety. "But for me," he said, and said truly, "all authority of Rome would have ceased, in England. There had been no one, who had maintained the pope against kings and princes." In his letter to the cardinals, he upbraided the sacred college for the gross venality of its members.

His violence had this effect upon Alexander, that he modified the commission to the legates; who, instead of acting as judges, were directed to act merely as mediators. This measure excited the fiery wrath of the king, without appeasing that of Becket. The legates were then

* Giles, vi. 190; Bouquet, 265.

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permitted to suspend Becket, from issuing any excommunication or interdict, for a year after the conclusion of their mission. The account of this mission may be best given by presenting the reader with the authentic documents. The first is the report of the legates to the Pope.

"We had our first interview with the King of England at Caen. We delivered your Holiness's letter into the king's hands in due form, and they were read through and carefully examined before the council. It appeared, that they were less full than certain others, which he had before received from your Holiness on the same matter, and in some points at variance with them. On this the king showed very great displeasure, and said he had not the least doubt, that, since we left your Holiness, the archbishop had received letters exempting him from our jurisdiction; so that he was now under no obligation to answer before us. He affirmed, too, that what your Holiness had been informed respecting the ancient usages of England, was in a great measure false; and to this the bishops gave their testimony in our presence. Moreover, he offered, if it should appear, that in his time any fresh usages had been introduced into England, inconsistent with the Church's statutes, to revoke and annul them at your Holiness's pleasure.

"We therefore, on our part, together with the archbishops, bishops, and abbots of his dominions, unwilling to lose all prospect of peace, and in hope of inclining the king to it, used our utmost endeavours to effect an interview with the archbishop, and obtain his consent to undergo judgment. For this purpose we sent him our private clerks, with letters appointing a safe place of meeting, where we might confer together on the feast of St. Martin. He, however, pretending we know not what excuses, changed the day from the feast to the octave, a proceeding which the king took more bitterly than we could have imagined. And because the above-named archbishop, though we offered him a safe conduct, would on no account consent to meet us within the border of the King of England's territory, in our anxiety to defer to him, we attended a place of his own appointment, in the territory of the King of France;

that his affairs might not be impeded by any obstacle raised on our part.

"When the colloquy had been now commenced, our first effort was to persuade and exhort him, with all earnestness, to exhibit towards his lordship the king, by whom he had been loaded with so many favours, such humility of deportment as might furnish us with a ground for asking peace: to this, after conversing apart with his followers, he made answer, that he would humble himself before the king to our satisfaction, saving God's honour and the Church's liberty, and the dignity of his station, and the property of his churches, and likewise the justice of his own cause and of his followers. When he had made this enumeration, we pressed on him the necessity of descending to particulars; and, as he advanced nothing definite or particular, we proceeded to ask him whether, on the counts mentioned in your Holiness's letters, he was willing to submit to us as judges, as the king and bishops had already promised they would do. To this he replied at once, that, on this head, he had received no instructions from your Holiness; but that, if first of all full restitution was made to him and his, he would then proceed according as he should be instructed by the Apostolic See.

"Thus, finding that his words in no way tended either towards judicial proceedings, or yet to concord, and that he was determined on no account to enter on the cause, we returned from the colloquy, and laid the result of our inquiry before the king, suppressing as much as was fit, and modifying the rest. When we had made an end of speaking; the king and great men who were with him, forthwith maintained that he was now absolved, from the time that the archbishop refused judgment. At last, after much confusion, the archbishops, bishops, and abbots of the realm of England, and not a few of the clergy, inquired anxiously of us, whether by any special mandate, or by the tenor of our legatine commission, we had authority to compel the said archbishop to submit; and when they learned that we had no such power, fearing lest the same archbishop, in defiance of judicial order, should, as he had done on a former occasion, impose grievances on the great persons of the realm, since our presence was in that case an insufficient protection, they took counsel together, and with one consent appealed to your Holi-

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ness's hearing, fixing the winter festival of St. Martin for the term of the appeal; and in the meantime placing themselves and theirs under apostolical protection, and including the great persons of the realm, and the whole kingdom under the terms of the same. Finally, we ourselves seeing this matter to verge toward the great detriment of the Church, have, on your Holiness's authority and our own, prohibited the aforesaid archbishop, as well because it is forbidden in your Holiness's letters, as on account of the appeal, from attempting any grievance against the realm, its dignitaries, or its churches. May it be your Holiness's business to provide lest this matter redound to the heavy loss of the Church, as those fear who most wish its welfare." *

The next document is, the address of the bishops of the Church of England, who, taking the whole business of the appeal upon themselves, wrote in their own name, and at the same time in behalf of the king and realm.

"When it was ascertained from the confession of the legates themselves, that to decide the cause, on account of which they had come, was altogether beyond their commission; and that the concessions which your Holiness had made and confirmed in writing, to our lord the king, no longer held good, the burst of his indignation was indescribable; nor were our joint entreaties able for a long time to pacify him. Thus has a sad cloud obscured all the joy which your Holiness's legates had caused by their arrival.

"The king's wrath was still further inflamed by the speeches of his nobles, who urged that no resource was now left for himself and his realm against the Archbishop of Canterbury; since the appeal had already expired, and the legates were unable to give him any assistance. The excitement which prevails, on this ground, among the princes of the realm is such, that unless your Holiness's wisdom can devise some remedy, you will soon have to grieve over a sad rent in the garment of Christ: for the whole energies of his lordship of Canterbury are intent on binding the king with an anathema, and his realm with an interdict.

* Gilb. Fol. vi. 142.

"The power which he has received, not for the destruction of the Church, but for its edification, is so exercised by him, as to excite the king's subjects to hate their lord and his nobles, whose property he destines for spoliation, their necks for the sword, or their bodies for exile.

"In his numberless letters, he imposes on others heavy burdens, which himself, when present, did not touch with his little finger, much less support on his shoulder. Ourselves he invites to death and bloodshed, while, for his own part, he fled when no man threatened; and is careful over his blood—yea, the smallest drop of it. He preaches forth the liberty of the Church, of which his own intrusion into the see of Canterbury was a notorious violation. The usages of the realm he makes the theme of his raillery, and represents them in his letters to your Holiness, far other than they are. The authority of the sacred canons he sets at nought, excommunicating after appeal, and suspending without commonition and citation. Things which are neither known nor yet even true, he asserts to be notorious. And everything else in like manner, with his whole might he turns upside down.

"Besides all this, 40,000 marks, or more, as is asserted, were entrusted to his keeping by the king, which in defiance of justice, he now refuses to pay back: thus denying to his lord and master, what even a heathen or publican would have a right to claim of him.

"Wherefore to relieve ourselves from the aforesaid grievances, and lest, through our silence and indiscreet connivance, anything should be allowed to happen which might alienate our lord the king from your Holiness, and likewise his realm and people, we hereby appeal to your Holiness against the judgments of his lordship of Canterbury, which we suspect, and against all his mandates, importing any grievances either to his lordship the king, or his realm, or our own persons, or the churches and parishes entrusted to us; committing ourselves in all things to your Holiness's wisdom, and placing ourselves under your protection. For the term of our appeal, we have fixed the day of the blessed St. Martin." *

2. A second commission was appointed, consisting of

* Gilb. Fol. vi. 194.

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Simon, Prior of Mont-Dieu; Engelbert, Prior of Val St. Pierre; and Bernard de Corilo, a monk of Grammont. Their instructions are dated May 25, 1168.

Henry was now heartily sick of the controversy, and was not sufficiently a patriot, to sacrifice his peace and comfort, for his country's good. He, who, a little before, had declared himself ready to turn Mahometan, rather than submit to Becket, was willing, in his present impatience, to make any concessions for the sake of peace; to yield the rights of his crown,— the independence and real liberty of his Church. Becket, on the contrary, remained firm to his principle, and was determined that, in his person, the ecclesiastical should triumph over the secular power in England. This he called the liberty of the Church. He knew himself to be supported by all, except the high aristocracy, whether in Church or in State, both in England and in France. Hearing, that Henry was showing a desire to retire from the contest, Becket was prepared to make some concession, if he could do so without sacrifice of his principle; but what that concession should be he had not yet decided. It had been proposed, by William of Pavia, who probably sounded him, at the suggestion of the king and the pope, that he should accept a translation to some other see. But although Becket, at one time, offered to submit even to deposition, yet when the proposal came, in earnest, before him, he declared in a letter addressed to his agents Alexander and John: "I would have our lord the pope and our other friends to know, and I desire you to impress it firmly and constantly on their minds, that I would rather die, as is known to the searcher of hearts, than be torn away alive from the Church of Canterbury.

"All attempts to persuade me are vain. Such is the settled purpose of our mind: you may add that if there were no other cause, than the spoliation of our church and of other churches in the land, by the hand of that man" (so

he designates the king) "I would rather, God knows, submit to any kind of death, than that I should myself live in dishonour, or that he should escape without receiving from me the punishment which, unless he repent, will be his due."

Becket was, at this time, surrounded by followers, who having nearly exhausted the charity of their friends upon the continent, were anxious to return home; and were exhorting the archbishop, at any price, to accept the king's offer, of reconciliation. Some interviews had been granted them by the king, with a view, to effect the object of their return, consistently with their duty to the archbishop.

The new envoys of the pope availed themselves of the opportunity, afforded by a conference held on political affairs between the kings of England and France, to effect an interview between Henry and Becket. The two kings met, on the feast of the Epiphany, 1169, on the plains of Montmirail, near Chartres. The envoys were to act as mediators. Nothing could be more conciliatory than the temper of Henry. With Becket there was more difficulty. But as Herbert of Bosham, who was present, informs us, the advice of all parties was, that the archbishop should submit the whole question to the king's mercy, and place himself, unconditionally, in his hands. Henry felt generously, and wished to have the credit for generosity of conduct. All that he required was, that bygones should be regarded as bygones, that all topics of past controversy should be eschewed, and, that having parted as friends, with an understanding, that there should be no renewal of former subjects of dispute, the archbishop should return to his province and commence his episcopal career afresh. Becket said he would make the submission required, "saving God's honour." In other words, he refused to meet the king, on his own terms, of not reviving past differences. The adoption of the words "saving God's

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honour" had inflamed the king's anger in England, as he interpreted them, to imply a disregard of God's honour on his own part. All that the archbishop offered to do, was to employ other words, containing the same meaning. The friends of the archbishop were unanimous, (with the single exception of Herbert of Bosham, himself, who only ventured to whisper his dissent,) in urging him, to submit the whole question to the will and pleasure of the king, unreservedly, — as the king, always susceptible of generous impulses, wished to do the thing graciously. So strongly was the archbishop urged upon the subject, that, at length, he yielded an unwilling consent to meet him on equal terms. This being signified to the king, the king was prepared to concede to him a cordial reception. They met. Becket threw himself at the king's feet. Henry immediately caught him by the hand and bade him rise. The archbishop standing upright, in the presence of the two kings — entreated Henry to have pity on the Church of England; and, with that affectation of humility, which some persons admire, and which is to others offensive as hardly consistent with sincerity, accused himself as a sinner, and ascribed to his own demerits, all the afflictions she had suffered. "On the whole subject, therefore, which lies between us," he concluded, "my lord the king, I throw myself on your mercy, and on your pleasure, here in the presence of our lord the king of France, and of the archbishops, princes, and others who stand round us."

A thrill of joy ran through the assembly, it almost oppresses us as we read the generous assertion. There was just that pause, which is required to gain full breath, for a rapturous shout of joy, when all was dashed to the ground. During that pause, Becket added, "Saving the honour of my God."

No really Christian man believes that these words were an inspiration of the Holy Spirit. No one will wonder,

that such a man as Henry, should break out into one of his ungovernable fits of anger. "My lord archbishop," said Becket's friend, Louis of France: "do you seek to be more than a saint?" The pope's commissioners, the princes, the nobles, all entreated the archbishop to withdraw the obnoxious words, and even called him traitor. Becket's own partisans were indignant at the pride and self-will which had, in a moment, dashed all their hopes to the ground. The king of France had left the assembly, without saluting the archbishop; and, although Becket travelled, for three days, in the king's train, no communication took place between them. The usual allowance of provisions was withheld; and the discontented followers of Becket rode gloomily, apart from their master.

Becket himself was supported by the stimulant of enthusiasm. If not a martyr, he was already a confessor. As such, he was met by the populace as he approached the town of Sens. He was received with loud acclamations. He enjoyed an ovation. The shout was raised for the man, "who defied two kings for the honour of his God."

3. On the 10th March, 1169, the third commission was appointed—that of Gratian and Vivian. They were evidently selected, under the supposition, that their appointment would be satisfactory to Becket and bring him to reason. Alexander had, hitherto, sent cardinals, as his legates,—men of the world and statesmen. He now adopted another plan. He sent Gratian, who, though a subdeacon in the Church, was only nominally an ecclesiastic, being chiefly celebrated, as a man learned in the canon law, of which the forged decretals had become a component part. He was associated with Vivian, a man of like principles, but of a more conciliatory character. The graciousness of Gratian was spoken of by the punsters of

* Herbert, vii. 266; Garnier, 109.

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the archbishop's court, who also declared that he was more vivacious than Vivian. But, however agreeable he may have been, to the parties, with whom he agreed, Gratian was a narrow-minded professional man, who did not feel justified in travelling a step beyond his brief. His sympathies were entirely with Becket, and perhaps one of the reasons of his appointment was, that Becket might have a lawyer at hand, able to advise him, how far concessions might be made, without incurring legal danger or a violation of principle.

They found the king, in a thoroughly ill-conditioned state of mind. He had made the effort, to do what he thought a meritorious and generous action, and, at the moment of performing it, he had been insulted by the very person, whom he was prepared to pardon and to honour. He was thoroughly disgusted; and other things had occurred to provoke him.

Notwithstanding the archbishop's unjustifiable conduct at Montmirail, Becket seemed to have retired, after a momentary depression, only to triumph still further over the king. The populace was always with him. The two kings had been again at variance, and Louis had, on that account, once more extended his protection and friendship to Becket. Bernard of Grammont had also repented of the course he had adopted at Montmirail, and had persuaded his colleague, to forward to the king, before they retired into Italy, a threatening letter. This letter pope Alexander had placed in their hands, to be used at their discretion, in the event of the king's refusing to consent to reasonable conditions. The king had been so clearly in the right, that their act, in forwarding the letter, was both unjustifiable and impolitic. Their object must have been to court popularity.

On the withdrawal of the legates, the archbishop felt himself at liberty to act. He was again fulminating his

excommunications, to the right hand and to the left. On Palm Sunday 1169, at Clairvaux, he pronounced a solemn excommunication against the Bishops of London and Salisbury, Earl Hugh, Ranulf de Broc, Thomas Fitz-Bernard, the clerk Robert de Broc, Hugh de St. Clair, the clerk Letard of Northflete, Nigel of Sackville, and Richard a clerk, the chief friends and counsellors of the king.

Henry, though deeply annoyed, pretended to laugh at the proceedings. He had become reckless. Let the Church do her worst, what cared he? He, who could take a castle, could surely hang a priest. According to his mood, he would, at one time, concede everything in carelessness, and then, when provoked, recall his concessions, utterly regardless of his word. Now he "cared not an egg" for their excommunications, and soon after he was requesting the legates to absolve his friends from the archbishop's excommunication; and to go into England, that they might do the same, in regard to the excommunicates who were there,

After various conferences, however, all parties had nearly come to terms with the new envoys from Rome. Mutual concessions had been made, — when, in the arrangements of terms, the old differences broke out afresh. Henry insisted, that the words should be inserted, "saving the honour of my crown;" and Becket, with the envoys, refused their consent, unless a similar reservation was made for "the dignity of the Church." Neither party would yield, and Gratian, in wrath, set out for Italy, inveighing against the untruthfulness of the king. Gratian had insulted the king, in one of the early conferences. Henry, being in one of his rages, inveighed gainst the pope, and swore saying, "By God's eyes, I will take another way." Gratian had the impertinence to say calmly: "Do not threaten, my lord, for we are of a court, which is accustomed to give commands to emperors and kings." It was, doubtless,

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this insolence which determined Henry, to insist upon the clause, "saving the honour of my crown;" for, as soon as Gratian had departed, he expressed to Vivian his regret at what had happened, and wished to have the negotiations reopened.

Vivian was accused of being influenced by the king's gold. If it were so, the offer of a bribe proves, that Henry was in earnest, in desiring a reconciliation with Becket, and it only further corroborates the statement already made, that his anger was to be attributed to the provocations offered by Gratian. But, whether bribed or not, Vivian was determined, on his own responsibility, to exceed his powers, in order to effect the object, for which he had been sent into Normandy.

The king, in one of those strange vagaries, so common in that age, took it into his head to make a visit to the Shrine of St. Denys, the apostle of France; and, consequently, he started for Montmartre in the neighbourhood of Paris. Vivian, immediately, wrote to the archbishop, expecting, in the innocence of his heart, to impart pleasure, by holding out a new prospect of reconciliation and peace. He received anything but thanks, for his pains. The following is Vivian's letter:

"Blessed be God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who is ever ready, contrary to the expectation of many, to join, in the indissoluble bond of charity, what has been severed by the counsels of the wicked. We went back, as we were recalled, into the king's presence, where, by Divine grace, we witnessed nothing in which the honour of God and of His Church was violated. If, then, you have already received the messenger of the most Christian king and of his lordship of Rouen, as we fully believe you have, we rejoice thereat. For things had been arranged to that very end. And if Master John of Salisbury, your clerk, and our dear friend, has returned to you, as we trust he has, since he has received the message, we have reason to be thankful. In any case, however, reverend father, we entreat you, and advise you in the name of our lord

the pope, to present yourself, without any hesitation, at the conference, which is about to take place between the kings at St. Denys, on the Sunday after the feast of St. Martin's. For there, if it please God, you will be greeted with the hymn 'Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace; good will towards men!' Your friend, the chamberlain, priest of the great cardinal William, salutes you as he would his own lord and master; he is our associate in our labours and represents his master: he has in his custody certain secrets of the king, which tend in every way to your exaltation. There is another reason, which we will explain when we see you, why you should come to this interview, for you will find the king and his sons all ready to be at your disposal. We are going as fast as possible to his serene highness the French king, and, at the same time, wish to see you at the conference. We salute you and all, who are with you in exile; and we hope, that our dear friend and companion, Master Long, may act prudently in this business, as men of his station generally do."*

To this letter the following was the ill-tempered reply:

"The Archbishop of Canterbury to Master Vivian.

"As regards the legation, which you have received, and the business committed to your charge. I could wish that no part of it had been forgotten, in consequence of your visit to the English king, and that the authority of him who sent you had not suffered, — that you had done nothing to his disparagement or mine. For, so far as your duty extended in this matter, when you have once discharged the commission entrusted to you, the fixing of a certain time for the accomplishment of your embassy ought to have taught sufficient caution to a man like you, well acquainted with the laws. Take care, therefore, that your knowledge is guided by prudence, and that you walk prudently, lest you become a joke and a laughing-stock to the nobles. If, however, on your own authority, you have undertaken a new legation, let him who is concerned submit to it; the weight of it should fall upon the shoulders of him who will benefit by it. I owe no respect to its jurisdiction. As to the co-operation, which you name, of a certain great cardinal's chamberlain, that priest

* Becket, opp. iv. 215.

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I mean bearing his master's authority, I am as much surprised at the presumption of the accomplice, as I am at the eagerness of his principal. If any one runs a risk thereby, let him have a care how he may best avoid the evil consequences of such presumption. But I think, I have now said enough to a wise man.

"We thank you, however, for the zeal, which you have shown to obtain peace for us and ours, and we wish your prudence had equalled your zeal. We greatly fear, that your time and labour may be thrown away, in consequence of the subtleties and circumlocutions which are used towards you, and so all your zeal will have been misspent. We cannot understand from your instructions, why you should so strongly urge us to go to the conference, which is to be held next Sunday at St. Denys, and we wonder, why you have been so easy in suffering us to be summoned. However, out of respect to the holy Roman Church and from regard for you, we will meet you, God willing, at Corbeil Castle, on Friday, to hear from your own mouth what fruit we are likely to gain from all your labours and exertions, and what honour and credit are likely to accrue from them to yourself.

"Farewell! and may God protect you from the king's snares, which hardly any one, of all that have had any dealings with him, has been able to escape." *

The archbishop could not decline the meeting, but he attended in no very gracious mood. Becket, with his retinue, arrived at Montmartre, between Paris and St. Denys. At the foot of the hill, it was announced to him that the kings had already arrived, and were awaiting the coming of the archbishop. He was asked to hasten his movements, as it was hardly decorous, that the kings should be kept waiting — he quietly remarked, that wait they must, as it was befitting a priest, that he should travel with gravity and decorum.

Vivian seems to have acted, with judgment and discretion. Having enlisted, in the cause of peace, the French king with his nobles and bishops, he, with them, communicated first with Henry and then with Becket; passing

* Becket, opp. iii. 357.

backwards and forwards from one to the other. At last, after much discussion and argument, partly in public, and partly in private, all difficulties seemed to be smoothed down, and every preliminary adjusted. All the constitutions objected to, were, though not expressly yet virtually, withdrawn; and full effect was given to the claims of the Church, though nothing was expressly stipulated by either party. It was agreed, on all hands, that specifications might impede the proceedings. As there was now no wish shown, on the part of the king, to subject the archbishop to his will in ecclesiastical matters, the phrase was suppressed, which had been the cause of difficulty, and no mention was made "saving the honour of God." The only stipulation made by the king was, that the archbishop should immediately return to England, from which he denied that he had ever expelled him. The archbishop was to pledge himself, not, under a plea of the Church, to usurp what belonged to the king; and the king was to give a similar pledge, that he would not, under plea of royal prerogative, claim any privilege that belonged to the Church.

Becket here carried all his points: admitting himself, in one sense, to be the vassal of the king, he was, at the same time, as an ecclesiastical suzerain, to hold the king in vassalage. But he determined to push his advantage further. He and his followers had been deprived of their property, for nearly seven years,— and now a demand was made for entire restitution. He valued the amount of money, of which he and his clerks had been deprived, at 30,000 marks. The king of France and the French nobles were naturally disgusted at this proceeding, and remonstrated with Becket, upon the course he was pursuing. They pointed out, how discreditable it was, to reduce the controversy to a mere question of compensation, and to permit money to stand in the way of a peace,

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—so necessary for both Church and State. They reminded him, that a righteous pastor would not, for the sake of a pecuniary consideration, persist, when every other impediment was removed, in opposing a reconciliation, and in separating himself any longer from his Church: he ought rather, said the French king and his nobles, in continuation of their wise and Christian advice, to embrace the Church as his spouse, in the two arms of his love, and do his duty to her, whatever her condition might be.

Nevertheless, finding Becket unpersuaded and immovable, they waited upon the king and laid the subject before him. The king took the proposal calmly, and stated that, when the exact amount had been ascertained by his procurators, he would make restitution of all that his ministers should advise him to be due: and being informed, that the archbishop had raised a question, not only about movables but also about fixtures, the king said, he would speak about them, also, in good time.

Everything seemed now to have been brought to a satisfactory conclusion. The archbishop approached the king, the first to offer the kiss of peace. But, as if for the purpose of prolonging or renewing the quarrel, he used the form which he knew to be most offensive to the king: "I kiss you to the honour of God."

The conference was at an end. The king sprang to his horse, and was soon out of sight; cursing the archbishop, as he only could curse, and invoking maledictions on his own head, if ever he should give the osculum pacis to the traitor Thomas.*

* Wendover, compared with Herbert of Bosham, vii. 289, and Becket's letter, Becket, opp. iii. 255. The osculum pacis was also an osculum fidei et securitatis. It was the final confirmation of an agreement. The peace was then "firmata." It was a pledge of security. It was an offence especially heinous to kill any one after it had been offered. Ducange, sub voce. It is not necessary to suppose that when, hereafter,

4. In January 1170, pope Alexander directed a new commission to be issued to Rotrou archbishop of Rouen, and to Bernard Bishop of Nevers.

A sound judgment was displayed, in the selection of these commissioners. According to the admission of John of Salisbury, the Archbishop of Rouen was a most firm pillar of the Church *; and the Bishop of Nevers, at the termination of the embassy of Gratian and Vivian, wrote to the Pope a letter†, which shows him to have been a man of moderation and good sense. In their principles they agreed, or nearly so, with Becket; they were prepared to contend, for what were called the liberties of the Church, but they could not approve of the violence, with which those principles were maintained by Becket, or of the arrogance on his part, which appeared to be the real impediment to the peace. Becket and his party were, in consequence, vehement in their strictures upon the appointment, but were, in some measure, satisfied, by the nomination of a thoroughgoing party man, William of Sens, to act as the amicus curiæ.

The commissioners acted with moderation, tact, and sound judgment. They knew that, so far as the king was concerned, when his rage, occasioned by the late failures, had subsided, Henry would see, as a politician,

Henry refused the osculum pacis to Becket, he had any design against his life; but he anticipated the possibility of his being obliged, when he had him in his power, to imprison and to coerce him. Henry was punctilious in the observance of feudal obligations, and although he would violate them on a great emergency, it was against his inclination to do so. He was a kind-hearted man, when not opposed or thwarted, and would have received Becket again into favour,—but he would not bind himself, and even alluded significantly to the imprisonment of Odo by the Conqueror. On the other hand, we see from this statement, why Becket was unwilling to return without the kiss, and why the King of France advised him not to return to England until he had received it.

* John Salis. i. 279. † Gilb. Fol. ep. 455.

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the absolute necessity of making even greater concessions than heretofore, for the purpose of reconciliation with Becket and of peace with the Roman court.

The pestilence, which had fought for Alexander in Italy, and defeated the victorious army of Frederick, had placed the pope in a condition, in which he could defy the threats of Henry; whose threats were remembered, long after the ungrateful cardinals had forgotten his largesses. Henry was well aware, that he was an object of envy, and, in consequence, of political hostility to most of the powers on the continent. He was, nominally, only a vassal of the King of France, yet he commanded the whole coast from Picardy to the Pyrenees, and his domains, therefore, were more extensive than those of his suzerain, while, as the sovereign of England, he refused to regard the other vassals of the French crown, as his equals. The cause of Becket had always been popular, out of England. The origin of the quarrel was, either unknown or forgotten, in foreign parts. Nothing was known or remembered of the reasonable design of the king, to bring the majesty of the law to bear upon all his subjects, whether clerical or lay. Henry was regarded simply, as a persecutor, who, in order that he might usurp all ecclesiastical power, had sent the primate of his Church into exile. In England, on the contrary, while the populace had always been with Becket, regarded as the champion of liberty, the opinion of the upper classes, though divided, had generally been on the king's side; and the bishops of the Church of England, had, for the most part, been loyal. But, even in England, a reaction had now commenced. The popularity of Becket on the continent, and his character for sanctity, made the more religious, among the English, anxious to claim him as their own; and, an interdict having been threatened more than once, the bishops themselves were wavering in their allegiance. Their great and good,

though not faultless leader, Foliot, Bishop of London, had been provoked into a false step, and had given Becket an advantage, which the friends of the archbishop were not slow to perceive and understand. When the archbishop excommunicated him, the Bishop of London, not contented with lodging an appeal against the sentence, exposed himself to ridicule, by asserting the independence of his see, and claiming metropolitan jurisdiction for London. Henry was aware, that, among the instructions given to the new commissioners, if they did not succeed in bringing the king to terms, they were to lay his kingdom under an interdict, the form of which was already prepared.

Henry was not inactive. He prepared against the worst. He had despatched Ridel, the archdeacon of Canterbury, whom Becket called his arch-devil, with a royal proclamation, denouncing the severest penalties on all, who should be guilty of introducing any papal or archiepiscopal letters into England, and requiring the sheriffs to administer an oath to all freemen, throughout the land, that they would obey the royal mandate and abjure obedience to Thomas Archbishop of Canterbury. He also determined to carry into effect, a measure, which he had contemplated long before. He caused the young Prince Henry, then about fifteen or sixteen years of age, to be crowned by the Archbishop of York : — a measure, which became a fresh cause of difference between him and Becket, as it was a manifest invasion of the rights of the province of Canterbury.*

* Whether the Archbishop of York acted with the concurrence of the pope or in defiance of papal authority is doubtful. He is said to have produced a papal brief authorising him to perform the ceremony. Dr. Lingard regards it as a forgery, but Dean Milman can find no contemporary assertion of its spuriousness. Milman, iii. 511. There was probably some collusion between Henry and the commissioners on the subject.

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The very precautions show, how important the crisis was, in the opinion of the king. But what made him more pliable, than he had ever been before, was, that he had determined, to change his line of policy. Becket, in France, surrounded by sympathisers, was, he began to be aware, a much more formidable person, than he would be in England, where he still had many enemies, and where the king might, even in his own house, make him a prisoner. It is unknown, who first suggested this idea to the king, but there can be no doubt that it was this, which rendered the task of the commissioners easy, when Henry, soon after the coronation of his son, in June, 1170, returned to his Norman domains. When once he had determined on his line of conduct, he was not scrupulous, as to the course he should pursue to accomplish his wishes.

It was not with the king, but with the archbishop, that the commissioners still found the difficulty. Alexander, acting, with a sincere view of promoting peace, and not as a mere partisan of Becket, however much he desired to conciliate him, had sanctioned the absolution of persons, whom Becket had excommunicated, and the Archbishop of Rouen had absolved even the Bishop of London, who, as the leader of the independent suffragans, was regarded by Becket, as little better, to use his own expression, "than a limb of Satan." Becket complained in a letter, in which he accused the Archbishop of Rouen of having exceeded his commission, that, although the absolution was, even on his own showing, to be kept secret, it was already the talk in the streets, and it was proclaimed everywhere, by the Bishop of London him-

* "Dictum fuit aliquem dixisse vel scripsisse Regi Anglorum de Archiepiscopo, Ut quid tenetur exclusus? melius tenebitur inclusus quam exclusus? Satisque dictum fuit intelligenti. Unde et rex ad colloquium de pace festinavit, et ibi omnia prius negata, quæ ab eo petebantur concessit."—*Fitz-Steph.* i. 272, ed. Giles.

self; who, Becket concludes with saying, "has actually celebrated divine service in our own city, in our own cathedral church." In writing to Cardinal Albert, he complains of letters from the pope,

"commanding, that Satan should be set free to the destruction of the Church, and so, by an Apostolic mandate, the Bishops of London and Salisbury, one of whom is known to have been the fomenter of the schism, and the contriver of all this wickedness from the beginning, and to have inveigled the Bishop of Salisbury and others into the crime of disobedience, have been absolved from excommunication. I know not how it is; but at your court Barabbas is always let go free, and Christ is crucified. Our proscription and the sufferings of the Church have now lasted nearly six years. The innocent, poor and exiled, are condemned before you, and for no other cause, I say conscientiously, than because they are Christ's poor and helpless ones, and would not recede from God's righteousness: whilst, on the other hand, the sacrilegious, murderers and robbers, are acquitted however impenitent, though I say on Christ's own authority, that St. Peter himself, sitting on the tribunal, would have no power to acquit them."

He concludes this letter thus:—

"If all the cardinals rise up against us, and arm not only the English king, but all the world to our destruction, I will never, with God's blessing, either in life or in death, withdraw from my fidelity to the Church. I commit my cause for the future to God, for whom I am suffering exile and proscription. May He heal my sorrows as He deems best for me. I have no further occasion for troubling the Roman Court, I will leave that for those who prevail in their evil deeds, who triumph over righteousness, lead innocence captive, and return victorious to the confusion of the Church. Would to God that looking to Rome had not killed so many of my fellow exiles! Who will in future resist the king, whom the Roman Church has inspired by so many triumphs, and armed with a pernicious precedent that will have due effect upon posterity? God bless your Holiness, and may you think of me in your prayers to the Lord." *

* Becket, opp. iii. 95.

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Becket's pen seems to have been almost as ungovernable as his tongue. To the last, even filthy expressions would escape from his lips; and the following is strong language to write with respect to one of his suffragans. The letter is addressed to his agents, at the court of Rome, Alexander and John.

"Be zealous in attending to our business, and use continued and unflinching diligence to counteract our adversaries, especially that spurious offspring of fornication, and enemy of the peace of the Church, that son of a priest, Reginald of Salisbury, who is everywhere defaming our character to the utmost of his power, saying that we have acted treacherously, and that we promised him we would not in any way aggrieve his father. We would no more make such a promise to him than to a dog. He says also that if our lord the pope was to die, he would get our name blotted out of the book of life, for he boasts that the court may be bribed to grant him what he likes." *

His anger was still further increased, when he heard of the coronation of Prince Henry, by the Archbishop of York.

The pope was evidently alarmed, at the violence of Becket's threats, backed as he was by public opinion and by the religious world. He, therefore, pacified him by lodging letters in his hands, authorising an interdict to be published and put in force by Becket, if the king refused to submit to terms. It was a strange proceeding, for it would appear, that even the commissioners were not aware of the fact, until it had been notified to them and to the king, by Becket himself.

The Archbishop of Sens now acted as a judicious adviser and friend. At Freteval, between Chartres and Tours, there was to be another meeting, between the kings of England and France. The Archbishop of Sens persuaded Becket to be in the neighbourhood; and on

* Becket, opp. iii. 226.

the 22nd of July, 1170, the two enemies met. The king yielded everything. He did not, indeed, offer to give Becket a kiss, but neither did Becket offer his cheek for the salute.

The king and the primate rode apart, and they conversed with all their former familiarity. Henry spoke of taking the cross, and of leaving his son under the archbishop's care. The archbishop replied, that he was not inclined to undertake a secular office, but if the king would trust his son and kingdom to Hugh de Beauchamp he himself would aid with his advice.* They touched on dangerous ground. The archbishop complained of the invasion of the rights of the primacy, in the coronation of the king's son. Henry alleged the state of the kingdom, and the consequent necessity of the measure. Becket tried the king to the utmost: he inquired, whether, without offence, he might inflict ecclesiastical punishment on the Archbishop of York and on his own suffragans, for the wrong they had done him. When the king assented, Becket, at length, was moved. He jumped from his horse and threw himself at the king's feet: and Henry, not to be outdone in courtesy, immediately dismounted, and held the archbishop's stirrup, while he regained the saddle.

The wearied clerics and courtiers, the ministers of Church and State, careful not to commit themselves on either side, until the will of their respective leaders should be known, looked on and marvelled. When the reconciliation was known to be complete, it was proposed, that the king should give Becket the kiss of peace. Henry expressed himself willing to kiss the archbishop, a hundred times, on mouth, hands and feet; but desired, for the sake of his honour, that this should not be demanded, until Becket was in England, where it might be given by the young king.

* Garnier, 115.

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They met, several times after this, but not with the same cordiality. Becket complained, that the king did not fulfil his promises; and in truth the king had promised more, than he was able to perform. He had desired his son, then administering the government of England, to restore their property to the exiles, and to put everything in the same condition, in which it had been three months before the exile; but, when Becket sent his agents to England, they found, that some of the sequestrators, men not to be dispossessed, except by force, refused obedience to the royal mandate; and that others, before resigning the estates, had carried off the stock from the dilapidated farms.

Henry's temper was tried, when messengers from Becket complained of these things; and he, on his side, reminded Becket, that, by delaying his return to England, he had not himself fulfilled the conditions of their compact. The archbishop had returned to the monastery of St. Columba at Sens, and made preparations for his departure. But, with his notion of archiepiscopal dignity, and with his limited resources, a considerable time was consumed in making ready his outfit. While his servants were despatched to England, to prepare his palace, his manor houses, and castles, he was making his purchases in France. We learn, incidentally, that he was particular in his choice of French wines, of which he purchased a large supply.* It was with a heavy heart, that he bade farewell to a country, where, beyond the pale of the English court, he found, in almost every one, a friend and partisan. It was with sad misgivings, that he looked forward to a residence in a land, where, although he had many friends, he knew that he should be surrounded by enemies, some of them godless ruffians.

His last meeting with Henry took place at Chaumont,

* Becket, opp. i. 277.

near Blois. Henry's heart warmed, once more, towards his old friend. There is something, which is touching, in the last words he ever addressed to Becket: "Why is it that you will not do as I wish? I would put every thing into your hands."

We have the authority of Becket himself for this offer, on the part of Henry, to renew their former relations of friendship: the archbishop's comment, when he mentioned the circumstance to Herbert of Bosham, has not a pleasant sound: "I bethought me of Satan's speech to our Lord, all these things will I give thee, if thou wilt fall down and worship me."

Becket could quote Scripture. It would have been well for himself and for his church, if he could have brought his mind to meditate on Him, "who, when He was reviled, reviled not again; when He suffered, he threatened not, but committed Himself to Him that judgeth righteously:" —it would have been well, if he had taken, for the sermon he intended to preach at the approaching Christmas: "Blessed are the peacemakers: for they shall be called the children of God."

When, after four months' delay, much to the annoyance of the king, — he arrived at Whitsand, external nature suggested thoughts of peace; the sea was calm, the sky was clear, the distant cliffs of England presented a beautiful object to the eye. As for his position, he had carried all his points. A proud king had succumbed before him; the Constitutions of Clarendon were virtually suspended; he was regarded as a confessor on the continent; the people of England were impatient to give him a hearty welcome. But there were those, who still stood opposed to his high pretensions; and his proud wrath against them could not, even for a moment, be suspended.

He resented deeply the invasion of his office, by the Archbishop of York, in the coronation of Prince Henry;

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and he would not forgive the Bishops of London and Salisbury. They were made acquainted with the king's promised permission to Becket, that he might call them to account: they also knew that he carried with him papal letters for their suspension. Becket received intimation, now when he was about to embark for England, that the three prelates were prepared to act on the defensive. It was contrary to the customs of the country, —the common law of the land,—for any one to introduce letters of suspension or excommunication from the pope, except by the royal licence. The bishops, having assembled at Canterbury, directed, that the coast should be watched, in order that the archbishop might, on his landing, be searched, and that any illegal documents might be taken from him. They committed the execution of this commission to Becket's bitter enemy, Ranulf de Broc, supported by a party of soldiers. The prelates themselves determined to proceed, at once, to Normandy, to claim the protection of the king.

Becket suffered his anger to oversway his judgment. He was determined not to be thwarted, either by the policy of the prelates, or by the restraints of those laws, which he had promised to respect. By some means or other, the letters of suspension and excommunication were publicly delivered to the bishops, in spite of all the precautions they had adopted; and there can be no doubt that this precipitate and unfortunate measure was the immediate occasion of the catastrophe which followed.* The prelates might truly say, as they did say, in the remonstrance they addressed to him, that, instead of coming in a spirit of peace, he was approaching his province, with fire and flame, trampling his brother bishops under his feet and making their necks his footstool, condemning

* Lingard, ii. 237.

them, uncited, unheard, unjudged." Becket's reply was laconic—"There is no peace, except to men of good will."*

There were many in England, who looked forward with alarm to his return. The counsellors of the young king regarded him as a demagogue. The tenants, under the sequestrators of the archiepiscopal property, knew not what measures he might not adopt, not only to turn them out from their houses, but to cause them to refund the rents, which they had purchased of the crown. The upper clergy looked upon him as a tyrant. The very monks of his cathedral had been in controversy with him, and did not account him their friend. There were high-born ruffians, like the De Brocs, who felt that, if, in some chance fray or personal dispute, they were to rid the country of a firebrand, they would not incur a very heavy penalty from the king or his barons.

Becket was warned of his danger. But he had in him the elements of a hero, even if he lacked some of those Christian graces, which would have made him in reality, what, for three centuries, he was supposed to be. The thought of danger inspired him with courage. He declared, that, after six years' absence from his see, he was determined to return to his post, though limb were torn from limb; and he enjoined his attendants, happen what might, dead or alive, to carry him to Canterbury. He took the precaution however of avoiding Dover, where it was reported that his enemies were assembled in considerable force; and the vessel was steered for Sandwich, a port of the Church of Canterbury, where the inhabitants were his lieges.

IV. Nevertheless, it must have been with feelings of some anxiety that, after a prosperous voyage, on the 1st

* Fitz-Steph. 281, 283.

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of December, 1170, Thomas the archbishop, looked upon the nearing shores of his native land. Standing on the deck of the good ship, which bore him proudly from that foreign land, so long the hospitable and friendly home of the admired exile, he saw waiting to receive him, the sheriff of Kent. As he distinguished the sheriff, Gervas de Cornhill, attended by Reginald de Warrenne and Ranulf de Broc, he knew, that the sheriff was there, with no friendly purpose. But, although these great men were attended by a considerable force, they were soon aware, that it would be impossible to resist the popular feeling. When the Canterbury cross was seen, towering above the prow of the ship, as it approached the harbour, all the town was at the water's edge. Men were seen rushing, through the waves, to be the first to receive the blessing of their spiritual father, at length restored to his Church. Others prostrated themselves on the wayside or knelt, as he passed, and the one cry of gratulation, which fell on the ear of Becket, was, "Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord!"

The next day, as the archbishop was borne to Canterbury, the wave of enthusiasm exceeded in force and swelled his triumph. Each village poured forth its population, as he passed. "Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord!" was still the one loud shout of grateful piety and enthusiastic patriotism; for feelings of piety and of patriotism, even if mistaken in their present object, stirred the souls of the united multitude.

As the archbishop drew nigh the walls of his city, the trumpets announced his long-expected approach, and the populace from within streamed out to bid him welcome. The clergy appeared at the gate, and formed their long procession; arrayed in their richest copes. The bells of the many churches poured forth a merry peal, as the procession passed; and hymns of thanksgiving were

heard, proceeding from those, who, too infirm to mingle with the crowd, thus expressed their sympathy with the prevailing sentiment, and suggested those songs of praise, —that universal psalmody, into which the shouts of the people had subsided, as Becket entered his cathedral. The cathedral was splendid with its silken drapery. The organs sounded. The people pressed forward to receive their archbishop's blessing. But the archbishop himself was prostrate on the pavement. There he remained, for awhile, in silent thanksgiving, amidst the deep breathing and scarcely suppressed sobs of the bystanders. Then he rose, his tall figure everywhere conspicuous above his companions, his handsome face flushed with exultation and joy. Becket was a man eminently fitted for a popular leader, both catching and imparting an enthusiasm, which soon becomes reciprocal between those, who raise the cheer, and him who bows a response of gratitude.

The archbishop took his seat upon his throne, and received his clergy, one by one, giving to each the kiss of peace. There had been misunderstandings between him and the chapter, but, in the tears and cries of emotion of that moment, all was forgiven and forgotten. The archbishop proceeded to the chapter-house, and there delivered a sermon on the text, "Here we have no continuing city, but we seek one to come."

The feasting then commenced. Fat bucks had been slaughtered. The Gascon wine flowed freely. The city, we are told, resounded with trumpets.

It would have been well, if the impetuous and enthusiastic nature of Becket would have permitted him to remain quiet, and to confine himself, at last, to his ministerial duties. But he delighted in these enthusiastic demonstrations, and, without intending probably anything further than to indulge his feelings or his vanity, he determined to offer to the metropolis, his native place, an opportunity

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for making a demonstration, in his favour, similar to that which had already taken place at Canterbury.

Under the pretext of presenting three magnificent chargers to the young king, he left Canterbury for London, after he had been only eight days in England. There had been no subsidence of the enthusiasm. He was met by crowds of people, male and female, while he was yet three miles from London. He soon saw the way lined, and a path prepared for him, by two rows formed by the scholars of the London schools and the clergy of the London churches, amounting, it is said, to three thousand persons. As he drew near the gates, he heard them intone the Te Deum. The mighty multitude, as with one voice, took up the response. He bowed his head in gratitude. He lifted up his hands to bless his people. His chaplains showered down money, to an immense amount, upon the poorer classes, and the acclamations were redoubled.

At St. Mary's Church, he dismounted. The canons were in the porch, to receive him. They commenced the first verse of the hymn "Blessed be the Lord God of Israel." And once again, the multitude, old men and young, women and children, joined in the chorus.

From St. Mary's Church, he proceeded to the Bishop of Winchester's palace. One old wall, an ancient fireplace and a pointed doorway still exist, or did so till lately, to show the place, where the palace stood,—about a hundred yards distant from the west end of the present St. Saviour's Church.

It was an unfortunate lodging, for him to select. The councillors of the young king could not but remember that Henry of Blois, Bishop of Winchester, was brother of King Stephen; that, while his brother reigned, the bishop, at one time, ruled the country; that, as a politician, he had always been an intriguer, who had changed his

party more than once. The occurrences just related awakened the fears of the Norman aristocracy. The frequent alliances between them and the Anglo-Saxon heiresses had not yet purged their blood of Norman pride. It had not done so, even in the case of the daughter and the grandson of the Saxon Queen Maud. The justiciaries were alarmed at the immense assemblage of the Anglo-Saxon population. They were not aware how deeply rooted, in the Anglo-Saxon soul, is love of order and respect for the law, in conjunction with the love of freedom. The counsellors of the young king sent Thomas of Tunbridge and Joceline of Louvain, the next morning to the archbishop, with an order that, as he had broken the terms of peace, by his late acts, he should proceed no further, but return at once to his diocese, without entering any of the king's towns or castles.

Becket obeyed the command. He was evidently himself alarmed. The fears of the Norman court were excited by one who, though himself a Norman, was now the idol of the Anglo-Saxon populace; and he knew, that the wrath of a Norman baron was terrible. He endeavoured to obtain a hearing from the young king, and persuaded Simon the Abbot of St. Albans to undertake a mission to Woodstock for that purpose — but his envoy had been received, at the young prince's court, with insults and even with threats of violence. The archbishop was more successful, when he applied for redress against Ranulf de Broc, who had seized a vessel laden with French wines, a present from Louis VII. to Becket, the duties upon which had been remitted by Henry. It is a sign, that there was no intention on the part of the court to act, towards the archbishop, in an unfair spirit, that orders were immediately issued to De Broc to restore the wine.*

* Although no one ever questioned the temperance of Becket, he was by no means a teetotaler, and showed on several occasions that he

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Still, by his want of consideration and caution, Becket continued to give offence and alarm to the government. He lingered long on his journey from London to Canterbury. Immense multitudes met him, and it was reported that he was working miracles on the deaf, the blind, the dumb, — that he was even raising the dead.* It is less uncertain, that he confirmed a great number of children, dismounting from his horse, to administer the ordinance on the wayside.

When Becket arrived at Canterbury, he found that the De Brocs, enraged at having to restore the wine, were, with other barons of a similar character, subjecting his people to every species of annoyance. They hunted in his chase; they killed his deer; they carried away his dogs; they intercepted the supplies of food, intended for his household: they were guilty of the most wanton acts of cruelty. John de Broc, in the brutality of a practical joke, cut off the tail of one of the archbishop's horses, to the very stump. Becket was in great indignation and wrath, but he chose a strange time and place for giving full vent to his anger.

On Christmas day, he celebrated the Holy Communion as was usual. Before proceeding to the altar, he preached from his throne, taking for his text "On earth peace, good will towards men." He was very pathetic in the earlier part of his discourse; and the congregation was dissolved in tears, as he reminded them that, among the archbishops, there had already been one martyr†, and that there might soon be another. Suddenly, his whole tone

had a refined relish for wine. When leaving France, Louis endeavoured to persuade him to remain where he was, and knowing the man, said to him pleasantly "Stay with us, and the wine and wealth of France shall be at your disposal."

* Grim, i. 67; Garnier, 121.

† See Vol. I. p. 470.

was changed; he is described by one, who was present, as looking "fierce, indignant, fiery, bold." His face, says Herbert of Bosham, who had employed the expression before, was as the face of a lion. He inveighed, in a voice of thunder, against the king's council, and his other enemies; he denounced the bishops of the Church of England, who had been concerned in the coronation of the young king: he excommunicated the vicars of Harrow and Thirlwood because they repulsed his officials, and would not resign their churches; asserting that they had been intruded into them during his exile. In the same sentence he included the Brocs, for oppressions and outrages against the Church. He dwelt, with emphasis, on the docking of his horse's tail. "May they be cursed," he said, in conclusion, "by Jesus Christ! May the memory of those, who sow discord between me and my lord the king be blotted out of the memory of the saints!" So saying, he dashed the candle upon the pavement, in token of their utter extinction, — and then proceeded to the altar, to celebrate the death of Him—the Prince of Peace, who is the Lamb of God which taketh away the sins of the world.

A splendid banquet was given at the palace, when his pity for those, whom he had consigned to destruction, did not interfere with his appetite; for we are informed, that he ate a hearty dinner, — a circumstance made known to us by the biographer, who also remarked, that although Christmas day fell on a Friday, he was not forgetful that the fast was superseded by the festival.

Becket's conduct was brave: it was certainly not prudent: in these days, we shall probably say, that it was not consistent with the spirit of the Gospel.

We are not to wonder, when the archbishop himself could thus give way to his temper, that the temper of the barons should not be under much restraint. To cut off a horse's tail to the stump was cruel and in bad taste; to

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excommunicate the man, who did it, on Christmas day, in the midst of a Christmas-day service, was, in point of taste, equally bad, and, certainly, was not merciful.

Becket had been warned repeatedly, to be on his guard against Norman daggers. He felt, that now, imprisoned as he was between the four seas, his life was in the hands of his enemies. On the night of that Sunday, which followed the Christmas day, he received a despatch from France informing him of some approaching or impending danger. The king, who was staying at Bayeux had been joined by the prelates from England, whom Becket had excommunicated, and was extremely enraged at hearing of the archbishop's conduct. He had either forgotten the permission he had given to Becket, at Freteval, to proceed against them; or, as is most probable, he expected the archbishop's censures, to stop short of excommunication. "If all," he exclaimed, "are excommunicated, who officiated, at my son's coronation,—then, by God's eyes, I shall be of the number." Then, it had been reported to the king, that Becket was making a circuit of the kingdom, at the head of a rabble rout, with the intention of driving Henry, the younger, out of the country. Some one observed, that there would be no peace in England while Thomas lived. The king in one of his mad fits of anger had cried out, "Of the caitiffs, who eat my bread, are there none to free me of this turbulent priest?"

Soon after the account of the king's anger, the report reached the archbishop, that certain persons known to him,—and known to him, as desperate characters, some of whom had even been in his service, had arrived at Saltwood. These were Reginald Fitzurse, William de Tracy, Hugh de Morville, and Richard Brito, all come straight from the king.

Becket was now really alarmed. He had worked himself into a passion for martyrdom. Still a man is

likely to be nervous, when he knows, that danger is at hand, and yet is ignorant of its precise nature. On Tuesday the 29th of December, he did not attempt to conceal his anxiety. Tuesday had been marked by him as the eventful day of his life, and his fears were increased by superstition. What was to happen? How was he to act? What would he be called upon to do? One thing was certain; he could not show fight. He was, as it were, unarmed, surrounded by cowardly monks, in the heart of what appeared to him an enemy's country. With his usual generosity and kindly feeling, he thought of his friends. His frequent thought for them had bound them to him, in the bonds of deep affection. He asked his chaplains to leave him. He had already sent out of danger, on messages to the French king and the pope, his friend Herbert of Bosham and Llewellyn his cross-bearer.

If we say, that Becket's object was now to act his part well, whatever part he might be called upon to perform, we do not intend to say this in disparagement of his character. There are persons who cannot help thinking of the impression they will make on the minds of those around them, even under the most awful circumstances. This was Becket's wish, though his temper prevented him from acting with all the dignity which he felt to be due to his station, and wished to exhibit in his person.

To be prepared for the worst, he made his confession, with contrition and devotion, before Robert of Merton, his former schoolmaster, to whom he was affectionately attached. He attended the Holy Communion in the cathedral. He then retired to the chapter-house, where he stripped and submitted to a flagellation, a kind of penance, to which he seems to have been singularly addicted. We may presume, that he now put on his hair shirt, and over that, his monk's cowl, before arraying himself in his ordinary dress. After this, he rejoined his companions and people.

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At three o'clock, he dined. He ate heartily of pheasant, his favourite food, and partook rather freely of wine. His cup-bearer was afraid of the consequences, and ventured to remark on his excess. Becket evidently felt, that he required a stimulant; and answered, with great good sense; He must needs drink much, who has much blood to shed.

According to his custom, the archbishop had now retired to his private apartment. He sat on his bed, and was talking to his friends, most of them lying on the floor around, as the manner was when chairs were hard and couches rare. It was the hour, when all parties relaxed, and when conversation was permitted to flow unrestrained.

The conversation was disturbed, by an announcement, that four barons, from the court, desired an audience of the archbishop, in the king's name. "Let them come in," said Becket. He began to talk earnestly and quickly, as men are wont to do, when they experience an anxiety, which they wish to conceal, even from themselves. He was so eager in his talk, that the knights had entered the room, before Becket was aware of it. They had entered, without the courtesy of the accustomed salutation; and, accompanied by an archer, had taken a seat not far from the archbishop. This in itself was ominous. When the archbishop paused, his eye rested upon his visitors. No one spoke. Under the circumstances, the silence was awful. At length, the archbishop uttered, in a courteous

* Grim, 70. The account of Becket's murder is given with such minuteness of detail by eye-witnesses of the fact, that we have only to harmonise their accounts, and to reconcile those minor differences which, when fairly examined, confirm the correctness of the general statement. An historian who has to traverse the ground over which he has been preceded by Professor Stanley, labours under a disadvantage. The statement of the text is taken, however, from the original historians, and the reader who desires to trace the exact localities described is referred to the Memorials of Canterbury.

tone the name of Tracy. There was no answer. All was silence again. Fitzurse, with a look of pitying contempt fixed on the archbishop, muttered "God help thee!" To become an object of pity and contempt to Reginald Fitzurse, was more than Becket could bear — his face was crimson.* Fitzurse saw that he had planted a blow, which had taken effect, and he proceeded: "We come to thee with the commands of the king over the water. Wilt thou receive them in private, or in the hearing of all?" "As you please," said the archbishop. "Nay, as *you* please," was the reply. John of Salisbury interposed, and at his desire, the clergy withdrew. But Becket, in a short time, desired them to be recalled. It occurred to him that it was important, that there should be witnesses of whatever might occur.

On their return, the archbishop said to the knights, "You may now proceed with your message from the king." Reginald Fitzurse answered, "As you have chosen to make these things public, instead of private, we can satisfy you and tell these people. My lord the king says, that he made peace with you, in all cordiality; but that you have not kept it. He has heard, that you have gone through his cities with bands of armed men; and you have excommunicated the Archbishop of York, and the other bishops, for crowning the young king. You must go to Winchester, and perform your duty to your lord and king." "And what am I to do?" said Becket. "You ought to know better than we," was the answer. "If I knew, I would not say I did not know, but I believe I have done my duty towards him." "By no means," retorted Reginald; "there is much to do, much to mend. The king's commands are, that you go to the young king, and take the oath of fealty, and swear to make amends for your treason." The archbishop re-

* Grim, 70; Garnier, 139.

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plied, "What am I to swear fealty for? And what is my treason?" Neglecting the latter question, Fitzurse answered the former. "The oath of fealty is for the barony, which you hold of the king; and all your foreign priests, too, must take the same oath of allegiance." The archbishop answered, "For my barony I will do my duty; but know this, that neither I nor my clerics will swear any more oaths. They are enough perjured and censured already. But, thank God, I have already absolved many, and I hope, by God's help, to free the rest." Reginald replied, "We see, that you will not do anything we propose. The king further orders you to absolve the bishops." "I did not suspend nor excommunicate them," said Becket, "but it was done by the pope; you must go to him." "But," retorted Reginald, "whether you did it or no, it was done, through you." Becket answered, "I confess I was not sorry, that the pope punished the offenders against my Church. As to my suffragans of London and Salisbury, I have already sent them word, that I would absolve them, on their oath to observe the judgment of the Church; but they have refused. The same I am now ready to do. All that was done, was under the king's permission, which he gave me on the day of our reconciliation. I was on my way to the young king, when I received his orders to return, for which I was sorry. So far from wishing to uncrown him, I would gladly give him three crowns and broad realms." "What say you?" continued Fitzurse. "It is an unexampled and unheard-of treachery, if the king has given any leave to suspend the bishops, who were only present at the coronation, at his own command. It never came into his mind. Yours is an awful crime, in feigning such treachery of our lord the king." "Reginald, Reginald," said the archbishop, "I do not accuse the king of treachery. Our reconciliation was not so secretly done; for archbishops and bishops, many men of rank, and many

religious, and more than five hundred knights were there, and heard it; and, you yourself, Sir Reginald, were there." "I was not there," he said; "I neither saw nor heard it." The archbishop, in an undertone, said: "God knows it, for I am certain that I saw you there." He swore, that he was not there; and repeated, that it was a scandalous and unheard-of thing, for him to dare to accuse the king of treachery. "This can be borne no longer; and we, the king's liegemen, will not bear it any more." The other knights then broke silence, for the first time, swearing again and again, by God's wounds, that they had borne with him far too long already.

John of Salisbury perceived the anger of the archbishop to be rising; and, fearing a sudden burst of passion, proposed again, that the discussion should take place in private. The archbishop would not consent. He then retailed some of the injuries, under which he himself had suffered. Hugh de Morville interrupted him, saying: "If the king's men have robbed you, why do you not complain to the king—why do you take upon yourself, without his permission, to excommunicate them?" Becket answered Hugh de Morville, "You hold yourself wondrous high; but I tell you this, if any one damages the Church, and refuses to make restitution, I shall wait for no man's leave to bring that man to justice."

"Threats, threats," shouted the knights. Their angry passions were roused, and they wished to inflame them, for they felt that, in cold blood, they could not act. "Threats, threats," they repeated; and they leapt up, and they twisted their gloves, and they threw about their arms, and according to the fashion of the day, without any self-restraint. They raved like madmen. The madness was infectious. Becket, he too now leapt from his couch; he too was wild with anger; and with the spirit, which, of old, carried him to the battle-field, he exclaimed, "I

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know that you have come to kill me; but I make God my shield. You threaten me in vain. If all the swords in England were pointed against my head, your terrors would not move me from the observance of God's justice, and the obedience of our lord the pope. Foot to foot you will find me in the battle of the Lord. Once I went away, like a timid priest. I have come back, by the advice and command of the pope; I will never leave again. If I may fulfil my priestly office in peace, it is well for me; if I may not, God's will be done. Besides this, you know what there is between me and you; so I am the more astonished, that you should threaten the archbishop in his own house." He said this, to remind Reginald Fitzurse, William de Tracy, and Hugh de Morville, that they had sworn fealty to him, on their knees, when he was chancellor. They shouted out, "There is nothing between us, against the king." Reginald Fitzurse added, "We can threaten the archbishop, ay, and we can do more; let us be off." The knights rushed out. Becket rushed after them. He shouted to them, from the door: "Know this, for certain, I came not here again to flee, and I defy your threats." "Threats!" shouted back the knights; "you shall find that there is something more than threats from us."

The archbishop was conscious, that he had acted an undignified, if not an unworthy part. He had placed himself on an equality with these brutal men. We can, however, understand why his friends loved him, by the meekness, with which he now received a rebuke from his wise and true friend, John of Salisbury. "Strange it is," said John, "that you will never take advice, my lord: why should a man of your high station inflame the passions of these men, by rushing after them to the door?" "And what would you have me do, Dan John?" replied Becket. "Why, surely you ought," rejoined his friend, "to have called your council and consulted them, and have sent

a mild and moderate answer. These men only try to make you angry, that they may entangle you in your talk. They seek nothing but your death." Moderate counsels, however, did not suit Becket's present mood. He replied kindly, but somewhat sulkily, "Counsel is already taken; I know well enough, what I am about." John of Salisbury saw that remonstrance was useless, and merely added, "I hope by God's blessing it may be wise counsel." Becket remarked, "We must all die, and the fear of death must not prevent us from doing what is right. I am more ready to suffer death for God and justice and the liberty of the Church, than these men can be to inflict it." "We are sinners," John, significantly and piously, replied, "and I see no one, except yourself, who wishes to die without cause." "God's will be done," said the archbishop, and put a stop to the conversation. "I hope to God it may be for good," concluded John of Salisbury, with a deep sigh.

Becket had now become calm, and some quiet conversation ensued. It began to be suspected, that this, after all, might be nothing more than a drunken frolic. The archbishop had become composed.

Suddenly some of the monks rushed into the room. "They come, my lord,—they come, they come."

The brave archbishop was, all along, disgusted by the cowardice of the monks, and he exclaimed: "They come! What matters it? let them come." While the tendency of Becket was to rashness, we are struck throughout with the contrast exhibited in the childish timidity of the monks. There had been some sturdy fighting monks in Anglo-Saxon times,—but, in the twelfth century, so many men entered monasteries, simply because the convent afforded the only refuge to the craven, that, except among those who occupied superior stations, a coward and a monk had become almost synonymous expressions.

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The alarm of the monks was, every moment, increased, as the blows of an axe were heard to fall heavily upon the door of the hall, which, immediately after the departure of the knights, had been locked. The knights had retired to put on their armour. They were now in the orchard. A crash was heard. The door and window in the passage, which led from the orchard to one of the outer rooms had given way. The knights, with their retainers led on by Robert de Broc, were now ascending a ladder and creeping through the broken window into the cloisters.

The monks had fled. The archbishop was left with a faithful few, who earnestly entreated him to take refuge in the cathedral. He steadily refused. He had said he would not fly, and by his word he had determined to stand. As the alarm increased, his friends now forced him out of the room. They dragged, they pushed, they partly carried him, through that part of the cloister which was approached from the palace. He struggled; he tried to regain his feet. He was irritated, for he felt that he was placed in anything but that dignified position, which might fill his assailants with awe. He succeeds at last in forcing his friends, persecuting him in their kindness, to pause, he positively refuses to proceed unless his cross be borne before him. They had proceeded up one side of the cloister; when, being about to pass the chapter-house, Becket forced his companions, by his struggles, within the door. The object may have been to give the cross-bearer time to place himself in his proper position.* Something like a procession was formed. They had not far to move, and were just at the entrance of the cathedral, when the murderers were forcing their way into the cloister by

* His regular cross-bearer, Llewellyn, he had sent a few days before, as noted above, on a mission to the Continent. We are told that Henry of Auxerre supplied his place.

the opposite door. Becket had been observed to look that way: his quick ear probably heard the enemy as they approached. They were now seen within the cloister. By the terrified attendants of Becket, all thoughts of ceremony and dignity were forgotten. They began, in spite of his remonstrances, to hustle him. Some pulling, others pushing him, they managed to force him up the door opening into the north transept of the cathedral, just as the knights at the further end of the cloisters caught sight of him, and rushed forward to pursue him.

Vespers had commenced; but the service came, suddenly, to a close, as two terrified choristers rushed into the choir, announcing, says William of Canterbury, rather by their frightened looks than by their words, that the enemy was about to break in. There was a rush to the transept. "Come in, come in," they cried to the archbishop, as they pressed before the door to fasten it. Becket raised his tall figure to its height, and bade them proceed with the service. They hesitated. "I go not in," he said, with dignity and calmness, "so long as you remain in the entrance." Then, turning to his attendants, he exclaimed, "What are these people afraid of — armed men in the cloisters? I will go and meet them."

An iron bar had been brought to fasten the door, before all the archbishop's people had entered. Becket exclaimed, "Away ye cowards; let the blind wretches rage; I order you, in virtue of obedience, not to shut the door; a church ought not to be fortified like a castle." The monks, however, drew him in, and tried to fasten the door. Becket generously went to the door, saying, "Let my own people in;" and moving away those who were close to it, he opened it, and drawing in, with his own hands, those who were outside, he said, "Come in, come in, quickly." He was now pulled away from the door by those around him. The door was,

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however, left open, opposing no barrier to the entrance of the soldiers, who were close at hand. His friends were forcing the archbishop up the steps, which led from the transept to the choir, when Fitzurse rushed from the cloisters, shouting his war-cry, "King's men, king's men, follow me." The other knights appeared in complete armour, with their swords drawn, their vizors down, and nothing visible but their eyes. They were attended by a party of soldiers more or less armed; and by some of the townspeople, who had, unwillingly, in the king's name, been pressed into the service.

It was five o'clock on a winter's evening. The cathedral was almost dark. John of Salisbury and the clerics, all but three, fled to some of the many places of refuge which the cathedral afforded.

"Where is the traitor Thomas Becket?" cried Fitzurse. No answer was returned. He stumbled against a monk, and in a lower tone, asked as for information, "Where is the archbishop?" Becket shook off his companions, who tried to keep him back. He stood before the knights, an unarmed man, in his white rochet, with a cloak and hood thrown over his shoulders. "Here stand I," he said, "no traitor, but the archbishop,—a priest of God. If me ye seek, ye have found me. What is your will?" He descended from the steps near the opening of a small chapel, in which stood the altar of St. Benedict. He was struck on the shoulder by the flat of a sword,—"Fly," said his assailant, "or you are a dead man." "Fly I will not," was the indignant answer. The four knights now came up. "Absolve the bishops," they exclaimed. "Nothing more will I do," said Becket, "than what I have already said and done." Turning to Fitzurse he said: "Reginald, Reginald, I have done you many favours, why are you here in arms against me!" "That you shall know full soon," replied Fitzurse. "Are you not a

traitor?" Becket defied him. Fitzurse seized hold of his cloak, knocked off his cap with his sword, "Come, you are my prisoner." A fierce scuffle ensued. The object of the knights had been, not to murder the archbishop, but to make him prisoner; and, having now got hold of him, they tried to force him upon De Tracy's back, so as to carry him off. Indignant at having his person thus touched, Becket struggled to maintain his ground. Assisted by Edward Grim*, the archbishop threw off Fitzurse; and seizing De Tracy, he shook him violently, and dashed him on the pavement. Fitzurse returned to the fray, still hoping to capture the archbishop.

Becket had now unfortunately lost his temper. Forgetful of all self-respect and even of decency, he exclaimed, "Reginald, thou wretched profligate; touch me not. Thou, thou pander †, art my man, to me thou owest fealty." At this intolerable insult the knight became "white with rage."‡ This was the immediate cause of the death-stroke. "Fealty to thee owe I none, inconsistent with my duty to the king;" and flinging down the two-edged axe, which had been his weapon hitherto, Fitzurse waved his sword over the archbishop's head crying out, "Strike, strike." The archbishop had now entirely regained his self-possession;—he meekly bowed his head, he joined his hands, he placed them over his eyes,—and in a calm and dignified tone, he replied: "I commend myself and the cause of the Church to God, to St. Denys of France, to St. Elphege, and all the Saints of the Church."

The first severe blow he received was a slanting one.§

* The biographer to whom we are so much indebted for this account of the murder.

† "Lenonem appellans."—*Roger Pont.* 167.

‡ "Totus incanduit."—*Grim*, i. 76.

§ Grim himself says the blow was dealt by Fitzurse; Tracy, however, boasted of the deed on the day after the murder. Grim, 76; Garnier, 150; Anon. Lamb. 1223.

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Edward Grim attempted to ward it off, and received himself a severe wound, that nearly severed his arm. Such, however, was the force, with which it was dealt, that it also descended upon the crown of the archbishop's head, and sliced off that part of it that was tonsured. The severed flesh remained hanging, by the scalp. As the blood trickled down his cheek, Becket said, "Lord, into thy hands I commend my spirit." A heavy blow from Fitzurse, followed by another from De Tracy, now felled him to the earth. He fell first on his knees, then on his face. His joined hands showed, that he was praying. He was heard by the wounded Grim to whisper, "For the name of Jesus, and in defence of his Church I am ready to die." A fourth stroke was dealt upon the prostrate man, by Richard Brito, with the words, "Take that for the sake of my lord William, the king's brother."* The sword of Brito, which cut off the remainder of the tonsure, lighted upon the pavement, with such force that the point was broken off. Hugh Mauclerc of Horsea, a sub-deacon attached to the household of the Brocs, put his foot on the dead man's neck, and with the point of his sword, drawing the brains from the severed crown, scattered them on the pavement. "Comrades away," exclaimed the execrable monster, "the traitor will rise no more." They raised their battle-cry again, "King's men, king's men," and proceeded to ransack the palace. Their immediate object was to obtain, for transmission to the king, any charters or documents they might find; in order that proof of privileges granted the Church of Canterbury, opposed to the king's will, might cease to exist.† The horses in the archbishop's stables the mur-

* Fitz-Steph. i. 303. Becket had prevented his marriage with a daughter of Reginald de Warrenne on the ground of consanguinity.

† Benedict, p. 68.

derers appropriated as their own fee,—or, as we should now say, as loot.

The body of the murdered man lay deserted by all, until his chamberlain, Osbert, having procured a light, found it lying on the pavement. Osbert cut off a piece of his own surplice, and placed it over the dead man's head. When it was known, that the murderers had left the cathedral, first one person, then another approached, until the corpse was surrounded by the servants of the monastery and by many people from the town. All restraint being now removed, the sobs and lamentations were loud. Nevertheless, the feeling, in Becket's favour, was not as yet unanimous; for Edward Grim heard one ecclesiastic rebuking another, for calling him a martyr, declaring, that he died justly for his obstinacy. But such was not the opinion of the common people,—they smeared their eyes with the blood, they dipped their garments in it, they scrambled for relics,—not always with the best of motives; for many only obtained the possession of them to part with them for money.*

As the crowd increased, there was an increasing confusion, persons tearing off pieces of their clothing and dipping them in the blood. The monks brought some moveable benches, which they arranged round the place of the murder; and then, by degrees, they succeeded in clearing the church. They now raised the corpse, and, having placed it before the high altar, they prepared to keep vigil, all night; many of them silently offering the commendatory prayer.

Robert, the Canon of Merton, whose name we have already mentioned as Becket's confessor,—put his hand into the dead man's bosom and showed the hair shirt, next to his skin,—worn in secret. The monks were awe-

* Benedict, p. 69.

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stricken by this mark of sanctity. The thought of their watching by the body of a saint, probably sustained them, as they remained in the cold, dark cathedral; the very incense having been overpowered by the smell of blood,—while a storm was raging without, and the day was lurid in its dawn.

When the morning came, the news came also, that a large number of men were assembled in arms, without the city; and it was reported that further mischief was to be done. At length, it was announced, that one of the terrible De Brocs was approaching. Robert soon appeared in the name of Ranulf de Broc, and addressed the assembled monks. "The world is at last relieved of that disloyal traitor," he said, pointing to the dead body. "He deserves as rough handling in his death, as that which he received when alive. Remove him out of the way, as fast as you can; throw his dead body somewhere, where it may not be known. Do this, or I warn you, we will tear him into pieces and cast him for food to dogs and swine." He went. The doors were hurriedly closed. The body was carried into the crypt. The monks had no time to wash or embalm it, as had been usual in the case of his predecessors.* They determined however, to bury him in his archiepiscopal vestments. They took off his black cappa with its white lambswool, together with his fine linen surplice. Under these they found two other lambswool pelisses; then appeared the Cistercian cowl, which he had adopted at Pontigny. When the monks saw the cowl they looked at one another with astonishment. Beneath the monk's habit was the hair shirt; the monks were still more excited. All the garments were filled with innumerable vermin, "so that any

* Herbert of Bosham says that they *did* wash the body, but he was not present, and his authority in this respect is not equal to that of Benedict, which I follow. Benedict, 69; Fitz-Steph. 309; Herb. 350.

one," says Grim, "would think that the martyrdom of the day before, was less grievous than that which these small enemies continually inflicted." * The enthusiasm of the monks now evinced itself in tears and in self-reproaches, —how could they have suspected such a man of ambition or treason? Could he ever have thought of an earthly kingdom, who had thus, in secret, preferred sackcloth above all earthly pleasures? Was he not the betrayed, rather than the betrayer of his king? †

The record of these self-reproaches, uttered in these different ways, by the monks, is particularly valuable, as showing, what had been the opinion of their class, with reference to Becket's character, while he lived. All his faults were in their estimation blotted out by his death; or rather his death seemed to prove that their former suppositions had been groundless. The conclusion was hasty and illogical, but natural.

Thomas à Becket was buried in the crypt of his cathedral at Canterbury. The history of the removal of his body into a shrine belongs to another chapter.

* Grim, 82.

† Benedict, 70.

CHAP. VIII.

RICHARD.*

A Norman by birth.—A Monk of Christ Church, Canterbury.—One of Theobald's Chaplains.—Though differing in politics, a friend of Becket.—Prior of St. Martin's, Dover.—See of Canterbury vacant two years and a half.—Party spirit in Church of England.—Controversies about Archbishop.—Richard elected with consent of all parties.—His consecration opposed by the young King, from spite to his father.—Richard, after delay, consecrated at Anagni.—Richard a divine rather than a lawyer.—Traduced by the Becketites.—His justice.—No party man.—Important letter.—King Henry's policy and penance.—Conflagration of Canterbury Cathedral.—William of Sens.—English William.—Cathedral rebuilt.—Controversies previous to consecration.—Cathedral consecrated.—Synod of Westminster.—Difficulty in enforcing Celibacy of the Clergy.—Archdeacons to shave Clergy, whether they like it or not.—Canon to prevent Clergy with foreign orders from officiating in Church of England.—Sale of Livings prohibited.—Sopping bread in the Eucharist condemned.—Controversy with Archbishop of York.—Combat of the two Archbishops in St. Catherine's Chapel.—Constitutions of Clarendon re-established.—The King obtains permission under certain conditions, to implead Clergy.—Becket's principle violated.—Monastic and Episcopal systems opposed.—Archbishop of Canterbury rebukes the Pope.—Receives the King of France.—The King of France visits Becket's shrine.—The Archbishop excommunicates those who sow dissension between King and his sons.—Officiates at young King's funeral.—Death.—Religious hatred.

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* Authorities:—Gervas, Chronica and Hist. of Archbishops; in the Chronica we find much information on this period of history. Hoveden; Wendover; William of Newburgh; Petri Blesensis Epistolæ, ed. Giles; Elmham; Stanley's Memorials of Canterbury.

Richard, the successor of Becket in the see of Canterbury, was, by birth, a Norman. Little is known of his early life. He was of humble parentage. He was reproached by his adversaries, and the reproach was repeated by his friends, for paying too much attention to worldly affairs. But the chief charge, which is brought against him, rests on the ground of his desiring to make his parents comfortable, and to provide for his relations.* He is not censured for having preferred unworthy persons; and a man is in duty bound to prefer those, whom God by his providence brings nearest to him, provided they be worthy of the patronage. They, who violate this rule, are selfish persons; they sacrifice duty for the sake of a popularity, which they do not win.

When the primary education of Richard was finished, he was received into the monastery of Christ Church Canterbury. As a Benedictine monk, he was equally distinguished for the propriety of his conduct, and for his modest demeanour. His merit was noticed and rewarded by Archbishop Theobald, who selected him to be one of his chaplains. In Theobald's court he enjoyed the society and conciliated the friendship of Thomas à Becket.† It is to be observed, that although Richard's political views differed considerably from those of Thomas, yet these two eminent men remained personal friends to the last. Herbert of Bosham gives an account of a mission to the young King Henry, undertaken by Richard, in behalf of Becket,

* "Imponunt ei alii quod circa suæ parentelæ promotionem nimis anxie versetur, et quod non Spiritus Patris, sed caro et sanguis, revelat hoc ei. Porro si suis parentibus affectus impendit," etc.—*Pet. Bles. Ep.* 38. See also the 5th Ep. of Peter, addressed to Richard. The "parentelæ" in the above passage is paraphrased, oddly enough, by the Jesuit editor by "progeniei."

† "Theobaldi Archiepiscopus capellanus effectus est una cum beato Thoma eidem sedulo ministravit."—*Gervas*, 1673.

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after the primate's return to England.* Under the most unfavourable circumstances, he did all he could, to propitiate the young Henry in Becket's favour. He was, probably, selected by Becket for this mission, on account of his character for moderation. He met with a discouraging reception, and, as we have seen, in Becket's life, failed in his purpose.

Richard's first preferment was to the place of prior, in the monastery of St. Martin's, Dover;—a house connected with Christ Church, Canterbury. Tanner assigns this appointment, to the year 1140.

After the murder of Becket, the king was in no hurry to appoint his successor. He desired to let the Becket excitement subside. Two years and five months† elapsed before the prince, or young king, received instructions from his father — the king over the water — to proceed to the election of a primate. At length Odo, the Prior of Canterbury, was summoned to attend the court at Windsor, on the 1st of September, 1172, accompanied by a deputation from the chapter. This was according to precedent. The ordinary mode of proceeding was, for the chapter to elect; for the bishops to confirm the election; and for the king, or, in his absence the justiciary, to ratify the whole transaction.

When the *congé d'élire* was sent, it was usual, then as now, to signify the person whose election was desired by the crown. The consequences of disobedience, though not defined, were sure to be serious and severe. There does not, however, appear to have been any direct interference on the part of the crown, on this occasion.‡

* Herbert, vii. 320.

† Gervas (1673) states that that see remained vacant for two years and a half. But this refers to the date of Richard's election. Between his election and consecration there was the delay of another year.

‡ When the young king quarrelled with his father, the former stated

When therefore the monks, emboldened by the popularity, which now surrounded everything connected with their cathedral, demanded a free election, they must have meant, an election, dependent upon their own will, to the exclusion of the bishops of the province, and of the king.

The demand was unexpected, and the meeting was adjourned for three weeks. At the end of that time, about Michaelmas, Odo still persevered in making it. He was ordered to lay the case before the king over the water; and to Normandy he went. He found the elder king in a very yielding temper, "eum magis supplicantem quam imperantem repperit."* The fact is, that Henry suspected that he had, in Odo, another Becket; and this may have been one of the reasons for delaying the election so long. He determined to try upon him the arts of cajolery. He entreated him, as a personal favour, to procure the election of the Bishop of Bayeux.† The prior returned to England with the proposal; but the Bishop of Bayeux was rejected, at a meeting of the bishops and clergy convened in London. The prior and

that the *congé d'élire* was issued in the following form: "I charge you to hold a free election; yet I will that you choose none other than my clerk, Richard, Archdeacon of Poictiers." (Brial. 645.) The fact that this story could be believed shows what was thought of the determination of Henry Fitzempress, still to uphold the prerogatives of the Crown. But it is generally believed, that the statement had no foundation in truth. The account of Richard's election and of the events which followed are given in detail by Gervas, whom I follow.

* Gervas, Chron. 1423.

† "Manibus protensis et semiflexis genibus." This shows the importance he attached to the appointment. Of the Bishop of Bayeux it is said: "Erat enim vir ille nimiæ simplicitatis, qui de facili ab intentione sua alias quolibet valeret avelli."—*Gervas, Chron.* 1423. Henry was as anxious as he had been in the case of Becket to have, as primate, creature of his own, the minister to execute his will.

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the chapter by way of compromise, made application to Richard de Luci, the justiciary, requesting him to lay before the king the names of three persons, whom they had chosen, with a petition that he should select one of the number. In March 1173, a second synod was held at London, at which the choice fell on Roger, Abbot of Bec, one of the three persons named by the convent. Richard de Luci gave the royal assent to the election; but the abbot refused to accept the trust.* Whether he declined the primacy from weakness or from religious motives, Wendover says, we are not informed. Fuller, in his quaint style, remarks, "he refused it, as ominous to succeed Becket in his chair, lest he should succeed him in his coffin, and preferred a whole skin to a holy pall."

Odo's pertinacity was crowned with success. The monks of Christ Church, on the 3rd of June, 1173, elected one of their own number, Richard, Prior of Dover, the bishops consenting, and the king supporting their choice.† Richard was evidently a person acceptable to all parties, and no stipulations appear to have been exacted from him, on the part of the Crown.

But an unexpected hindrance arose. The wrong-headed young prince had quarrelled with his father; and he now opposed the consecration of Richard, on the

* Robert de Monte (p. 780) says that he pleaded his infirmities as an excuse for not accepting the archbishopric. Wendover (ad ann. 1173) calls him Robert. He was the seventh Abbot of Bec; he governed the monastery from the year 1149 to 1179. See Chron. Bec.

† Robert de Monte refers the election to the chapter, without reference to other parties. Diceto says that Richard was elected by the bishops at Westminster, in the chapel of St. Catherine. But the facts seem to have been as stated in the text. The monks elected, and no opposition was offered. The whole transaction was a compromise; and as is usual in such cases, each party wished to make it appear that no concession had been made.

ground, that his own consent had not been obtained to his election. He acted under the pretext, that it was his duty to oppose his father, in his attempt to place unfit persons in the highest offices of the Church. He sent forthwith a mandate to the prior and the chapter to forbid the consecration of the archbishop elect, and he appealed to the court of Rome."* Richard himself proceeded to Rome, where he was supported by the old king, sometimes called, by way of distinction, Henry Fitzempress.

The proceedings, at Rome, were notified to the king, in a letter addressed to him by Reginald, Bishop elect of Bath and Wells; in which he states, that they met with determined opponents at the court of Rome, both from the kingdom of France, and from the king's own dominions. But, after some difficulty, the pope admitted the validity of the election, and undertook himself to consecrate the archbishop elect.†

The consecration took place at Anagni, on the 7th of April, 1174.‡ The archbishop, accompanied by the Bishop of Bath, returned to England, and, passing through Normandy, met the king at Barbefleet. Henry was in high

* On this appeal Inett remarks: "By this means and with the consent of King Henry, the court of Rome was let into a pretence of confirming the elections of the Archbishops of Canterbury, and came in time to usurp the confirmation as well of our diocesan as our metropolitan bishops, and to make themselves judges of all controverted elections to bishoprics, deanerys, and abbys, and at last to assume the disposal of them;—in short, the mischiefs are unspeakable which ensued from that branch of the papal usurpation; and the Kings of England, as they had the dishonour of opening the way thereunto, did too soon feel the smart of it."—ii. c. 14.

† See Life of Reginald Fitz-Jocelin.

‡ The continuator of Florence of Worcester, ad ann. 1174, has this curious entry: "Richard Prior of Dover is consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury by the lord pope. All the world is afflicted with coughs and colds."

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good-humour; honoured the prelates with his company at dinner; and permitted them next day to depart for England.*

A more amiable man, than archbishop Richard, or one whose rule was more equitable, never perhaps sat in the chair of Augustine.

Peter of Blois, his chancellor, compares him to Moses for his humility; and says that, like Job, he was maligned for being a just, upright, God-fearing man. He admits, that he was ignorant of the canon law,— the fashionable and injurious study of the age,— but he says: "Verily Christ Jesus is not said to have taken Peter and Andrew and others, through whom he wrought salvation upon earth, from the Forum of Justinian, but from the simplicity common to fishermen. The wisdom of this world and the loquacity of the law puffeth up, nor is it wise to be wise overmuch. If my master be of an humble mind, if he do not pursue great and wonderful things above his capacity, *si vestigia versuti juris ignorat*, he is, nevertheless, learned in the law of the Lord, and the wisdom, which is from above. He walks in the paths of justice. He passes no judgment but such as he brings before the public. He makes his justice as clear as the light, and his just dealing as the noon day."† The chroniclers, although, from party feeling, they speak disparagingly of his learning, are compelled to admit his prudence; to admire his gentleness; to praise his affability, and to do justice to his lenity. William of Newburgh‡ speaks of him as laudably inoffensive. Peter of Blois, who resided in his family, gives an

* "Jocundus occurrit, eademque die regem secum prandere coegit." —*Gervas, Chron.* 1428.

† Ep. 38.

‡ Lib. iii. c. 8. The censure which Peter of Blois passed on his worldliness has been already mentioned,— but perhaps his worldliness was nothing more than a desire to make his friends and relations comfortable. He did not make any high pretensions to peculiar sanctity.

interesting description of his court, and of those who frequented it. Thither, as to the court of Archbishop Theobald, resorted men no less eminent in every department of learning, than for their justice and prudence. Between prayers and dinner, they were accustomed to devote their time to the reading, the arguing, and the deciding of causes. His council chamber seems to have been a sort of parliament. To the archbishop and his counsellors all the knotty questions of the kingdom were referred. They were discussed, openly, freely, calmly; each orator speaking in order, and endeavouring to express, with eloquence, the dictates of his wisdom.*

From our acquaintance with human nature, and especially with the conduct of the religious world,—or of men passionate in the maintenance of their opinions while they tacitly assume their own infallibility,—we should expect, what we find to be the case, that such a man as Archbishop Richard would be subjected to unjust reproach and much calumny. The religious world had become enthusiastically Becketite. The Becketites accused the archbishop of inactivity. They asserted, that he found the Church of England in a most flourishing condition, and that he had forsaken and destroyed it. They complained of his cowardice, through which, were lost the honours of the Church of Canterbury, won by the firmness and sealed by the blood of the glorious martyr. They declared that Richard was reducing to its former state of slavery, the Church, which had raised itself to liberty. Why, they said, does he cumber the earth? When will he die and his name perish?†

On the other hand, the king; the head of the opposite party, who boasted that he had been an impassable barrier to the archbishop's opponents in the Roman Curia; secretly and gently remonstrated with him, for not throwing him-

* Peter Bles. Ep. 6. † Ibid. Ep. 5.

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self, heartily, into the royal cause, as a party man.* The policy of the archbishop was unintelligible, even to his devoted friend and chancellor, Peter of Blois; who honestly informed his master of all that was said against him; and who complains of the difficulty he experienced, in attempting to defend or explain his conduct.†

The truth is, that Archbishop Richard was careful to avoid party politics in Church and State. He discountenanced polemics in a quarrelsome age. He walked in the *via media*, and, in consequence, he was obnoxious to extreme parties, at a period when all parties were driven to extremities. We learn from Peter of Blois, that he treated all the attacks, which were made upon him, with philosophical calmness; that he was careful, like his divine Master, when reviled not to revile again. He was a man of business, diligent in the improvement of his estates, which were well manured with dung and chalk; and in promoting the comfort of his tenants; — he made parks and preserved game.‡

The policy, for which Becket died, did not commend itself to Archbishop Richard. It is only due to the archbishop, to let him speak for himself in a letter of which the following is a translation.§ The student of history will regard it, as an important as well as an interesting document; for it reveals a curious state of society, and shows, that, by the Becket policy, the clergy were as much damaged as the laity. It is addressed to the Bishops of Winchester and Norwich, and may be regarded as a pamphlet intended to make known the general views of the primate: —

"Richard, by the grace of God, Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of all England, and Legate of the Apostolic See, to his

* Peter Bles. Ep. 5.
† Ibid.
‡ Ibid.
§ Ibid. Ep. 73.

venerable and beloved brethren in Christ, R. Winton., G. Eliens., J. Norwic., health and wholesome counsel.

"In the Church of England, a custom has arisen, baneful to all, and, in every way, to be reprehended; and, unless, through your exertions, it be thoroughly eradicated, it will speedily become most detrimental to the whole clergy. If a Jew or a layman, of the lowest grade, be killed, the murderer is immediately sentenced to the punishment of death; whereas, if any one has killed a priest or clergyman of the lower or higher order, the Church, *contented** with excommunication only, or, I should rather say, *contemned* through it, refuses the aid of the carnal weapon. You know, indeed, what was said by the Lord to Moses: 'Ye shall not suffer evil doers to live:' and, as the Apostle testifieth: 'The prince hath the sword for the punishment of evil doers, and for the praise of them that do well.' But the Lord also saith: 'Whoso toucheth you, toucheth me;' and, by prophecy: 'Touch not mine anointed.' Where, then, can more cruel and execrable wickedness be found than to act against the anointed of the Lord, and to employ the sword against the chosen race with full license of impunity? The sentence of excommunication against such would satisfy me, if it struck terror into homicides. But, through our own misconduct, the sword of Peter has been covered with rust, and, being unable to cut, it has fallen into contempt.

"If a she-goat or a small sheep has been stolen or killed, sentence of excommunication is issued against the offender, if he be undiscovered: if he be convicted or acknowledged, he is consigned to the gallows. But murderers of a clergyman or a bishop are sent to Rome: they go in mere jest, with the plenitude of the apostolic favour, and return to commit crime again with greater audacity. Our lord the king punishes for himself such excesses; but we, culpably, make reservation for ourselves, and thus, giving full license of impunity, hold out our throats to the swords of laymen. It is disgraceful, that a more severe punishment should be inflicted for the slaughter of a she-goat or a small sheep than for that of a priest. But this, and still worse, we deserve, for making use, through our inconsiderate ambition, of

* There is here a play upon the words *contenta* and *contempta*.

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a foreign jurisdiction, to which we owe nothing whatever. For both in the Body of the Decretals, as well as in the Epistle to the Romans, we remember to have read, that there are certain enormous crimes which are rather to be judged by secular judges, than by the rulers and judges of the Church. When, for example, any one slays an apostolic pontiff, priest, or deacon, such a one, and all, who are guilty of such crimes, secular kings and princes should condemn. All justice is exercised, indeed, in order that the temerity of wicked persons be restrained. By this accursed jurisdiction, however, which we, ambitiously and proudly, take to ourselves, we offend God and our lord the king, and open a secure way to laymen to ill treat the clergy. A priest of learning and honest conversation was lately maliciously killed at Winchester by William Frechet and his wife. They did not disavow the crime. They were prepared to go to the court of Rome; for the husband relied on his wife, and trusted that, through her appearance and beauty, he should get advantage, and by her meretricious practices, on the journey, reap an abundant harvest, in addition to procuring absolution. Endeavour, then, most beloved brethren, by speedy counsel, to arrest this public evil, while yet in its growth; for if it advance a little further, the danger, which is now confined to the lower orders, will next threaten our own necks. Let the Church first exercise her own jurisdiction; and if that be insufficient, let the civil sword supply her imperfection. There is authority for this from the synod of pope Urban and Gregory's decree, from the Epistle of Nicolas to the bishops of Gaul, from the Council also of pope Martin, and from the Third Council of Carthage, and from many institutions of the holy fathers. Nor may it be said that any would be punished twice for the same thing; for that is not repeated which is commenced by one person and completed by another. There are two swords, which mutually borrow aid from each other and supply each in turn with strength—the priestly to kings, the kingly to priests. If, therefore, the deficiency of the one be supplied by the other, the blow will not appear two-fold, or the punishment doubled. For those who were condemned to death according to the Council of Mentz, before being led to punishment are spiritually punished with contrition and penitence; the penitence and satisfaction preceding it being a preparation

for death. 'Rendering, therefore, to God the things that are God's, and to Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's,' according to the request of our lord the king, let us leave to him the punishment of such excesses; giving absolution to the guilty, if they require it, in articulo mortis; both in this and in other things showing mercy as much as possible, without injury and scandal to the Church. For it is for the public good, that they should be restrained with the civil sword, who neither fear God, obey the Church, nor reverence the canons. Farewell!"*

Having now described the character and the principles of Archbishop Richard, as we gather them from contemporary documents; we may proceed to the consideration of some of the memorable events, which occurred during his episcopate.

I. First, we must mention the extraordinary penance of Henry II. In this, the archbishop did not take any actual part, owing to his absence from the country. Richard was consecrated in April 1174, and did not reach England before the following September. Henry visited Canterbury on the 12th of July of that year.

The murder of Thomas à Becket was a political mistake, as well as an unpardonable crime. This Henry was the first to recognise. When the news first reached him at Argenton, he was driven into one of his ungovernable fits of passion and remorse. He felt that he was in some measure guilty. For, although he did not, in all probability, desire the death of Becket, yet he certainly encouraged the idea, that violence shown to his person, or perhaps his imprisonment—though he did not give orders to that effect — would be regarded by him, as an acceptable service, on the part of his friends. We shall only do him justice, if we suppose that the recollection of their former friendship, which, to the last, he would have re-

* Peter Bles. Ep. 73.

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newed, if Becket would have yielded to his will; had something to do with the violent anguish, by which he was confined to his chamber for three days, and was induced to seclude himself, in a penitential retreat, for more than a month.

When Henry directed his mind once more to business, his conduct was wise and politic. It is to be remarked, that his course of policy, if, in some degree, modified by circumstances, remained, in its main principles, unaltered. He did not change his ministers, although they had been the open opponents of Becket. Acting under their advice, he consolidated the constitution, especially in what related to the administration of justice. At the same time, no material change was visible in his mode of dealing with ecclesiastics and the affairs of the Church. The constitutions of Clarendon were enforced. He did, indeed, make a general promise to abolish any of them, which were proved to be either wrong in principle or innovations. But such he found it difficult to discover; and Herbert of Bosham remarks and complains, that some of those even, which had been condemned by the Church, "are still observed throughout the kingdom, whether this be with the king's consent and approbation, let the king himself see to it."* Among his confidential counsellors, we find some, whom Becket had excommunicated, once if not oftener. Nothing, indeed, proves the independence and power of Henry more clearly, than the fact, that he procured the preferment of men, who had been among the most steady opponents of the late archbishop. Geoffrey Ridel, Archdeacon of Canterbury, whom Becket was wont to call his "archdevil," became Bishop of Ely; John of Oxford, Bishop of Norwich; Richard of Ilchester, Bishop of Winchester.†

* Peter Bles. Ep. viii. 40.

† A list of other names is given by Canon Robertson, p. 307. The

When we take these circumstances into consideration, while they impress us with respect for the wisdom and vigour of Henry's mind, they, at the same time, compel us to regard his penances chiefly as politic acts; tinctured, no doubt, with some portion of that superstition from which bad men are the last to escape.

The Becket party was triumphant. The French king was making political capital out of the crime, and urging Alexander to put in force all the powers of the Church, to annihilate his rival. But Alexander was quite aware, that Henry's power, both physical and moral, was too great to be crushed; and that the Church would gain more by humiliations, to which he was willing to submit, in order to counteract the obloquy to which he was exposed, than by driving to desperation an unscrupulous man.

Henry condescended to send an embassy to Rome, to assert, that he had scrupulously fulfilled his part in the treaty he had formed with Becket; and to express his deep regret, at a murder, which his own angry words might have suggested. His envoys took oath, that the king was innocent of the murder, and they expressed the readiness of Henry to abide by the judgment of the pope.*

Alexander thought fit to keep the king in suspense, as to the course he should pursue; and Henry, who had crossed over into England, gave a hint to the pope, as to what he might expect, if he did not prove amenable to reason. He prohibited all communication between England and the continent, so as to prevent the introduction of any papal bulls.†

steadiness of Henry's friendships, and his zeal to promote the interests of his supporters, must always be mentioned to his credit.

* Fol. Epp. 440, 469; Diceto, 556; Gervas, 1419.

† Diceto, 560. The fact was attributed to the violence of the wind; but it was generally believed that the wind and the king were in alliance.

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After a short stay in England, Henry returned to Normandy, where the Cardinals Albert of St. Lawrence (afterwards Pope Gregory VIII.) and Theodwine of St. Vitalis, papal legates, were awaiting his arrival.

On the 21st of May, 1172, a preliminary meeting took place, probably at Savigny. On the 27th of September, at Avranches, terms of peace with the Church were finally concluded between Henry and the legates.* The king conceded nothing, in reality, though much in words. He agreed to allow appeals from the Church of England to Rome — but the concession was clogged with conditions which rendered it null; to give up all such customs as had been introduced, during his reign, to the prejudice of the Church — but what these customs were, he determined to decide for himself; to pardon the friends of Becket; to restore its possessions to the Church of Canterbury; to maintain, for a year, two hundred knights for the defence of the Holy Land; and himself, to undertake the crusade, unless he were excused by the pope. He also swore, that he recognised Alexander as the pope, and that he would never forsake him for any other pope.

On these terms, Henry was absolved. That he had so managed affairs as to triumph over the machinations of his enemies is clear, from the violence with which they expressed their dissatisfaction. The King of France was so indignant, that he refused permission to the legates to winter in his dominions.†

It is necessary, that we should bear all this in mind, if we wish to understand the nature of that act of penance, in the cathedral of Canterbury, to which Henry thought it expedient to submit. We do not doubt, that some superstitious feeling mingled in the action. Henry's religion, such as it was, was a religion of fear. He feared

* Diceto, 503. † Chron. Aquicinct. ann. 1172.

the divine wrath, and would, if possible, buy it off. He was involved in political difficulties and dangers. His conscience reproached him; God, he thought, was angry with him. He determined to submit to punishment; and then, after a castigation, he supposed the divine wrath would be removed. It was the schoolboy feeling of the age: "submit to a flogging, and then you need think no more of the fault; with the last stroke of the rod, the master forgives — the penalty is paid."* Then again, Henry thought, no doubt, that he would appease Becket who, in the next world, was, he imagined, praying for his destruction. If the king did St. Thomas the honour of asking his intercession, he might convert an enemy, pleased with the compliment, into a friend. But, allowing for the operation of some such feelings, we should doubt, whether they would have induced Henry to make a pilgrimage to Canterbury, unless there had supervened an ulterior object and a political motive.†

A large majority of his English subjects were not satisfied with the terms, on which Henry had been admitted to absolution. In the rebellion of his son, their loyalty to the elder king could not be depended upon. Something was to be done, to regain their confidence, and to prove, that Henry was as ready, as themselves, to acknowledge the merits of a saint, whose fame was European, while it

* See note, Life of Becket, p. 438.

† There is a remarkable passage in the Itinerary of Cambria of Giraldus Cambrensis which shows the prevalence of this superstition. He says, that as the Irish and Welsh are in this mortal life more prone to anger and revenge than any other people, so the saints of those countries, in their life after death, seem to be more than others of a revengeful temper. "Sicut natio Hibernica, necnon et Cambria, præ aliis gentibus præcipites in iram et ad vindictam in vita proni reperiuntur, sic et in morte vitali terrarum earundem sancti præ aliis animi vindicis esse videntur."—Lib. ii. c. 7.

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reflected especial honour on his native land, and his Cathedral Church.

Thomas à Becket had already been canonized by the pope. The miracles, wrought at his tomb, were, in number and magnitude, so vast as to meet the cravings of superstition for the marvellous, and to satisfy even the credulity of an infidel, always slow to receive the truth, eager to believe absurdities*. When Henry had determined to follow the example, so often set him by Becket, and to try the effect of a *coup de théâtre*, he set sail for England. He had a fair passage to Southampton. As soon as he landed, he began his fast on bread and water. Although he did not lay aside the emblems of royalty, until he was in sight of Canterbury, he avoided the towns, and abstained from the transaction of business. On Friday, the 13th of June, the metropolitan cathedral was in sight. He dismounted from his horse at St. Dunstan's Church. He put on a hair shirt; over that a woollen shirt; and arrayed himself in a rough cloak. He trod the ground with his naked feet, and the rough flints caused his feet to bleed. On entering the porch of the cathedral, he prostrated himself on the floor; and, with hands stretched out to heaven, he continued long in prayer. Proceeding to the martyrdom, he kissed the stone on which Becket had fallen. He was then attended to the crypt. Here again, he knelt down, kissed the tomb, and, dissolved in tears, he groaned forth prayers. Meantime, Gilbert Foliot, Bishop of London, was, in obedience to the king's command, preaching to the people. He declared, that the king had neither commanded, nor wished, nor by any device contrived, the

* The infidel, the man who denies the truth of Christianity, is in these days the most eager dupe of every impostor. We might mention names if it were expedient to do so. The credulity of infidels has been in all ages the same.

death of the martyr; which had been perpetrated, in consequence of his murderers having misinterpreted the words which the king had hastily pronounced.* He also informed them, that the king was prepared to restore all its property to the Church of Canterbury; and to assign forty pounds yearly to be expended in candles, to be kept burning, continually, at the martyr's tomb.

When the bishop returned to the crypt, the king, in the presence of the monks, ratified what Foliot had said, and received the kiss of reconciliation from the prior. Henry then bared his back; and, placing his head within one of the openings of the tomb, he received five strokes, first from the Bishop of London, and then from every bishop and abbot present;—three from the monks, eighty in number. He remained in the crypt, through the whole night, fasting, having first received absolution. At an early hour in the morning, he visited the altars and shrines, and heard mass. Having thus performed his penance, he set out for London. When we remember that Henry was celebrated for the rapidity of his movements, and when we learn, that it took a week to reach London, we may come to the conclusion, that he had been reduced in strength, by the discipline to which he had subjected himself, which was no collusion but a degrading reality. This was not an age of shams — men were thoroughly in earnest, whether for good or evil.

II. This was the last great event, which took place in Lanfranc's church. Archbishop Richard had not yet been enthroned. He had arrived, in London, on the 2nd of September.† Whilst staying there‡, resting from the fatigues of his long journey from Italy, the news reached him that his cathedral had been destroyed by fire. The

* I chiefly follow Wendover.

† Diceto, 581.

‡ Dum moraretur. Gervas, 1428.

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conflagration occurred, on the 5th of September. Three cottages, just outside of the walls of the monastery, had caught fire; but the people assembled in force, and the flames were put out, before the cottages were half destroyed. The wind had been high; and, blowing from the south, had carried the sparks and cinders from the cottages to the roof of the cathedral, and considerable fears were entertained, at first, for the safety of the sacred edifice. An examination took place; no damage was discovered, and the crowd dispersed. But not long after, the cry arose, "The cathedral is on fire!" The cinders, which had been cast forth from the burning cottages, had, though undiscovered, insinuated themselves between the joints of the lead on the roof, and there they lay, smouldering amidst the half rotten timber,—between the well-painted ceiling below and the sheet-lead covering above, —until the high wind fanned them into a flame. The half burnt timbers soon began to fall upon the stalls underneath. The wood-work was ignited. The flames rushed up to the height of twenty-four feet. Notwithstanding the bravery of the people and of the monks, in endeavouring to stop the conflagration, Conrad's choir, at that time the glory of the cathedral, was entirely destroyed.*

The ornaments of the church, the hangings and the curtains, were seized and pulled down by the crowd, among whom, some came to assist the chapter, and others to steal whatever they could lay their hands upon.

When this portion of the cathedral was, at length, seen to lie "a heap of ruins,"—"a paradise of pleasures reduced to a weary wilderness," "the people," says Gervas, "were astonished that the Almighty should suffer such things;

* The account is taken from Gervas, whose minute description of the occurrence is translated by Professor Willis in his history of Canterbury Cathedral, and explained with that perspicuity which characterises the writings of the professor.

and, maddened with excess of grief and perplexity, they tore their hair, and beat the walls and pavement of the church with their heads and hands, blaspheming the Lord and his saints, the patrons of the church. Many both of laity and monks would rather have laid down their lives, than that the church should have so miserably perished. That they might alleviate their miseries with a little consolation, they put together, as well as they could, an altar and station, in the nave of the church, where they might wail and howl, rather than sing the diurnal and nocturnal services."

We have not been without experience of similar calamities, in modern times. York Minster has been twice burnt within our own memory, and the writer of these pages has, in an especial manner, had to deplore the fall of a portion of his own beautiful cathedral. The grief, under both public and private calamities, was more demonstrative in the ages, of which our history is now treating, than in modern days. We can scarcely imagine the fierce excitability of mediæval times, or the violences, into which men were hurried by the passions of anger, love, grief, joy, and repentance. We have learned to place restraint, — a restraint too rigid, — upon every demonstration of even the virtuous propensities of our nature. From fear of appearing hypocritical, in the expression of our feelings, we too often become real hypocrites, in our attempts to conceal them. He is a hypocrite, who pretends to be *more* religious than he really is; but a worse hypocrite is he, who pretends to be *less* religious than he really is. But, though we are less demonstrative, the generosity, which we have inherited from our ancestors, is still displayed, by the large funds, which are spontaneously supplied, to restore our ruined edifices to their pristine beauty and grandeur.

It was with heavy hearts, that the prior and chapter of

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Canterbury made preparations for enthroning their new archbishop; and some delays necessarily occurred. At length, on the 4th of October, 1174, Richard arrived in Canterbury; and on the following day he was enthroned.*

He immediately organised measures for the restoration of the fabric. Its reconstruction was entrusted to William of Sens, an architect as celebrated, in his age, as Barry or Scott, in our own. The works were continued, under his direction, from the year 1174 until 1178, when he, unfortunately, fell from a scaffolding raised for turning a vault. He was so crippled by the accident, that he had to make way for another William, who is described as "English by nation, small in body, but in workmanship of many kinds acute and honest."

In 1184, ten years after the burning of Conrad's choir, the work of restoration was completed under the superintendence of "English William."

Four years before this, however, the members of the cathedral had resumed their stalls in the new choir. It was in a very unfinished state, when the monks came to a determination that they would take possession of it on Easter Eve. What occurred shall be stated in the words of one who was present on the occasion: —

"As all that was required could not be fully performed on the Saturday, because of the solemnities of that sacred day; it became necessary that our holy fathers and patrons, St. Dunstan and St. Elphege, the co-exiles of the monks, should be transferred to the new choir beforehand. Prior Alan, therefore, taking with him nine of the brethren of the church, on whom he could place reliance, went, by night, to the tombs of the saints; that he might not be incommoded by a crowd. Having locked the doors of the church, he commanded the stone-work that enclosed them to be taken down.

* Gervas, 1428 Diceto, 581.

"The monks and servants of the church, therefore, in obedience to the prior's commands, took the structure to pieces, opened the stone coffins of the saints, and bore their relics to the *vestiarium*. Then, having removed the cloths, in which they had been wrapped, and which were half consumed from age and rottenness, they covered them with other and more handsome palls, and bound them with linen bands. They bore the saints, thus prepared, to their altars, and deposited them in wooden chests, covered within and without, with lead. The chests thus lead-covered and strongly bound with iron, were enclosed in stone-work that was again consolidated with melted lead. Queen Ediva also, who had been placed under the altar of the Holy Cross, after the fire, was in like manner conveyed to the vestiarium. These things were done, on the night of Wednesday before the holy Easter, that is the 16th of April. On the morrow, however, when this translation of the saints became known to the whole convent, the brethren were exceedingly astonished and indignant, that it should have been done without their consent; for they had intended that the translation of the fathers should have been performed with great and devout solemnity.

"They cited the prior and those who were with him, before the venerable Archbishop Richard, to answer for the slight thus presumptuously cast upon themselves and the holy patrons of the Church; and they endeavoured to compel the prior and his assistants to resign. But, by the intervention of the archbishop and other men of authority, and after due apology and repentance, the convent was appeased. Harmony being thus restored; the service of Holy Saturday was performed in the chapter-house, because the stations of the monks and the altar, which had been in the nave of the church, were removed to prepare for the solemnities of Easter Sunday. About the sixth hour, the archbishop, in cope and mitre, and the convent, in albs, according to the custom of the church, went in procession to the new fire, and having consecrated it, proceeded towards the new choir with the appointed hymn.* At the door of the church, which opens

* These ceremonies for Easter Eve are detailed at length in the statutes of Lanfranc. The fire from whence the paschal candle in the choir was to be lighted, was made in the cloister, and the monks went in procession from the choir thither, and having consecrated the fire, they

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to the martyrdom of St. Thomas, the archbishop reverently received from a monk, the pix, with the Eucharist, which was usually suspended over the great altar. This he carried to the great altar of the new choir. Thus our Lord went before us into Galilee, that is, in our transmigration to the new church. The remainder of the offices, that appertain to the day were devoutly celebrated. And then the pontiff, standing at the altar, and vested with the *infula*, began the *Te Deum laudamus*. The bells rang. The whole convent took up the song with great joy, and shedding sweet tears, they praised the Lord, with voice and heart, for all his benefits.*

III. On the 18th of May, 1175, the Sunday before Ascension Day, the archbishop held a synod at Westminster, at which several canons were enacted. These decrees, says Hoveden, were published by the archbishop, who stood on an elevated platform. On the same occasion, according to Gervas, he delivered an eloquent and weighty sermon † At this synod also, he instituted three archdeaconries in his diocese, where there had been only one before.‡

Henry II. and his son were, both of them, present in the assembly, and consented to what was done.§ The canons were, most of them, based on the decretals. The

lighted a taper from it, which was ready prepared at the end of a long stick (*hasta*), and carried this back to the choir with psalms and hymns and incense to light the paschal candle. Vide Statuta Lanfranci, § 4. They are printed in Reyner's "Apostolatus Benedictinorum in Anglia," p. 223; and in Wilkins' "Concilia."

* Gervas, 1299, 1300.

† "Sermonem tam facunde quam diserte fecit." — *Gerv. Chron.*

‡ "Richard Archbishop of Canterbury appointed three archdeacons in his district, which from ancient times had been contented with only one; these were Savaric, Nicolas, and Herebert."—*Matt. West*, ad ann. See also Wendover, although he gives the next year as the date. Diceto, 588, A.D. 1175.

§ According to Diceto, 586, only the junior king was present. The authority used by Spelman and Wilkins mentions both.

archbishop, in his opening address, intimated that he thought it preferable to adhere to the rules of the Fathers, rather than to create new ones. Some of the canons throw light on the practices and principles of the age.*

The first canon takes us rather by surprise, after the various enactments, of which we have read,— and it shows the extreme difficulty, which still existed to enforce the celibacy of the clergy.

"If any priest or clerk in holy orders †, that has a benefice, publicly keeps a concubine, and does not dismiss her upon a third admonition, let him be deprived of office and benefice: any under subdeacons may keep their wives, if they are married, unless by mutual consent they choose to be religious ‡: yet they are not to be beneficed if they live with their wives. But they who have married since they were subdeacons, are to leave their women whether they consent or not. And§ let not sons be instituted into their father's benefices, unless some one succeed between them." ‖

* The canons are given in Gerv. Chron., and Hoveden. I follow Wilkins, i. 476, who gives variations from MS. Lambeth. n. 17, and MS. Eliense, n. 235.

† That is subdeacon or any order above that: for the other orders were inferior.

‡ That is, monks or recluses; *qui ad conversionem* (not *conversationem*) veniunt. Somner.

§ Yet Clement III. in the year 1189, allowed all sons of clergymen lawfully begotten to succeed their fathers. His decretal is extant in the first book. Tit. 17, c. 12.

‖ The marriage of the clergy was frequently winked at and treated as a joke, except when a bishop was ascetic and strict. When Archbishop Richard was at Rome in 1174, Pope Alexander expressed surprise at not seeing the bishop elect of Ely. To this Berter of Orleans, the envoy of the younger Henry, replied, "And it please your Holiness, he has a gospel excuse." "What is that?" asked the Pope. "He has married a wife," replied Berter, "and therefore he cannot come." Hoveden ad ann.

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In the second canon, clerks in holy orders are prohibited from eating and drinking in taverns, and from being present at drinking bouts, unless in their travels.

The fourth canon has been referred to, in the life of Theodore. It decrees, that clerks who wear long hair are to be clipped, whether they like it or not, by the archdeacon. They are prohibited from using any clothes or shoes but what are decent. The eleventh canon is to the same effect, with an express prohibition against wearing or bearing arms.

The fifth canon shows, that great care was necessary, before admitting the validity of orders conferred by foreign bishops. It stands thus: "Because clerks for their ignorance, incontinence, defect of birth, title or age, despairing of higher orders from their own bishops, procure, or pretend themselves to be ordained by foreign bishops, and so bring seals unknown to their own dioceses; we therefore annul their orders, forbidding under threat of anathema any to admit them to the exercise of their function. Let any bishop of our jurisdiction, who knowingly ordains or receives such a clerk, be suspended from conferring that order to which he thus admitted the foreigner, till he makes due satisfaction."

We find that livings were sold, the ninth canon being enacted to counteract the evil.

"Let none transfer a church to another, in the name of a portion *, or take any money or covenanted gain for the presentation of any one. He that is guilty by conviction or confession is for ever deprived of the patronage of that church by the king's authority and ours."

From the eighth canon we learn that money was sometimes paid for the reception of monks or nuns into what was called a religious life.

* That is as a portion from a father or grandfather to his son or grandson.

The fifteenth shows, that there was a reluctance on the part of the clergy of the Church of England to administer the Holy Communion in one kind. The canon is as follows:—"We forbid the Eucharist to be sopped, as if the communion were by this means more entirely administered. Christ gave a sop only to that disciple, whom He pointed out for a traitor, and not to denote the institution of this sacrament."

The sixteenth canon has also reference to the Holy Communion:—"We charge, that the Eucharist be not consecrated in any chalice not made of gold or silver; and that no bishop bless a chalice of tin."*

The eighteenth canon has reference to marriage:—"Marriage is null, without consent of both parties; they who marry boys and girls do nothing, unless both consent, after they come to age of discretion; therefore we forbid the conjunction of those, who have not both attained the legal and canonical age, unless there be an urgent necessity for the good of peace."

Although Roger, Archbishop of York, refused to be present at this synod, yet some of his clergy attended; and they who asserted the right of the Archbishop of York to have his cross carried before him, in the province of Canterbury. They, also, maintained, that the Bishops of Lincoln, Chester, Worcester, and Hereford, were suffragans of the northern metropolitan. When these claims were not allowed, they appealed to the court of Rome. They complained of the Archbishop of Canterbury, that he had cursed the clergy of St. Oswalds, Gloucester, because they refused to regard him as their metropolitan;—but to their complaint no attention was paid.

In the course of this year, 1174, the king, who was

* Yet this canon, as it now stands in the *Corpus Juris Canonici*, allows tin, though not brass, to poor churches. See De Consecr. distinct. i. c. 45.

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anxious to adjust the differences, between the two metropolitans, prevailed upon them to refer their case to the Archbishop of Rouen and the French prelates. But all attempts at reconciliation were ineffectual. The king then applied to pope Alexander, to send a legate, who might arbitrate between the disputatious prelates. The pope was too happy to accede to the royal request, and Cardinal Hugo* made his appearance in England. The two kings, Henry senior and Henry junior, received him at Westminster. But the legate did not succeed, in settling the controversy between the archbishops. On the contrary, when he convened an assembly with that view, a most unseemly and extraordinary feud took place; such as the most reverend prelates, who at present occupy the sees of Canterbury and York can hardly picture to their minds; although if such a contest were now to take place, no one can doubt, that the result would be different, from what it was in the time of King Henry II.

The meeting was held, in St. Catharine's chapel, which was the chapel of the infirmary, attached to Westminster Abbey. Such a chapel was so constructed, as to open, upon what we should now call the wards,—upon the quasi nave,—so that the sick monks might hear the services as they lay in their beds; and the convalescent easily transfer themselves into the choir. This is mentioned to show, how easily the chapel might be entered by a crowd of persons.† The meeting was convened for the 1st of March, 1176. The Archbishop of York arrived

* Hoveden calls him Hugezun, Cardinal Deacon Titular of St. Michael de Petra Leonis. It appears that he had been at York formerly with Archbishop Roger. See also William of Newburgh. Henry is supposed to have had a further object in sending for the legate — to effect a divorce between him and Queen Eleanor.

† See Scott's Gleanings of Westminster Abbey, p. 9. A chapel may be seen at Châlons precisely such as Mr. Scott describes.

early, determined, as he hoped, to secure his seat at the legate's right hand. But the Archbishop of Canterbury had already taken his place.* Then the Archbishop of York tried to squeeze himself in between the Archbishop of Canterbury and the legate. But the legate and the Archbishop of Canterbury remained so firm, stiff, and upright in their places, that the Archbishop of York was defeated in his project. Suddenly the Archbishop of Canterbury was almost annihilated by the Archbishop of York, who had squatted himself down on his lap. This was more than the lieges of the Archbishop of Canterbury could stand. They flew upon the poor Archbishop of York; dragged him from the unwilling embraces of the Archbishop of Canterbury, threw him on the ground, kicked him, beat him with sticks and fists,—*baculis et pugnis*,—tore off his hood and his robes, and dragged him out of the chapel. All was confusion. The Archbishop of Canterbury, returning good for evil, rushed after the people and entreated them not to hurt his brother of York. Meantime, the legate, frightened out of his wits, was seen flying about, in every direction, to discover a place in which to ensconce his person, and to find safety in concealment. No council, of course, could be held. The assembly dispersed. The legate was incensed against the Archbishop of Canterbury, and appealed to the pope; but he found all his remonstrances made in vain †, and, having probably seen enough of English independence he speedily took his departure.

He could not have been well pleased, at what he had

* Gervas, Art. Pont. Cant. His account in the Chronicle varies a little from his other statement. Birchington, Ang. Sac. i. 9. William of Newburgh gives somewhat a different account of the riot. Owing to the confusion, there were of course slight differences in the various statements, which I have harmonised.

† "In Anglia nullam habere potestatem."—*Gervas, Chron.*

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witnessed in England. For the king had gained a great triumph in a council, held at Northampton in the preceding January. Here, the Constitutions of Clarendon were renewed. It was, moreover, conceded to the king, that he might implead the clergy in temporal courts, if they presumed to hunt or kill deer in his parks and forests. This was, indeed, to concede the whole principle, for the maintenance of which Becket had been driven into exile.

IV. I shall not involve the reader in the uninteresting details of the archbishop's dispute with the abbot and monks of St. Augustine; but it is due to Archbishop Richard to show, that he could act with spirit, when the occasion required it. He did not encroach upon the prerogatives of the crown, but he could resist the aggressions of the papacy.

It has been observed, that, whatever may have been the dominant cause, it is a fact, that the episcopal and monastic systems have been seldom found to work harmoniously together.* This was chiefly occasioned, by the lofty pretensions of the mediæval abbots, and by the papal exemptions granted in their behalf. Theobald and Baldwin were, equally with Richard, engaged in a struggle with the abbots for supremacy, and were defeated, through the agency of Rome.

Archbishop Richard spoke his mind upon the subject, to pope Alexander III. in a letter sent to him, in 1180.† It was written, on the occasion of a quarrel between the Abbot of Malmesbury and his Diocesan the Bishop of Salisbury. After mentioning a story then current, that an exemption might be purchased at Rome, for the annual payment of an ounce of gold; he plainly tells the pope what, to soberminded people, like himself, appeared to be among the worst abuses of the age.

* Hardwick, Introduction to Elmham.

† Opp. Pet. Bles. ep. 68.

"Abbots exalt themselves against primates and bishops, nor does any one exhibit reverence and respect towards his superiors. The yoke of obedience, in which was the only hope of safety, and the remedy against former falsehood, has been shaken off. The abbots greatly detest having a corrector of their excesses. They embrace the license of impunity, and relaxing their bond of claustral warfare, give free scope to their desires. Hence it is that the property of nearly all the monasteries has been given over to spoliation and plunder. For the abbots outwardly follow the desires of the flesh, caring nothing, provided they make a fair show, and there be peace in their days. For the brethren of the cloister, being as it were acephalous, spend their time in ease and idle conversation; for they have no superintendent to bend them to a better course of life. Indeed, if you were to hear their stormy contentions, you would think their cloister differed little from a market. All this, reverend father, requires your seasonable correction. For unless a speedy stop be put to this evil, is it not to be feared that as the abbots are released from the bishops, so the bishops will be from the archbishops and the deans and archdeacons from the prelates."

In the year 1176, Archbishop Richard, who was much in the king's confidence, was sent for to Normandy, by Henry, to arrange a marriage between his daughter Joanna and William King of Sicily.

In 1179, the King of France came to England, to visit Becket's tomb; on which occasion, according to Gervas and Wendover, he was respectfully received by the king and the archbishop. At this time, the French king made a grant of 100 measures of wine, to the convent of Canterbury.

In 1182 the archbishop was at Caen, where he excommunicated all, who caused dissension between the king and his sons. There is a beautiful and truly Christian letter from the archbishop to the young King Henry among the letters of Peter of Blois.* And when the

* Opp. Pet. Bles. ep. 47.

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young king died, the archbishop escorted the funeral procession to Le Mans.* He was buried at Le Mans: but, by the command of the king, the body was afterwards disinterred and carried to Rouen, where it was, a second time, buried; the archbishops of Canterbury and Rouen officiating. We may believe, from the result, that the exhortations of the good archbishop, addressed to the headstrong young prince, had not been without effect.

In 1184, when the archbishop was making a journey from his manor of Wrotheham† to Rochester, he was seized with shivering and sickness. He reached the village of Halling, Halengs, or Allingham, belonging to the see of Rochester; and here, on the 16th of February, he expired *colica passione et aliis incommoditatibus.*

The monks of St. Augustine's continued to libel him to the last, and propagated a story that his death was occasioned by a fright, caused by a vision he had seen of a terrible person, who, in a fierce manner, reproached him as a destroyer of the Church; predicting, that the archbishop's own destruction was immediately to follow. The alarm thus occasioned to the conscience-stricken man, it was said, brought on a complaint of the bowels, of which he died. Such is the *odium theologicum.* Of all hatred, the most malignant is religious hatred.

In spite of the monks of St. Augustine, the chapter of Canterbury celebrated the obsequies of Archbishop Richard, with magnificence. He was buried in the north aisle of the church. Dart, writing in the 18th century, says: "His grave is the same, in which Dr. Anian now lies, for whom when they dug it up, they discovered the pontificalia, together with a small chalice, which were interred with this prelate."

* R. de Monte, p. 808.

† Wrotheham, Gervas, 1465; Hallinges, now Halling.

CHAP. IX.

BALDWIN.*

Born at Exeter. — Uncle of Joseph the Poet. — A schoolmaster. — Archdeacon of Exeter. — A monk of the Cistercian abbey of Ford. — Severe discipline of the Cistercians. — His enthusiasm as a monk. — Abbot of Ford. — Enthusiasm subsides. — Bishop of Worcester. — Gilbert de Plumpton. — On death of Archbishop Richard, party feeling strong in the Church. — Baldwin archbishop. — Curious circumstances attending his election. — Controversy with the monks of his cathedral. — Baldwin attempts to remove the election of primate from the chapter of Christchurch. — Designs to erect his cathedra at Hackington. — King and clergy with the archbishop. — Papal interference. — Papal authority defied. — Ranulph de Glanville inhibits the Papal legates. — Papal excommunications disregarded by clergy of the Church of England. — Monks rebuked by Ranulph de Glanville for attachment to Rome. — The monks finally triumph. — Hackington scheme given up. — Lambeth purchased. — Baldwin takes the cross as a crusader. — White cross adopted for England. — Special service for the crusade. — Baldwin preaches the crusade in Wales. — Giraldus Cambrensis. — Coronation of Richard I. — Council

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* Authorities: — Gervas, Act. Pontif. and his Chronica; Giraldus Cambrensis, Vita sex Episcoporum Coætaneorum, and De rebus a se Gestis in the Anglia Sacra, together with his Itinerarium Cambriæ; Richard of Devizes; William of Newburgh; Roger of Wendover; Roger of Hoveden — perhaps the most accurate of our chroniclers; the Iter Ricardi of Geoffrey of Vinsauf. This work was printed by Gale under this title, but the learned Mr. Petrie attributes it to Richard the Canon, whose life is given by Mr. Wright in the Biographia Britannica Literaria.

of Pipewell. — Baldwin consigns the care of his diocese to Bishop of London. — Letter to the Pope. — Baldwin sails for Palestine. — Laws enjoined on crusaders. — Archbishop lands in Palestine. — His first battle. — Defence of his conduct. — Immorality of the crusaders. — Grief of Baldwin. — Dies in Palestine.

CHAP. IX. Baldwin. 1185—1190.

GERVAS who, with strong party prejudices, wrote the Life of Baldwin, honestly commences his brief notice of him, with expressing his intention to say all the evil of the Archbishop that he could. But he is compelled to admit, that Baldwin led an irreproachable life; and all that he attempts to prove against him is, that, in a controversy between the archbishop and the monks of his cathedral, some of his actions were despotic — a fact which, on reviewing the controversy, we should only partially admit.

Baldwin was born in Exeter. Of his family we only know, that his parents were poor, and that he had a nephew, Joseph the poet.* He distinguished himself early, as a scholar; receiving his education, probably, in one of those monastic schools, which were open to all who chose to attend them, though very few there were who availed themselves of the advantage.

He himself became a schoolmaster, discharging the duties of that important office, like Lanfranc, not in con-

* This is stated by Giraldus Cambrensis, De rebus a se Gestis, Ang. Sac. ii. 492, on the authority of Baldwin himself — Wharton adds a note. "Josephum Iscanum à Baldwino hic laudari arbitror. Claruit is isthoc circiter tempore, arte Poeticâ insignis; qui inter alia ingenii sui monumenta scripsit metricè belli Trojani historiam, sub Daretis Phrygii nomine vulgatam. Illi patronus erat Baldwinus archiepiscopus, referente Lelando apud Baleum de Scriptoribus, Cent. iii. cap. 60. Baldwini nepotem fuisse non alius ante Giraldum indicavit." I have assumed that this is none other than the author of the De Bello Trojano and of the Antiocheis, whom Thomas Warton calls "the miracle of his age in classical composition." Both Warton and Wright speak of Baldwin as the patron of Joseph of Exeter, but, by neither of them, is he mentioned as the uncle.

nexion with any ecclesiastical corporation. His learning, his zeal, and his ardent piety, recommended him to the notice of Bartholomew, Bishop of Exeter; by whom he was ordained, and who afterwards appointed him to the office of archdeacon.

Baldwin was a man of enthusiastic temperament, and threw himself heartily into his work, whatever it might be. When he had passed from the schools into the church, and devoted his mind to theology, his fervent piety revolted from the pomp and ceremony, which attended or surrounded every high position, whether in Church or in State*; and his inclination was strong to quit the town, and in the country, to devote himself to an ascetic and contemplative life. Like most enthusiasts, he regarded his inclinations as an inspiration from God: and accordingly, he did not perceive that, to desert a post assigned to us by Divine Providence, merely because its duties are not congenial with our tastes and feelings, is, in fact, an act of disobedience to Him, who indicates the manner of our service, by the circumstances under which he places us. Baldwin repaired to the Cistercian abbey of Ford,—for none, but a monastery of the most austere character, would meet the requirements of his enthusiasm.

The Cistercians were so called from Citeaux, a village between Dijon and Châlons. The order had become celebrated, through its most distinguished member, the celebrated Bernard of Clairvaux,—St. Bernard. The Cistercian order is said to have been introduced into England, by Walter Giffard, Bishop of Winchester; who, in the year 1128, founded the abbey of Waverley in Surrey. From this abbey, that of Ford was an offshoot. It was originally founded by Richard, the son of Baldwin

* "Cedens honorem et sponte deserens, mundique pompas alta mente despiciens."—*Ang. Sac.* ii. 430.

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de Brioniis sometimes called Richard Fitz-Baldwin.* He held the manor of Okehampton, and, in 1136, brought an abbot and twelve Cistercian monks from Waverley, to his land of Brightley in Devonshire. Richard, however, dying without issue, his inheritance fell to his sister Adelicia. Her monks being, for some reason, discontented with their quarters, determined to return to Waverley. Their intention, however, becoming known to Adelicia, she immediately assigned to them the manor of Thorncomb, with the principal mansion of the same, called Ford.†

The object of those, to whom the Cistercians looked as their founders, had not been to establish a new order, but rather to reform the Benedictines. A reformation was, in general, the first object with those by whom, in reality, a new monastic order was created. Such reformations were frequent, but not more frequent than necessary. What begins in enthusiasm has a tendency to subside, first into lukewarmness, and then into mere indifference. Human nature cannot be sustained at fever heat. The stern discipline, the moral restraint, the rigid asceticism had ceased, in a great measure, even at Clugni, long considered the model of the Benedictine system; when Robert of Molesme and Stephen Harding laboured,

* Dugdale, v. 376. The name and the place may lead one to suspect that Archbishop Baldwin may have been connected with this family. Richard-Fitz Baldwin was indeed a great man, who had *custodiam totius comitatus Devoniæ*, and Baldwin's parents were poor. But one branch of the family might easily in those days have sunk from wealth to poverty.

† Cartæ ad Fordense Cœnob. in the appendix to Dugdale. For the principles of the Cistercians the first authority is the Charta Charitatis. See also Dugdale and Stevens; see more especially Angelus Manrique de Burgen, Annales Cistercienses, Lugd. 1642; and Miræus, Chronicon Cisterciensis ordinis, Colon. 1614.

— and for a time with success — to restore the ancient discipline of St. Benedict.*

This was the monastic order, which attracted the ardent piety of Baldwin; and, at first, it was the more attractive from the contrast it afforded to his late mode of life, while it reminded him of the hardships of his youth of poverty. He knew the rule of the Cistercians. They neither wore skins nor shirts, they never ate flesh, except in sickness and as a medicine; or fish or eggs or milk or cheese. They lay on straw beds, in their tunics and cowls. They rose at midnight, and spent the rest of the night, till break of day, in singing the praises of the Lord. They then resorted to the chapter-house, where they confessed to one another, — a practice which must have resembled a class meeting and telling of their experiences among modern Methodists. The rest of the day was spent in labour, reading, prayer and alms-deeds. Strict silence was enjoined, except at times allowed for spiritual conference. Their very dress provoked the contempt of other monks and exposed them to reproach. It consisted of a white frock or cassock†, covered but not concealed by a black cloak when they left the convent. Hence they were called white monks.

Baldwin having resigned his archdeaconry, approached the monastery of Ford, and prostrated himself before the chapter-house, where stood the prior with his brethren.

* In the institutions of the monks of Citeaux, it is expressly declared that their distinction was to be a renunciation of all customs, not exactly in accordance with the rule of St. Benedict: abuses which had been introduced into other monasteries. They specify, to condemn, the use of furs and rich skins, superfluous habits, ornaments of beds, variety and plenty of meat, and eating of fat bacon.

† Their original dress was grey. But it was a legend that the Virgin gave to the second abbot, a white coat for his monks. In the choir they wore a white cowl. But the scapulary and capuchin remained tawny or grey, or was changed for black.

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"What do you want?" asked the prior.* "To be made a brother," was the answer. "Is it your will, and do you heartily desire to be a partaker of all masses and prayers and alms-deeds done in this holy place, or shall be done hereafter?" "Yes." "Is it your will also to defend and maintain the rights of this holy place, to the best of your ability, whereby God and St. Andrew may be the more peaceably served by your word and good-will, as a true brother ought to do?" The answer was given in the affirmative. Then the prior, turning to his brethren, said, "Here, my brethren is my Master Baldwin, who, of his clean devotion which he hath to God, and of a special desire to us, asketh for God's sake to be admitted and received into our brotherhood that he may have his part in the spiritual blessings and prayers, which, through the gifts and grace of God, are done among us. Is it your pleasure to receive him?" The consent was given. The prior then took him by the hand and said, "We take you, Master Baldwin, into our brotherhood, granting to you to be partaker in all masses, matins, evensongs, prayers, fastings, abstinences, watchings, alms and other good deeds, the which to the praising of God be done among us and all ours." Baldwin then rose and kissed each of the brethren.†

All was strange and new to Baldwin, accustomed only to the city monasteries and churches. The austerity of the Cistercians extended even to sacred things. There

* The most ancient form in English, from Oliver's Monasticon Exon., is given with some others in Maskell, i. cxx. I have not given the old English, because our noble language was, in the twelfth century, only in its transition state — and the form actually used must have been in Norman French.

† This is given on the authority of De Vitry in his Western History, written about the middle of the thirteenth century, and quoted by Stevens, ii. 26.

were many, who were attracted to the Benedictine cloisters, by the splendour of their churches, with their elaborate ornaments, with their chalices studded with precious stones, with their vestments of gold and silver tissue, their striking ceremonial and splendid rites.

The Cluniac monks, whose example had been generally followed in Western Europe, had formed the idea, — and a noble idea it was, — of making the Church, a palace for the poor, the Temple of the Lord, the joy of the whole earth. Without were wars, fightings, dangers, and discomforts of all kinds, — within the sanctuary, the children of God were to find peace, and comfort, and holy delight. But, in this age, everything was in an extreme. There was no *via media* in any place, or in any soul. The first Cistercians saw all these things degenerating into mere theatrical display. God was forgotten in the very means, which were designed to bring the mind, into high communion with the things invisible and eternal. This is a frequent complaint in the writings of St. Bernard. The Cistercians rushed to the opposite extreme. Æsthetics were eschewed. No pictures, no sculptures were permitted to instruct the people unable to read. No candlestick was permitted on the altar. No corona hung gracefully in the centre of the church, to shed its light around. No gold or silver crosses were tolerated. The chalice was only of silver gilt.* The vestments of the officiating ministers were merely a linen surplice, and a fustian cope. All were placed under self-restraint: no one was permitted to prostrate himself in devotion: there was no exciting music; nothing but the dull monotony of the Gregorian chants unharmonised.

Baldwin entered, with all the fervour of his nature,

* Although the communion in one kind had by this time become the general practice, the Cistercians declined to follow it. They received the wine through a quill or pipe which was to be only of silver gilt.

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into the system, and became more monkish than a monk.* Within a year, he was elected abbot. He then became distinguished as an author. He laboured, as became his calling, but his was labour, rather mental than manual. His principal works now extant are a treatise "De commendatione fidei;" another "De Sacramento altaris," dedicated to his patron Bartholomew Bishop of Exeter, and sixteen tracts on various religious subjects. There is a penitential of Baldwin's and some sermons still preserved in the library of Lambeth. They are devout compositions, but contain nothing of historical value.

His published works do not contain any matter of deep interest, either in a historical or theological point of view. A fair specimen of his style is given by Mr. Wright, in a passage, which takes a gloomy view of the times and of the general state of society. † He was a great reader rather than a deep thinker; and his talents tended to the duties of active life rather than to the pleasures of contemplation.

In the monastery of Ford, he soon discovered that, in becoming a monk, he had mistaken his calling. Enthusiasm is seldom found to be long excited, by the same object. He did not experience all the advantages he expected to derive, from the restraints of a monastic life. His zeal, in this direction, had cooled. He, consequently, availed himself gladly of the opportunity to leave his monastery, which the offer of high preferment presented. He was consecrated to the see of Worcester, in the year 1180. He became ever after, an opponent of monks, and the champion of the secular clergy. This created enemies and caused evil surmisings.

We are told by Giraldus Cambrensis, that pope Urban addressed a letter to him; headed ironically, *Monacho*

* "Quoniam moribus olim plusquam monachus extiterat."—*Diceto.*

† Biog. Brit. ii. 294. See also Wharton, Auctar. Hist. Dogmat. J. Usserii, pp. 407, 408.

ferventissimo, abbati calido, episcopo tepido, archiepiscopo remisso. We must make allowance for the epigrammatic point, which was intended; and, regarding the sarcasm as a pleasantry, we must, while admitting the truth, which is in it, qualify the expression. Baldwin had been and had ceased to be a fervent monk: as an abbot, he probably neglected the interests of the monastery to devote himself to his studies: as an archbishop, following the impulses of his zeal, rather than doing, with his might, what his hand found to do, he forsook his see and province to become a crusader: we have no means of judging how far he was tepid as a bishop. We can only say, that the Bishop of Worcester, on one occasion, yielded to the dictates of a noble nature, and carried out its suggestions energetically.

Gilbert de Plumpton, a knight of noble birth, was brought, in chains, to Worcester, accused of a rape. He was condemned, and led forth to execution. A tumult was raised, as he was being conducted to the gibbet. Men and women were heard shouting, that innocent blood was about to be shed. Bishop Baldwin was informed of what had occurred. He immediately hastened to the spot. The man was already suspended. The bishop shouted, "In the name of Almighty God, and, under pain of excommunication, I forbid you to put that man to death, on this, the Lord's day and the feast of St. Mary Magdalene." The executioners were astonished. They feared, on the one hand, the king's anger if his commands were not obeyed; and, on the other, the bishop's excommunication; but the rope was loosed. The man was not dead. He revived. During the night, the king was moved with pity, and the condemned man, whose execution the bishop could only delay till the morrow, was respited.*

* This story is connected with what is now generally regarded as a libel against that great and good man Ranulph de Glanville. He is

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The presence of mind in the bishop, as well as his courage, is indicative of that superiority of character, which raised him to his present eminence.

The translation of the Bishop of Worcester to the metropolitan see, took place in the year 1184–5. Difficulties had to be overcome, in appointing a successor to Archbishop Richard, similar to those, which we have seen to have existed, on other occasions. The controversy is quaintly narrated by Gervas. "When Richard, Archbishop of Canterbury, of happy memory, died, and the widowed church had no pastor, a question having been raised, in the presence of the king, as to who should occupy the place of the deceased, the monks of Canterbury, after having undergone many vexations, nominated to the king that just and good man, Peter, Bishop of St. David's. The king gave his consent. The matter, however, was postponed for a season, and they returned to London for the same purpose as before. Without any delay, the bishops, by themselves, elected Baldwin, Bishop of Worcester, and the monks returned to Canterbury.

stated by Hoveden to have procured the condemnation of Gilbert de Plumpton, from interested motives, on a false charge. Not only is the ferocity of the proceeding contrary to Glanville's general character, but his impunity, under the circumstances, would be unaccountable. If Glanville was the author, as is generally supposed of the *Tractatus de legibus et consuetudinibus regni Angliæ*, he would hardly have ventured to say as he does, that, in Henry II.'s reign, "none of the judges have so hardened a front, or so rash a presumption, as to dare to deviate, however slightly, from the path of justice or to utter a sentence in any measure contrary to the truth." — *Beame's translation of Glanville* Pref. p. xxxvii. If he were not the author, the argument, in his favour, is even stronger, for no one would have dared to say this, if the public could have refuted the assertion at once by pointing to the chief justiciary. Moreover, he would have owed his disgrace to Baldwin, and they could have hardly continued in friendship; — but not only was Ranulph the companion of Baldwin to the crusade, — he also attended him, during some part of his progress through Wales.

The king followed them; and in the chapter-house, on bent knees and with streaming eyes, he entreated the convent to accept the person, who had been elected; on the understanding, however, that the election of the bishops should be set aside entirely, and the convent proceed to a new election. The king's petition was granted, and all returned to London; and so, the election of the bishops having been quashed, Baldwin was elected by the monks. Messengers were, thereupon, despatched to the court of Rome; and pope Urban sent the pall to the archbishop elect. So, on his arrival at Canterbury, Baldwin was received by the monks with due honour, and enthroned." *

On the 19th of May the enthroning took place. The new archbishop was a man of dark complexion, of an open and venerable countenance, in stature neither short nor tall, rather thin than corpulent. He was a strict vegetarian in his diet, few of words, and slow to anger.†

There are two memorable transactions, during his archiepiscopate, to which our attention is especially directed: his controversy with the monks of his own cathedral: and the part he took in the third crusade.

I. His conduct with respect to the monks of Christ Church was such, as to leave a favourable impression of his ability and firmness. On every vacancy of the see of Canterbury, since the time of Lanfranc, there had been a dispute between the chapter of the cathedral and the suffragans of the province, as to the right of election. The king's part in the election had become an *influence* rather than a *right*,—an interference, real and constitutional, through custom, rather than strictly legal. Archbishop Baldwin saw, that the difficulty arose from the

* Gervas, 1675.

† Giraldus Cambrensis, Iter Camb.

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composition of the chapter, which consisted exclusively of monks. The archbishop was their abbot; and they naturally desired to have at their head, one who was himself a monk. Taking a narrow view of their position, they claimed the right, which belonged to other monasteries, of electing their own superior. The suffragan bishops, as naturally, claimed to have a voice in the appointment of their metropolitan.

Although Baldwin was himself a monk, he had no sympathy in this respect with the monks of his cathedral. He, as a Cistercian, respected the episcopal office, when the other monks defied it. Seeing the mischiefs, which resulted from exempting monasteries from episcopal jurisdiction, Stephen Harding, the real founder of the order, had enjoined upon his brethren, obedience to the diocesan.* The monks of Canterbury, on the contrary, had no respect for the episcopal office, and obeyed the archbishop simply because he was their abbot.

Although the chapter of Canterbury had been, at one time, composed of secular canons, Archbishop Baldwin saw, that their restoration was a thing impossible. The monks were in possession. The spirit of the age and of the religious world was in favour of the monks. And they were, also, in possession of a treasure of inestimable value, the body of Thomas à Becket. The whole world would be in arms for their defence, if they were directly attacked. At the suggestion, probably, of Henry II., with the consent of his suffragans, and at first of the pope, Baldwin entertained the idea of removing his cathedra to another church, and of forming, in his new cathedral, a chapter of secular canons, upon whom, in

* Stevens, 26. The Cistercians very soon became like the other monks in this as in other respects. They would not seek exemption from episcopal jurisdiction, — but would accept it when offered by king or pope.

conjunction with the suffragans of the province, should devolve the right of electing the primate.* The archbishop would thus cease to be the Abbot of Christ Church; and the chapter of that monastery might elect its own head, without detriment to the Church. The archbishop proceeded with caution. He commenced with the restoration and enlargement of the church at Hackington, about half a mile from Canterbury. He proposed to rebuild it, and to dedicate it to St. Thomas, as the late archbishop was now called. He obtained a bull from pope Urban III., empowering him to appropriate a fourth part of the offerings at the tomb of Becket, for the establishment of his new college of secular canons.* He had erected his college, and had selected his canons, before the suspicions of the monks were excited. As the head of their establishment, the archbishop had certain rights over portions of the estates not strictly capitular, and over some of the advowsons; and these, it seems, he was about to alienate from the monastery, and to appropriate them to his new establishment. Whether it was this that first caused alarm to the monks or not, it was certainly the cause of the extreme bitterness, with which they assailed the archbishop.

When once the monks penetrated the design, their indignation was beyond all bounds. They appealed to Rome. The archbishop suspended the appellants. He

* According to Gervas, Chron. Col. 1595, the idea originated with the king. He reports a conference between Henry II. and his bishops on the subject, in the course of which the king complains that the Court of Rome treated him with disrespect, forced his people to purchase their bulls, encouraged strife, multiplied appeals and perverted the law to enrich its functionaries. The conference is not, as far as I recollect, mentioned by other contemporary writers.

† Gervas, Chron. 1481; R. de Diceto, 631.

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was supported by the king, the secular clergy, and the chief persons in the kingdom. The common people and the religious world were with those, who were called the religious,—the monks. The papal authorities always sided with monks against their bishops. Urban revoked his bull in favour of the new college ; and required the archbishop to restore the monks, whom he had suspended for their appeal to Rome, such appeal being contrary to the laws of England. In case of disobedience, he appointed a commission, consisting of the abbots of Battle Abbey, of Feversham, and of St. Augustine's *, who were to relax the suspension, and to serve a mandate on the archbishop to appear at Rome on a given day.

Hasty and rapid as had been the usurpations of the papacy on the churches of Western Europe,—this stretch of authority was more than the Church and realm of England were at this time prepared to tolerate. The archbishop remained firm, and he was supported by the civil authorities. When the monition was served upon him, he served the abbots, who acted as the papal legates, with an inhibition from Ranulph de Glanville, the chief justiciary of England, of which the following is given as the form in Gervas : —

" Ranulph de Glanville to the Abbot of Bath greeting. I command you on behalf of our Lord the King, by the allegiance you owe to him and the oath you have sworn to him, that you, in no way, proceed in a suit between the monks of Canterbury and the Lord Archbishop of that see, until you shall have conferred with me thereupon : according to a precept attested by William de Glanville from the king over the water ; and all delay and excuses being laid aside, that you appear before me in London, on Saturday next, after the feast

* Gervas, Chronica, 1491, 1495, 1496.

of St. Margaret the Virgin, there to make answer in the premises." *

This put a stop to the proceedings of the legates; and the archbishop, thus supported by the authority of the Crown, forbade the monks from holding their usual manor courts, and proceeded to seize their possessions. Urban issued new commands, but his death prevented their execution.

The archbishop had a personal friend, in Gregory VIII., the successor of Urban, and fully expected to carry his point. But Gregory was soon removed by death; and, in Clement, the monks had an advocate as favourable to their cause, as Urban had been. Clement issued a mandate to the Abbot of Feversham and another ecclesiastic, to excommunicate all, who had been guilty of violence towards the monks.† The mandate was obeyed: but the sentence was disregarded by the secular clergy, who, in the name of the king and archbishop, exhorted their parishioners not to avoid the society of the parties thus excommunicated by the pope. They publicly declared, in their sermons, that the pope's sentence had no force, in the diocese of the Archbishop of Canterbury.

The pope was exasperated, and the chief justiciary, Ranulph de Glanville, visited Canterbury in the hope of effecting a compromise. He demanded an interview with the sub-prior. It was granted; and the sub-prior expressed the desire of his brethren, to find mercy from the king.‡ "It is you who have no mercy," replied Glanville. "From your devotion to the court of Rome, you refuse to submit to the advice of your sovereign or that of any one else. You will not do anything to please your archbishop. You will not even condescend to ask his forgiveness, with the least supplica-

* Gervas, Chronica, 1503.
† Ibid. 1530. ‡ Ibid. 1543.

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tions." The sub-prior replied, that they were ready to submit to the counsel of the king and of all good men, saving the interests of their monastery; but, that they were prevented from placing entire confidence in the king, from his having suffered them to remain for nearly two years, deprived of all their possessions and in a manner imprisoned within their own walls. Glanville remarked, that if they had no confidence in the king, there were bishops and abbots of their own order on the one side, and there were barons and clergy attached to the court on the other side, who, if they would trust their cause to them, would do them ample justice. The reply to this was, that all were so partial to the cause of the archbishop, or so anxious to oblige the king, and so unfriendly to the monks, that they did not dare to submit their cause to such arbitration. Ranulph de Glanville saw, that it was hopeless to prevail with men so determined and perverse; and he quitted the convent with indignation; saying to the sub-prior, "You monks turn your eyes to Rome alone; and Rome alone will destroy you." *

After all these spirited proceedings, on the part of the king and the archbishop, the Church of England and the State, the controversy came to a very "lame and impotent conclusion." Henry shrank from involving himself, in any fresh controversy with the court of Rome, especially as he wished to be absolved from the oath he had taken to proceed to Palestine. The archbishop, inconstant by temperament, was absorbed by a new interest; and engaged, with all the fervour of youth, in the cause of the crusade. The whole dispute was compromised, in the first year of Richard I.

It was agreed, that the church at Hackington should

* Gervas, 1544.

be demolished. But the chapter of that collegiate church had been already formed; and what was to become of the canons, who had been already instituted? Baldwin wisely determined to remove them to a distance from Canterbury, in the hope, not entirely successful, of allaying the jealousy and fears of the monks of Christ Church.

In exchange for some lands belonging to the see of Canterbury, the archbishop obtained, from the church of Rochester, the manor and the manor house of Lambeth. Thither he translated his new foundation, with the concurrence of the king, the bishops, and the barons. He carried, by water, all the stones, timber and other materials, which he had prepared for the erection of his college at Hackington; and he commenced another collegiate church at Lambeth, which he did not live to complete.*

At the manor house of Lambeth, the Archbishops of Canterbury had frequently taken up their abode. For the Bishops of Rochester were regarded as the vicars of the primate. There is a memorial to be found in the Textus Roffensis, which directs, that the Bishop of Rochester shall have twenty shillings a day, when travelling at the archbishop's request, or while exercising the episcopal office, during the vacancy of the metropolitan see. When the Bishop of Rochester was travelling with the archbishop, it was left to the option of the latter, whether to find the bishop in all things necessary, or to entertain him, his clerks, and his officers, at the archbishop's own table. But, in the evening, it was agreed that the primate should provide the Bishop of Rochester with two good wax tapers, fourteen greater candles, twenty-five lesser, answering to the number of twenty-five horses

* Ducarel, p. 7; Denne's addenda, 176; Thorpe's Registrum, Roff. p. 434.

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and men; plenty of wine and beer, and five shillings every day for his horses and family.*

These details throw light upon the manners of the age. When a great man travelled, it was like a general, in modern days, during a campaign, in a hostile country. His attendants were numerous; for the necessaries of life were not to be purchased, but manufactured.

II. The next great event of Baldwin's life was his connexion with the crusades.

The affairs of the Christians in Palestine were, every year, becoming worse and worse. It was in vain to attempt a revival of that universal enthusiasm, which in the first crusade precipitated Europe upon Asia. The enthusiasm was now confined, for the most part, to those, who were animated by a zeal for the Christian cause, and, by pity for their persecuted brethren in the East; and to a few of the younger princes and nobility, who were looking out for adventures, and were willing to assume the name, if released from the restraints, of religion. The difficulty was, to secure a leader for an expedition to the Holy Land, among the sovereign princes; — men with authority to command. Popes called upon the Kings of England and France, but they received only promises and vows.

A vow to take the cross was one of the easy conditions, upon which Henry had obtained absolution on the death of Becket. He knew how easily such a promise might be evaded. But he was put to the test, in the year 1185.

* Textus Roffensis. The final purchase or exchange of the manor of Lambeth was effected by Hubert Walter. The archiepiscopal residence was not called a palace till a much later period. According to Denne, palace was a term appropriated to the residence of a bishop in the city which gave name to the see. Denne, 166. Their other residences were called manor houses. Lambeth was sometimes styled the Archbishop's Inn

A deputation from Jerusalem made its appearance in Europe, headed by Heraclius the Patriarch, and by the Masters of the Knights Templars and Hospitalers. They were to ask for speedy succour from the King of England; and, to engage his support, they had elected as King of Jerusalem a young cousin of Henry.* They brought with them the royal standard, the keys of the sepulchre of our Lord, of the tower of David, and of the city itself.

Henry met them at Reading. He received them with the honour due to their mission, and appointed the first Sunday in Lent, as the day when an answer should be given. On the 18th of March, a great assembly was convoked at Clerkenwell. Henry, William King of Scotland, and David brother of the king of Scots were present. The council was attended by the bishops, abbots, earls, and barons of the kingdom. The king left the decision of the matter in the hands of the council.† They, very wisely, advised the king, instead of seeking new dominions, to attend to the affairs of his own kingdom. What Henry did, was to present the envoys with 50,000 marks of silver‡, and to give free permission to any of his subjects, whether of the clergy or the laity, to assume the cross.

The first who rose to avail himself of the royal permission, was Baldwin, Archbishop of Canterbury; the second, Ranulph de Glanville, Justiciary of England: then followed Walter Archbishop of Rouen and Hugh Bishop of Durham. Many earls, barons and gentlemen of note in England, Normandy, Aquitaine, Bretagne, Anjou, Maine, and Touraine engaged in the service. Archbishop Baldwin, immediately associated himself with the Patriarch of Jerusalem, and they preached the crusade in London. A circular letter of the archbishop is extant,

* Gervas, Hoveden.

† Wendover, ad ann.

‡ Gervas, Hoveden, fol. 358.

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in which he directs a collection to be made for the Church of Jerusalem.*

The excitement appears only to have been momentary. For two years, little or nothing was done; and we find the archbishop, in 1186, visiting the king at Woodstock, where he officiated at a royal marriage. Henry gave Ermengarde his kinswoman, daughter of Richard Viscount de Beaumont, in marriage to William King of Scotland. After the marriage, the king held high nuptial festivities at his palace, for a period of four days.† The archbishop also, about this time, appears to have held a provincial visitation in Wales,—the first visitation in the principality, of the Archbishop of Canterbury.‡

Suddenly, in 1187, Europe was astonished by the news, that Jerusalem was once more in the hands of the Mussulmans. Men were now in earnest. Henry, in 1188, had an interview, between Gisors and Trie in Normandy, with the King of France, Philip Augustus. Moved by the eloquence of the Archbishop of Tyre, who exhorted the Christian princes to peace among themselves, the two kings each assumed the cross; as did also the Earls of Flanders and Champagne, with many barons and knights. To distinguish the troops of the different nations, a white cross was adopted for England, a red for France, a green for Flanders.

Henry proceeded to Le Mans, where he held a council, at which, measures were adopted to raise the funds necessary for the expedition.

At this council, Archbishop Baldwin appears to have

* Girald. Cambrensis, de Instruct. Princip. lib. iii. cxxvii.

† The king on this occasion gave to the King of Scotland the castle which is called Castellum Puellarum—Edinburgh. William of Newburgh, lib. iv. c. 5.

‡ Chron. Bromton, col. 1149.

been present. He then hastened to England to prepare for the king's arrival. Henry lost no time. He arrived soon after, and summoned a council to meet at Geddington in Northamptonshire. Here the resolutions which had passed in the assembly at Mans were adopted. It was enacted, that every man who did not join the crusade should pay, towards the expense of the expedition, one-tenth of his income and moveables for that year; and the bishops were to denounce an excommunication upon all who falsified their returns, or paid short of their fair proportion. The lords of manors, who intended to accompany the king, were permitted to apply to their own use the assessments of their vassals: those of all others were to be paid into the exchequer.

What is worthy of especial note is, that we have, on this occasion, one of the first instances of a plenary indulgence. It was ordained, that whoever should take the cross, should be freed and absolved from all the sins he repented of or confessed. This was to be done, by the authority of the pope, and was one more link to bind foreign churches to the chair of St. Peter. It was also ordered, "that no one do swear enormously, or play at dice; that none, after next Easter, wear parti-coloured, grisian*, sable or scarlet clothes; that every one be content with two dishes; and that no man carry any woman in pilgrimage with him, but what may walk on foot to wash his clothes; and that none wear cloth slashed or pinked."

The sentence which condenses the sentiment, the fact and the argument of the crusades within a few lines might have been placed, by the greatest of our great

* Grisian, Lat. *Grisiis*, furs of the gris petit, a small French animal so called, of which some say that it is grey and some say that it is spotted.

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poets, in the mouth of the second Henry with as much propriety as in that of Henry IV.—both monarchs were equally sincere,—or insincere.

> "Therefore, friends,
> As far as to the sepulchre of Christ,
> (Whose soldier now, under whose blessed cross
> We are impressed and engaged to fight,)
> Forthwith a power of English shall we levy;
> Whose arms were moulded in their mothers' womb
> To chase these Pagans, in those holy fields,
> Over whose acres walked those blessed feet,
> Which . . . . . were nailed,
> For our advantage, on the bitter cross."

A special form of prayer was appointed, and, by the king's command, a general crusade was now to be preached throughout the kingdom. The archbishop chose for his scene of action, the principality of Wales. When we find this mission undertaken by the archbishop, with the sanction, if not at the suggestion of King Henry II.; when we find it organised and set in motion by such a statesman as Ranulph de Glanville, we may surmise the existence of a political as well as a religious object. The archbishop was a simple-minded man; an enthusiast in whatever he undertook; but he was no politician and was not qualified to take a lead, except such as was conceded to his rank. The interior of Wales was as little known as the interior of Africa at the present time. It was a country which had never been explored by Anglo-Saxon, or by Anglo-Norman. An opportunity for surveying the country was now offered, which was not to be lost. As we contemplate Archbishop Baldwin, commencing the expedition, in company with Ranulph de Glanville, we are reminded of the manner, in which the cause of the African mission was supported, on a late occasion, by the co-operation of one of our most gifted prelates, in

conjunction with the most eloquent of our lawyers and statesmen.

The missionary expedition started, a little before Lent, in the year 1188. The sages of the church and of the law were under the guidance of a young man, tall, slender in figure, with delicate features, and a fine complexion overshadowed by large wide eyebrows; a man of learning and wit, but self-sufficient, conceited, and an intolerable egotist,—Giraldus Cambrensis.*

Of the Welsh language the missionaries were ignorant: equally ignorant were the Welsh themselves of Latin, Anglo-Saxon, or Anglo-Norman. But, notwithstanding this drawback, their success was great. For, in truth, the appeal was made not to the intelligence of the people, but to their military ardour and religious enthusiasm. The archiepiscopal cavalcade was a splendid recruiting party. Wherever the procession, half-military, half-ecclesiastical, appeared, the purport of the mission, by the very fact of its appearance, was proclaimed. As they passed through villages, or encamped on the river's side, they were heartily welcomed; for they came not as marauders, but as men abounding in alms-deeds. The war-song sounded; but they were the war notes, familiar to men's ears, of the Psalms of David. The banner of St. Thomas of Canterbury was raised; and the people eagerly gathered around it,—for Thomas à Becket was the popular idol, loved as the demagogue, while worshipped as a saint. The archbishop appeared in armour, with the white cross on his breast; but in his hand was the crosier, the emblem of peace. So great was the enthusiasm excited, that, on one occasion, the archbishop enrolled, as soldiers of the cross, a number of persons who came to him in a state of nudity; their clothes having been secreted by their

* Ang. Sac. ii. 611.

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loving wives, unwilling to be separated from their gallant husbands.*

The archbishop was employed, soon after, in an embassy to the King of France; and as a mediator between Henry II. and his son.

Towards the close of his life, Henry II. was desirous of retaining Baldwin near his person; and the archbishop laboured assiduously and faithfully, in conjunction with the Archbishops of Rouen and of Tours, to awaken the king to a sense of his sins, with the view of leading him to repentance and to the Saviour. How far they were successful will not be known, till that day, when the secrets of all hearts will be revealed. But the prelates were persuaded that, to a certain extent, they had succeeded; and the mere fact, of his seeking for spiritual advice and consolation, is an indication of the softening of a heart, almost broken by a succession of sorrows.†

On the 6th of July, 1189, King Henry II. died. He was succeeded by his eldest surviving son, Earl Richard, who became Duke of Normandy on the 20th of July; and was crowned, by Archbishop Baldwin, King of England, on the 3rd of September.

It was not till the accession of Richard, that preparations were made, in earnest, for the crusade. Henry had collected money — but, to the last, it was not known how he would employ it.‡ But Cœur de Lion was

* Michaud. i. 145. Now that the zeal for crusading has subsided, it may be satisfactory to know that the decided measures adopted by the Welsh ladies were successful. Giraldus does, indeed, say that three thousand of these sans culottes were prepared to march to Palestine, but, according to a statement in Mills, ii. 16, very few, if any, quitted the principality.

† Girald. Camb. de Instruct. Prin. p. 25.

‡ How little Henry was really disposed to further the crusade himself, is shown in a conversation between him and Giraldus Cambrensis. De Inst. Princip. p. 63.

restrained, by no motives of policy or feelings of patriotism. He cared for nothing but himself. He was not moved to the crusade, like the archbishop, by love to God, or by sympathy with the Christian sufferers in Palestine; but simply by an appetence for that fame, which fallen man accords to the profuse shedder of human blood, whether the pretext be despicable, or the cause noble, in which he is engaged. So greedy was he of fame, that, through his exploits in tournament and field, in which he engaged with uncontrollable zeal, in early life, a constitution, naturally good, was already giving symptoms of decay.*

The archbishop, on the contrary, was animated by feelings of mistaken piety. He sacrificed his property, while he risked his life, to rescue the sepulchre of his Divine Master from the hands of the profane; and to render assistance to his brethren pining with misery in the Holy Land. He exhorted others to follow his example. Richard was resorting, meantime, to all the means, fair and foul, suggested by a despotic temper, a selfish disposition and an arbitrary will, to extort from his people, either their money or their military service. Crown lands were sold; offices of trust were put to auction;

* "Some said that his system was so corrupted and consumed by a quartan ague, which he had endured for a long time, that he could not long exist in that disorder, and especially amidst labour so great. An argument in favour of this view was a certain unbecoming symptom that appeared in him, together with paleness of the face and swelling of the limbs. Others even said, that he had more than a hundred issues on his body, to carry off the corruption of the humours. Such were the reports, concerning the king, that flew about in the ears and through the mouths of almost all men; and his indiscreet and immoderate donations and sales gave the appearance of truth to them; and, as if he understood that he would finish his career soon, he was supposed to care very little for the kingdom, because he divided or disposed of it in such a manner; but, afterwards, it was clearly seen with what subtle craft he had done or feigned all this, in order that he might drain the bags of all those who seemed rich."—*William of Newburgh*, lib. iv. c. 5.

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places of dignity were given to undeservers, who thus employed their wealth with discretion: the Jews were coerced.*

On the 17th of September, 1189, the archbishop attended a council at Pipewell, which, at his suggestion, the king had convened. At this council, the king gave to his brother Geoffrey the archbishopric of York. He appointed Godfrey de Lucy to the bishopric of Winchester, Richard, Archdeacon of Ely, to that of London, Hubert Walter to Salisbury, and William de Longchamp

* The earldom of Durham, which has been taken from the Bishop of Durham by her Majesty Queen Victoria, acting under the advice of her faithful Lords and Commons, was purchased from Richard. "The new king," says William of Newburgh, "also craftily persuaded the Bishop of Durham, whom he believed to be wealthy, to purchase from him the province of his own bishopric, that he might become, at once, a bishop and the earl of that province, by annexing the earldom to the bishopric. In doing this, think of the acuteness of the king in getting the bishop's money, and of the immoderate ambition of the old bishop of a see, which is known to be excessively rich, and yet not content, at his age; and who thought not of that prophetic passage, uttered even by the prophet of the Lord, 'Woe unto them that join house to house, that lay field to field' (Isa. v. 8.), as he joined the earldom to the bishopric, without caring which was the greater. Thus, for the purchase of the earldom, he gave the king whatever he had accumulated in preparation for his expedition to Jerusalem, and all that he was able to rake together from his see. The king gloried in a bargain of this kind, and jokingly said, 'I am a wonderful workman; for out of an old bishop I have made a new earl.'" Ought not Parliament, when taking away the earldom, very properly—to have paid a price for it to the Church? The same author continues,—"The king, with the same art, by which he had exhausted the bags of this bishop, also enticed many others to vie with each other, in pouring out their money for the purchase of certain dignities, or liberties, or public employments, and even for the purchase of the royal demesne. He thus dissipated his own property to set off early, as if he had no intention of returning; and when, in familiar boldness, he was blamed by his friends on account of this, he is said to have replied, 'I would sell London also, if I could find a suitable purchaser.'"

to Ely. But Baldwin, Archbishop of Canterbury, after the elections were made, forbade Geoffrey Archbishop elect of York, to receive sacerdotal orders or episcopal consecration from any other hands than his own, and on this behalf, he appealed to the Roman court.

Baldwin now prepared for his departure. His legatine commission he resigned, and at the king's request it was conferred upon the Bishop of Ely, the chancellor. He appointed Richard, Bishop of London, to administer his diocese. It is fair to Baldwin to add, that he did not, on his leaving England, dismiss all care of his home duties from his mind. The following letter, addressed to the Bishop of London, shows, that he wrote, more than once, to his deputy — in the dictatorial style peculiar to the age. The letter was written in 1190, and is as follows:— "Whilst we were at Rouen, we suspended from the performance of his sacred duties, our brother Hugh of Coventry, for having, without regard to the dignity of his episcopal rank, usurped the office of sheriff; but on his faithfully promising to resign into our hands the charge of the sheriff's office, and never again to busy himself with affairs of this kind, we thought him deserving of absolution. We, therefore, send this same bishop to you with this our letter, ordering you, in conjunction with the Bishop of Rochester and our clerks, without fail, to appoint a time and place to hear and make a just decision concerning the charges for which that prelate was suspended by us."*

On the 24th of February, 1190, the archbishop was at Canterbury†, and there assumed the scrip and staff. He took leave of the monks, to whom he had become reconciled; and, on the 6th of March, he set sail from Dover.

We may here give an account of the fleet in which he

* Wendover, ad ann. 1190.

† Gervas, Chron. 1561.

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sailed, as we find it in Richard of Devizes.* It is the first description we possess of an English navy. "The ships, which the king found already prepared on the coast, were one hundred in number, and fourteen busses, vessels of great magnitude and admirable swiftness, strong vessels and very sound, whereof this was the equipage and appointment. The first of the ships had three spare rudders, thirteen anchors, two sails, three sets of ropes of all kinds, and besides these double whatever a ship can want, except the mast and the ship's boat. There is appointed to the ship's command, a most experienced steersman, and fourteen subordinate attendants picked for the service are assigned him. The ship is freighted with forty horses of value, trained to arms, and with arms of all kinds for as many horsemen, and forty foot, and fifteen sailors, and with an entire year's provisions for as many men and horses. There was one appointment for all the ships, but each of the busses received a double appointment and freight. The king's treasure, which was very great and inestimable, was divided amongst the ships and busses, that if one part should experience danger the rest might be saved. All things being thus arranged, the king himself, with a small household, and the chief men of his army, with his attendants, having quitted the shore advanced before the fleet in galleys, and being daily entertained by the maritime towns, taking along with them the larger ships and busses of that sea, arrived prosperously at Messina. So great was

* Richard of Devizes, sect. 18, says, "The Frenchman being subject to sea sickness, marches by land to Sicily; the Englishman, on the contrary, about to proceed by sea, comes to Marseilles in his ships. Baldwin, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Hubert Walter, Bishop of Salisbury, being the only bishops of all England who accomplished their vows, follow the king to Sicily, and arrive first in the land of Judah."

the splendour of the approaching armament, such the clashing and brilliancy of their arms, so noble the sound of the trumpets and clarions, that the city quaked and was greatly astounded, and there came to meet the king a multitude of all ages, people without number, wondering and proclaiming with what exceeding glory and magnificence that king had arrived, surpassing the King of France, who with his forces had arrived seven days before. And forasmuch as the King of France had been already received into the palace of Tancred King of Sicily, within the walls, the king of England pitched his camp without the city. The same day the King of France, knowing of the arrival of his comrade and brother, flies to his reception, nor could their gestures sufficiently express in embraces and kisses how much each of them rejoiced in the other. The armies cheered one another with mutual applause and intercourse, as if so many thousand men had been all of one heart and one mind. In such pastimes is the holiday spent until the evening and the weary kings departing, although not satiated, return every one to his own quarters. On the next day the King of England presently caused gibbets to be erected without the camp to hang thereon thieves and robbers. The judges delegated spared neither sex nor age; the cause of the stranger and the native found the like law and the like punishment. The King of France, whatever transgression his people committed (whatever offence was committed against them), took no notice and held his peace; the King of England esteeming the country of those implicated in guilt as a matter of no consequence, considered every man his own, and left no transgression unpunished, wherefore the one was called a lamb by the Griffons, the other obtained the name of a lion."

The laws laid down by Richard, for the regulation of

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his fleet, (having, probably, been urged by Baldwin, to exercise a moral discipline, for which the king himself cared little), are so peculiar and characteristic, that I extract them from Hoveden:—

"Richard, by the grace of God, King of England, Duke of Normandy and Aquitaine, and Earl of Anjou, to all his subjects about to proceed by sea to Jerusalem, greeting: Know ye that we, with the consent of fit and proper men, have made the enactments under written. Whoever shall slay a man on shipboard, he shall be bound to the dead man and thrown into the sea. If he shall slay him on land, he shall be bound to the dead man, and buried in the earth. If any one shall be convicted, by lawful witnesses, of having drawn out a knife with which to strike another, or having struck another so as to draw blood, he shall lose his hand. If also he shall give a blow with his hand, without shedding blood, he shall be plunged in the sea three times. If any man shall utter disgraceful language or abuse, or shall curse his companion, he shall pay him an ounce of silver for every time he has so abused him. A robber who shall be convicted of theft shall have his head cropped after the manner of a champion, and boiling pitch shall be poured thereon, and then the feathers of a cushion shall be shaken out upon him, so that he may be known, and at the first land at which the ships shall touch, he shall be set on shore. Witness, myself, at Chinon."*

At Marseilles, the archbishop parted from the king; and, attended by Hubert Walter, Bishop of Salisbury, and by the venerable ex-justiciary, Ranulph de Glanville, he preceded the royal army, and, with his immediate followers, sailed for the Holy Land.

His arrival, with reinforcements, infused new spirit into the disheartened troops, who were loud in their complaints of the inactivity of their leaders.

On the 12th of November†, the old archbishop

* Hoveden, 379. Wendover has this code, with but few variations. There is also another set of laws given by Hoveden, promulgated by Richard, Philip, and the King of Sicily at a subsequent period.

† Vinsauf, i. 62.

fleshed his maiden sword. He was not the only ecclesiastic, who was seen in arms. Beside him, stood his *fidus Achates* the Bishop of Salisbury, and the Archbishops of Ravenna, Pisa, Besançon, Nazareth, and Montreal. The Bishops of Salisbury, Beauvais, Cambrai, Ptolemais, and Bethlehem marshalled their forces under the Grand-Master of the Temple, supported by the Earls of Blois, Bar, and Clermont. But the Archbishop of Canterbury,—he was conspicuous above all others, *inter cæteros et præ cæteris*, as in helmet and cuirass, and with the banner of St. Thomas unfurled before him, he led on his regiment of cavalry, two hundred strong, supported by a body of three hundred infantry, all maintained at his own cost.

The brunt of the battle was borne by him, and his companions in arms—Geoffrey de Lusignan, and Jacques d'Avesnes. The battle had been won by the valour of the crusaders, and then wrested from their hands by the skilful generalship of the illustrious Saladin. The victory of Saladin would have been complete, had it not been for the gallant manner, in which the camp of the Christians had been defended by the most reverend prelate, and by the illustrious personages joined with him in command.

Let us not be too severe upon the prelates thus engaged in warfare. What they did was done, with the full consent of the religious world, as it then existed, and amidst the applause of many, who accounted themselves truly pious. It is the animus, rather than the action, which is to be regarded. In the nineteenth century, we do not, indeed, see prelates wielding the battle-axe and hewing in pieces the corporeal members of pagans or of heretics; nevertheless, destruction is annually hurled at innumerable Christian souls, by the Bishop of Rome; and, when we pass from the vicinity of the Coliseum, to that

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edifice in the Strand of London, where, in the days of our childhood, we faced wild beasts with terror—we still hear the roar, not of beasts, but of men—fierce as the Ephesians of old;—gathered from all quarters, from church, tabernacle and chapel, from the lordly palace and from the cobbler's stall, from north to south, from east to west, from Durham to Gloucester, and from Norwich to Winchester; and we find, that the curse, as it is uttered in London, differs from the curse as it is fulminated from Rome, only in form and not in spirit. It may be, that it is only, by incessant warfare, that the truth, which has been confided to the Church, in the midst of a fallen world, can be upheld and propagated; and it may be, that, except for the excitement of controversy, zeal would wax cold and Christianity be forgotten. This is possibly the case, and we must make allowance for the excesses of the impassioned and the weak-minded; but, so long as Papist curses Protestant, and Protestant curses Papist, we must not judge, severely, of those, whose fanaticism, in the 12th century, carried them from the strands of Britain or from the hills of Rome, to fight what they believed to be the Lord's battle, on the plains of Palestine.

Whatever we may think of the conduct of an archbishop, who forsook his diocese, and became a soldier, there can be no doubt of the purity of Baldwin's motives or of the piety of his heart.

He died of grief. He came to Palestine, an enthusiastic old man, with the one object of opening the sepulchre of our Lord to the pilgrims of Europe. He expected to place himself at the head of an army of saints. The sight of Hospitalers and Templars had accustomed his mind to the idea of a monk in armour; and he was prepared to fight by day, and to lead the devotions of a pious camp at night. When, from

the clear waters of the Mediterranean, as he approached the shores of Acre, he had looked upon the level ridge of Carmel, on the south of the city, and upon the mountains and hills of Galilee, on the east; he thought of Deborah and the Judges, of Samuel and the Prophets, of David and the Kings; and knowing that the Lord of Hosts is the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever, he felt secure of victory. He remembered, that Anna, the daughter of Phanuel, being of the tribe of Aser, was a native of that part of the country, upon which he was about to land; and, being now well stricken in years, he hoped to reach Jerusalem, and there, like Anna, to take up his abode in the temple, and to serve God, with fastings and prayers, night and day.

But his righteous soul was vexed within him, when, in visiting the sick and ministering to the afflicted, he became aware, that the licentiousness of a camp, professedly composed of Christian men, exceeded all that his imagination could conceive, or the pen of the historian, without offence, describe.* The army had become altogether dissolute, and was given to drinking, women, and dice. When he looked from the moral world to the world of nature, his mind passed from sorrow almost to despair. The fertile plains of Ptolemais were trodden down, and the groves and gardens, which, not long before, covered the country around, were destroyed. The black standard of Saladin added deeper gloom to the scene. Within the camp, first came famine, then the pestilence; the noisome beast was not absent.† The archbishop remarked, that the sword and the famine

* Iter. Ric. clxvi. "Seeing and hearing the dissolute manners of the army, tabernis, scortis et ludis talorum — animam tantorum excessuum impatientia usque ad tædium vitæ afflixit."

† The army was sadly plagued with tarantulas.—*Vinsauf.*

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and the noisome beast and the pestilence were the four sore judgments of the land.*

He saw that, with many brilliant exceptions, the people were Christian only in name, and he thought that the Lord had forsaken them. The state of things seemed to him to betoken, that the world was declining towards evening, and that the second advent of the Son of Man was at hand; for the love of many waxed cold, and faith was no more found on the earth.†

He prayed for death. He was ill, and he was overheard saying to himself, "Oh Lord my God! such need is there of chastening and correcting with Thy holy grace, that if it please Thy mercy, that I may be removed from the turmoil of this life, — I have remained long enough with this army."‡

Fifteen days elapsed, and he died. He began, says the chronicler, to feel cold and stiff. Fever ensued, and he slept in the Lord.

Hubert Walter, Bishop of Salisbury, followed his friend and patron to the grave, and buried him, with due honour, in a strange land. The bishop was his executor. The decorations of the archbishop's chapel and the sacred vestments he sent to Canterbury. Amidst the carelessness pervading the camp, at that time, the archbishop had always expressed anxiety, about providing sentries, so as to prevent surprise; and to the maintenance of a force to be so employed, the Bishop of Salisbury devoted what remained of the archbishop's property.

* Ezek. xiv. 21. The authorities for these statements relating to thi crusade are numerous: Giraldus Cambrensis, Hoveden, William of Newburgh, Vinsauf, Iter. Ricardi, Rer. Anglic. Script. Vet. iii. 290. It is not necessary to make particular reference.

† William of Tyre, i. viii. pp. 634, 635.

‡ Vinsauf, lib. i. c. 66.

Roger of Wendover, who makes this statement, concludes with saying, that Archbishop Baldwin "had always taken upon himself the care of the poor, casting the eye of compassion upon the helpless, and, in all respects, fulfilling the duties of a good prelate." *

* Wendover, ad ann. 1191.

CHAP. X.

REGINALD FITZ-JOCELIN.*

Son of the Bishop of Salisbury. — Status of the children of the clergy. — Reginald, Archdeacon of Salisbury. — Church in state of great confusion. — Reginald elected to Bath and Wells. — Accompanies Archbishop Richard to Rome.—Returns to England and is enthroned. — Description of Bath. — Controversy between Wells and Bath. — Union of the two sees. — Reginald in favour with the monks of Canterbury, although formerly an opponent of Becket. — Death of Archbishop Richard. — Candidates for the see of Canterbury. — Reginald unexpectedly elected. — Opposition of Government. — Public feeling in favour of Reginald. — His election confirmed.— His illness.

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REGINALD FITZ-JOCELIN was the son of Jocelin Bishop of Salisbury, of whom frequent mention has been made in the life of Thomas à Becket. He was born in the year 1141.†

That some slight scandal attached to his birth is apparent, from what occurred at his consecration,—a circumstance, to which we shall have occasion presently to refer. But the scandal could not be great; for the Bishop of Salisbury not only owned Reginald as his son, but

* Authorities:—Diceto; Richard of Devizes; Hoveden; Benedict, Abbas, Vit. Hen. II.; Bromton; Anglia Sacra, i. 561; Wendover; Robert de Monte.

† Dart says that he was thirty-three at the time of his consecration in 1174. Robert de Monte states that he was born in Lombardy.

preferred him, at an early age, to the archdeaconry of Salisbury. Reginald rejoiced in the name of Fitz-Jocelin, —the prefix of Fitz not being a designation of bastardy till a much later period*; and, at the early age of thirty-three he was elected to the important see of Bath and Wells by the vote of the two chapters.

The time had not come, when the stigma of bastardy was attached, in public opinion, to the children of the clergy. When a marriage had taken place, the consciences of the married couple were satisfied, and the fact was regarded very much as we now regard the marriage of a man with his deceased wife's sister. By a very large and influential religious party, the marriage was regarded as invalid, and the children were treated as illegitimate, —but not so by the world at large. By the Becket party

* This assertion is made on the authority of a learned antiquarian, who refers to Camden's Remains. According to these authorities, it is doubtful whether the prefix Fitz was ever generally used to denote illegitimacy before the 16th century. Fitz or Filius is hardly to be met with, as part of a surname, in any document antecedent to the 13th century. Documents in French are extremely rare before that time, but in Normandy the Latin genitive was used occasionally in the 10th and 11th century, as Paulus Warnefridi. See Mabillon, lib. ii. c. vii. pp. 92, 93; and some examples of Filius, pp. 584, 585. The descent of the ancient baronies of Fitz-Alan, Fitz-Hubert, Fitz-Hugh, Fitz-John, Fitz-Payne, Fitz-Walter, Fitz-Warren, and Fitz-William, and the previous history of those families, show that the prefix was, as stated above, a mark of honour. Fitz, until the common use of surnames in the 13th century, was rather a descriptive designation of an individual, and was, as such, very convenient to identify persons. The earliest use of Fitz, as implying illegitimacy, was in the sons of kings, as Geoffrey Fitz-Roy son of John. Robert of Gloucester's story of Robert son of Henry I. is of no authority as to his being called Fitz-Roy, and no subsequent Fitz-Roy appears till Henry the son of Henry VIII., and later till the time of Charles II. These are facts, well known to antiquarians, and I simply note them, because the notion is prevalent, among general readers, that the word Fitz denotes illegitimacy.

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in the Church, these marriages were disowned; and it may have been in defiance of this party, that Becket's great opponent, the Bishop of Salisbury, caused his son to assume his father's name, in addition to his own, at a period, when surnames were still uncommon.

The date of Reginald's appointment to the archdeaconry of Salisbury is not known. His predecessor, Jordan, had the title in 1157.* Reginald was elected to Bath and Wells in the year 1174.

At the time of Reginald's election, the Church of England was in a state of great confusion. There were in the realm two kings; Henry Fitz-Empress having shared his throne with his eldest son. The wrong-headed young man had quarrelled with his father. When Richard, Prior of Dover, the nominee of the elder king, had been elected to the see of Canterbury, Henry, the younger, as we have seen, in the life of the primate just mentioned, had the bad feeling and the folly to oppose the election, and to appeal to the pope. The pope undertook to try the validity of the election, in his own court. The Archbishop elect of Canterbury went, in consequence, to Rome, and was attended by the Bishop elect of Bath and Wells.†

From a letter addressed to King Henry II. by the elect of Bath and Wells, to which reference has been already made‡, it would appear that an appeal had been also lodged against the appointment of Reginald. Having, in that letter, stated, that the difficulties, with respect to the archbishop had been surmounted, Reginald concludes thus:—"As for my own election and that of the others, they are matters still in suspense. Our Lord the Pope

* Reg. Ebor. MS. Cotton, Claudius, B. 3.

† "Cantuariensis electus habens in comitatu Batoniensem electum Romam profectus est."—*Diceto*, 574.

‡ See the Life of Archbishop Richard.

has determined to settle nothing, with respect to us, until such time, as your son shall be brought to a reconciliation. However, we put our trust in the Lord, that the interests of myself and of all the other bishops elect may be safely intrusted to the care of my lord the Archbishop of Canterbury." *

The difficulties were, at length, surmounted; and Reginald Fitz-Jocelin was consecrated, at the church of St. John de Maurienne in Savoy, by Richard, Archbishop of Canterbury, assisted by Peter, Bishop of Tarentaise. The ground of opposition to his appointment is apparent from the oaths, that were required of him, before his consecration took place. He himself swore, that he had not assented, either by word or deed, to the murder of Thomas à Becket; and his friends swore, that it was generally believed, that, though he was the son of a bishop, he was born before his father's consecration.†

On his return to England, he was enthroned in great state; the archbishop, who was at Bath, on a visitation of the province, being present.‡

Of Bath in the 12th century, we have the following description by a contemporary writer:—"There is a city, six miles from Bristol, where certain small springs send forth, from the secret bowels of the earth, waters heated, without any skill or ingenuity of man, which are carried to the surface, by concealed pipes, into a reservoir, beautifully arranged with vaulted chambers, forming baths of moderate temperature, salubrious and pleasant to the eye, in the midst of the city. The name of the city is Bath, so called from the meaning of that word in the English language, on account of the constant resort of persons

* Hoveden, ad ann. 1174. Bromton, 1093.

† Benedict, Abbas in Vit. Hen. II. p. 83; Bromton, Col. 1096; Ang. Sac., i. 56; Hoveden, 308; Diceto, Col. 581.

‡ Diceto, 585.

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from all parts of England to it, — the sick for the purpose of being laved in its health-giving waters; and they, who are well, for the sake of seeing the wonderful gushing out of the hot springs and of bathing therein."*

But this place of fashionable resort was not permitted to rest in security and peace. The description of the city, given by the author of the Gesta Regis Stephani, is merely an introduction to the history of an attack, which had been made upon Bath, by the citizens of Bristol. The people of Bristol desired to have possession of Bath, from motives of ambition, and also because it was capable of being converted into a convenient fortification. The men of Bath made a gallant defence, headed by their bishop, until the place was relieved by King Stephen.

The bishop, at that time, was Robert of Lewes, who governed the see for thirty-one years. He had to fight for the rights of the people of Bath, in things spiritual, as well as by the weapons of a carnal warfare. During his episcopate, a serious dispute arose between the canons of Wells and the monks of Bath, relative to the designation and title of the bishops of the see. Wells was an ancient diocese, of which mention has been made, in the first book, under the life of Athelm. But, in the year 1090, John de Velula, a physician of Touraine†, being bishop of the diocese, obtained the king's permission to remove his residence to Bath. Hence the dispute as to the title. The question was, whether the bishop, who resided at Bath, should still be called the Bishop of Wells. The controversy was settled by Bishop Robert, through a compromise; and from his time to the present hour, the bishops are styled Bishops of Bath and Wells.‡

That Reginald was beloved in his diocese is proved, among other things, by his reluctance to quit it, and by

* Gest. R. Steph. † Ang. Sac. i. 559,
‡ Ang. Sac. p. 562.

his anxiety to secure a good man to be his successor. When a clergyman abuses his parishioners, we may be almost certain, that he is neglecting his duties: when he praises them, we may conclude, not, indeed, that they are always deserving of his praise, but that his heart is in his work, and that his work is a labour of love. He will win souls to Christ. So it is also with a bishop and his diocese. The character of Reginald is, however, perplexing, from the paucity of details, which we possess. That he was employed by his father against Thomas à Becket we know. Through him, in conjunction with Clarenbald of St. Augustine's, Henry II. obtained from the pope, in 1167, the prohibition, by which Archbishop Becket was prevented from promulgating his censures, pending an attempt at reconciliation.* We also know that by his conduct he provoked Becket to use strong language concerning him.†

On the other hand, we find him a favourite with the monks of Canterbury, after Becket's death; and on one occasion, maintaining their rights in opposition to the archbishop.‡ Peter of Blois even goes so far, as to vindicate him from the charge of having been opposed to Becket.§

He appears to have been a weak, well meaning man, — probably much under the influence of his associates. Although Henry obtained for him his bishopric, because he was supposed to belong to the anti-Becket party; yet Reginald's opinions, probably, underwent a gradual change, after his father's death—influenced by the popular feeling, which was becoming more and more enthusiastic towards the reputed martyr.

On the death of Archbishop Baldwin, King Richard,

* Fitz-St. 359; Brial, 313.
† Becket, Ep. 93.
‡ Chron. Gervas. 1523.
§ Peter of Blois, Ep. 45.

CHAP. X.

Reginald, Fitz-Jocelin. 1191.

who was at Messina, directed a letter to be addressed to the chapter of Canterbury, desiring that William, Archbishop of Montreal (Mons Regalis) in Sicily, might be appointed to the vacant primacy of the Church of England.*

The proposal was justly resented. Richard, had no patriotic feelings, so far as England was concerned. He only regarded this country as a source of income, to enable him to indulge his selfish schemes of ambition. He had no regard, in his nomination to the vacant see, to the well-being of the English Church. He only sought to promote the interests of a friend, who would, probably, have been for the most part, non-resident. A council was convened at Northampton, to press the election on the chapter; but the chapter, backed by public opinion, resisted a tottering government; and, under the plea, that no official notification of Baldwin's death had been received, declined to elect.†

Soon after this, occurred what we should now call a change in the ministry. Longchamp, Bishop of Ely, who had ruled the country as the chief justiciary, was dismissed from office, in October 1191. And, by the appointment of Earl John (as the king's brother was generally called), and with the consent of the barons, the Archbishop of Rouen, Walter of Coutances (Walter de Constantiis), was appointed his successor. This prelate was a considerable personage. At one period of his life, he was vice-chancellor to King Henry II., — whatever that office, at that time, may have been, — and he was employed in some important state affairs. In 1183, he was consecrated Bishop of Lincoln, and was translated to Rouen in 1186.‡ He had invested Richard with the sword of Normandy in Rouen cathedral; and had passed over with him to England, where he assisted at his coronation. He was in high

* This letter is given in Gervas, 1568.

† Gervas, 1569.

‡ Stubbs, 33.

favour with the new king, whom he accompanied in his progress to the Holy Land;—but had quitted him in Sicily, to escort the Queen Dowager on her return to England. He arrived in England, in February, and was of great service to the party, which was plotting against Longchamp. It was reported, that he brought with him a letter from the king, appointing him the head of the Council of Regency; but there are good grounds for supposing it to have been a forgery.

Having assigned to him the highest place in the state, the council was desirous of promoting him also to the primacy. What was John's policy is not clear, but, although the Archbishop of Rouen was a devoted partisan of the king, that prelate was supported by the Earl of Mortaigne in opposition to Longchamp.

A writ, bearing date November 9, 1191, was issued, convening a meeting of the council at Canterbury, on the Monday after the feast of St. Andrew. But antecedently to the day fixed, John appeared with the new justiciary. Soon after, arrived the Bishops of Bath, Chester, and Rochester. The chapter expected a *coup d'état*, and acted with promptitude and decision. The other bishops not having arrived, a preliminary meeting took place, to which the chapter was summoned. Before any discussion could ensue, the prior rose to announce an accomplished fact. "You have written to us," he said, "in the king's name, and under the king's seal, that, at your coming, we should be ready to elect a pastor. For this purpose, I presume, you the bishops, now present, have been summoned. In accordance with the royal authority and your mandate, everything is now ready. Delays are dangerous. In the name of the Holy Trinity we elect Reginald of Bath." *

Nothing could exceed the surprise of the assembly

* Gervas, Chron. 1579.

CHAP. X. Reginald Fitz-Jocelin. 1191.

and the subsequent confusion. The Bishop of Bath and Wells, having had no previous notice of the intention of the chapter, and being pledged to support the Archbishop of Rouen, declined the appointment, and entreated the chapter to reconsider their judgment. But they gave no heed to his remonstrances. The monks seized him. In spite of his cries, his entreaties, his struggles, they dragged him to the church and enthroned him.

The Archbishop of Rouen protested against the proceedings, and endeavoured to quash them. But public opinion was with the chapter; and the government seems to have thought it expedient to withdraw its opposition. On the 2nd of December the election, which took place on the 27th of November, was confirmed in London. The justiciary may not have desired too close an investigation into the circumstances of his appointment to his lay office, which a prolonged opposition to Reginald, might have provoked.

This fact accounts for Reginald's subsequent acquiescence. He sent to Rome for the pallium and would have gone himself had he not been detained by illness. At the time of his election he was unwell *, and the illness gradually increased upon him.

Having completed the solemnities, which were usually celebrated for the elect of Canterbury, he returned to Bath, to set in order the affairs of his late diocese.† He left that diocese with regret, for he loved it much, and was himself beloved by the people. He was anxious to obtain a successor, who would act on his principles, and carry out his designs for the welfare of his flock. He succeeded in securing the votes of the chapter for Savaricus, Archdeacon of Northampton. Meantime Reginald's illness increased, and he sent in haste to the

* "Electus ægrotare cœpit."—*Gervas.*

† Richard of Devizes, ad ann. 1191.

convent of Canterbury for his cowl, desiring it to be sent to him, at his manor of Dogmersfield, in Hampshire. It did not, however, arrive there. He felt, that he was death-stricken; and he received a cowl from the hands of Walter, prior of Bath. He meekly said, "It is God's will that I should not be an archbishop, and my will submits to His: it is God's will that I should become a monk, and my will submits to His." His last thoughts were directed to his old diocese, and he gave directions for making the appointment of Savaricus secure.

"On the 26th of December," says the chronicler, "full of faith and penitence, devoutly and with a sane mind, he fell asleep in the Lord." The monks from Canterbury received the intelligence of his death, when they were on their way to Dogmersfield, and they notified the event in the following letter, extracted from the register of Prior Honorius of Canterbury: —

"To the venerable masters and brethren of the Convent of Christ Church, Canterbury. G. Prior and the brethren who are with him greeting and the consolation of the Holy Spirit.

"Departing from you in troubles and difficulties, we came to Horsley, where painful reports met us, that our master elect breathed his last on the night following the festival of the blessed Stephen. On hearing which, we have determined to return with all speed. Brother A., however, we have chosen for the business of the Church at Bath, and as a companion. Be comforted in the Lord, be strong, trust in the Lord, and call upon his goodness, and he will visit you in the multitude of his mercy, for he is righteous. Farewell." *

Of an archiepiscopate, which lasted only twenty-nine days, there is nothing special to be recorded.

There are two letters addressed to Archbishop Reginald by Peter of Blois, but I do not find anything in them worthy of translation.†

* MS. Harl. 788.

† Epp. 58, 59.

CHAP. XI.

HUBERT WALTER.*

Nephew to Ranulph de Glanville. — Chaplain to Ranulph. — Educated as a lawyer. —Dean of York. — Bishop of Salisbury. — Joins the Crusade. — Arrives at Acre. — Demoralised condition of the Crusaders. — Hubert an earnest and frequent preacher. — Assumes the command of the English contingent in the crusading army. — Critical state of the army. — Bishop of Salisbury distinguished as a general. — Letter to Bishop of London. — King Richard's arrival at Acre. — Bishop of Salisbury's valour in attacking the town. — Foremost in every work of charity and religion. — Short daily service in the army on march. — Hubert's vigilance as a field-officer. — Hubert a skilful diplomatist. — Illness of King Richard. — Panic in the army. —Confidence restored by the energy of Hubert. —Effects a truce with Saladin, which Richard approves. — Hubert visits Jerusalem. — Cordially received by Saladin. — Saladin's opinion of Richard. — Hubert's courtesy. — Visits Richard when a prisoner in Germany. — Deputed by King to raise his ransom in England and to counteract the intrigues of John. — Returns to England. — Vicegerent of the Kingdom. — Takes up arms and reduces the garrison of Windsor. — Concludes a truce with John. — Raises the ransom. — Archbishop of Canterbury. — Justiciary or Chief Justice of England. — Difficulties of his position. — Conduct of Prince John. — The Archbishop lays siege to Marlborough. — Richard in England. — Archbishop's wise government. — Raises money by selling charters to the towns. — Issues a proclamation against vice. — Pays attention to commercial affairs. — His controversy with Fitz-Osbert. — Description of London. — London Riots. — Determination of Hubert. — His unpopu-

* Authorities: — Gervas, Hoveden, Wendover, Vinsauf, Richard of Devizes.

larity. — Heads an expedition against the Welsh. — Resigns office as Justiciary. — Crowns King John. — Lord Chancellor. — His high character as a Statesman. — Controversy with Giraldus Cambrensis. — Letter from Hubert. — Conciliatory conduct of the Archbishop. — Hubert's conduct as Legate. — Visitation of the Province of York. — Synod at Westminster. — Vicarages first established. — Controversy with the monks of Canterbury about Lambeth. — Pope issues a bull in favour of the monks. — Monks threatened by the King with severe penalties for attending to the Bull. — Sabbatarian controversy. — Abbot of Flaye. — Hubert's munificence. — His placable disposition. — Lives on good terms with the monks of Canterbury. — Last solemn sermon. — His bequests. — His death.

Hervey Walter was a Norman baron, who possessed considerable property in the counties of Norfolk and Suffolk, which he inherited from his father, Hubert, the first settler.* This Hervey married Maude, the daughter of Theobald de Valoines, whose sister Bertha was the wife of the celebrated Ranulph de Glanville, for many years the Chief Justiciary of England, and, as is generally supposed, the author of the most ancient treatise on the laws of England.†

* Dugdale's Baronage, 633. Hubert Walter had four brothers, Theobald, Walter, Roger, and Hamon. Between Theobald and Hubert a close friendship existed. Theobald is mentioned by Hoveden, 418, 424, as holding the castle of Lancaster for Earl John, and afterwards as collector of tournament fees under Hubert. An account of the property he accumulated may be found in Dugdale. Being appointed Butler in Ireland, he assumed the name of Boteler, and from him the Earls of Ormond, in that country, descend.

† This treatise is entitled "Tractatus de legibus et consuetudinibus Regni Angliæ." Mr. Hunter, in his preface to the first volume of Fines, printed under the direction of the Record Commission, expresses a strong suspicion, that this was not the work of Ranulph de Glanville. But Mr. Foss, having examined the subject with his usual learning and accuracy, concludes, "If decisive evidence of his authorship cannot be advanced, there is, at all events, no candidate who has superior claims to the honour of having produced the work, nor is there any hypothesis of sufficient weight to counterbalance the presumption in favour of the tradition." —*Foss, Judges of England*, i. 383.

CHAP. XI.

Hubert Walter. 1193—1205.

Hubert, the son of Hervey Walter, sometimes called Hubert Fitz-Walter, but more commonly Hubert Walter*, was born at West Dereham, in Norfolk, where he afterwards founded a Premonstratensian monastery.† He was educated in the house of his uncle-in-law, Ranulph de Glanville, to whom, on his ordination, he became chaplain.‡ Such was the force of Hubert's character that, even at this early period of his life, Gervas says of him, that "in conjunction with Ranulph de Glanville, whom he chiefly influenced by his recommendations, he in a measure governed the realm."

So early as the year 1185, his name occurs among the barons and justiciaries, before whom fines were levied in the Curia Regis.§

In 1186, he succeeded Robert Botivelein, as Dean of York ‖; and there appears to have been some design, of securing his election to the archbishopric itself, which had been vacant for many years. Not only Glanville, but Queen Eleanor and Earl Richard, afterwards the king, were all interested in his behalf.¶ When we find, that Richard, at the commencement of his reign, consented to the election of his half-brother, Geoffrey Plantagenet, to the see of York, and nominated Hubert Walter to the diocese of Salisbury, we may presume that this arrangement was a compromise. According to Hoveden, the

* Fitz-Walter is the only intelligible translation of Walteri, unless we adopt the modern form, Walters. But the historical designation of the archbishop has become Hubert Walter, lest it should be inferred that he belonged to the famous house of Fitz-Walter which descended from the Earls of Clare. With that house the family of the archbishop was not connected.

† Parker, de Antiq. p. 223; Mon. Angl. vi. 899.

‡ Foundation charter of West Dereham; Mon. Angl. vi. 899. Hoveden, 360, calls him Clericus Rannulfi de Glanvilla.

§ Rot. Cur. Regis. ad ann.

‖ Hoveden, 360.

¶ Giraldus, Ang. Sac. ii. 383.

dean had up to this time opposed the wish of the canons to elect Geoffrey, and had even instituted an appeal against them, at the court of Rome. All that we can, however, assert, with any degree of certainty, is the fact, that, on the 22nd of October, 1189, Hubert Walter was consecrated Lord Bishop of Salisbury. The consecration took place, in St. Catherine's Chapel, Westminster Abbey. Godfrey de Lucy was, at the same time, consecrated Bishop of Winchester.

Hubert Walter, Bishop of Salisbury, assumed the scrip and staff, in 1190. He sailed for the Holy Land, in company with Archbishop Baldwin and his venerable uncle, Ranulph de Glanville.

Of his arrival before Acre, and of the battle in which Archbishop Baldwin distinguished himself, we have spoken in the preceding chapter. We have only to add, that, in the same battle, the Bishop of Salisbury fought valiantly. Throughout the war, he is described by a contemporary, as evincing the courage of a soldier, the skill of a general, and the piety of a pastor.*

For his pastoral offices the call was urgent. The demoralization of the Christian camp had so shocked the feelings of Archbishop Baldwin, that it brought his grey hairs with sorrow to the grave. It stimulated the mind of the Bishop of Salisbury to exertion.

When provisions became scarce, on account of the non-arrival of the expected supplies by sea, and when, in consequence, the poor among the followers of the camp were reduced to an extremity of suffering, it was through the instrumentality of the Bishop of Salisbury, that a subscription was set on foot to relieve their wants.†

* "Magnanimus Salisberiarum Antistes, ab expeditione abesse non sustinet, sed partem belli moderatur insignem, cujus virtus in armis militem, in castris ducem, in ecclesiasticis implet pastorem."—*Vinsauf*, i. 62.

† Vinsauf, i. 79.

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He was diligent as a preacher, inducing persons to come from all quarters, to attend the services in the chapel, which William, chaplain to Ralph de Diceto, Dean of London, — the celebrated historian, — had erected in the camp.* When Acre was taken, while the king was busily occupied, in rebuilding the houses, we find the Bishop of Salisbury equally active, in restoring the churches and consecrating the desecrated altars.

But, before this happy event occurred, he had to endure not only the grief occasioned by the mismanagement of the army, which he witnessed, and the licentiousness of the soldiery, which he deplored; but also the loss of his friends. He officiated, at the funeral of Baldwin and of De Glanville, the two most eminent men, one as an ecclesiastic, and the other as a civilian, of their time and of their country.

Until the arrival of Richard, the Bishop of Salisbury was the general in command of the English contingent in the army of the crusaders; his troops being posted between the Florentines on the one side, and the Flemings on the other.

The position of the whole army was critical. The besiegers were themselves besieged. The Europeans were encamped before Acre, but they were themselves surrounded; and the force, which surrounded them, was commanded by the most consummate general of the age, — by Saladin himself. The Europeans, without a commander-in-chief to direct their energies, were growing, every day, more and more disorderly and disheartened. While they were unable to move a step beyond the entrenchments, the hostile garrison of Acre could receive supplies, from time to time, because the Europeans were not in possession of a fleet sufficiently strong to

* Diceto, 659.

effect a blockade. How anxiously reinforcements were looked for, appears from the following letter: —

"To his venerable lord and dearest father in Christ, Richard, by the grace of God, Bishop of London, Hubert, by the same grace, Bishop of Salisbury, greeting, and constancy of devoted as well as due affection.

"Your grace must know, that the city of Acre, after many assaults, has hitherto held out strenuously against us, nor have we as yet taken it, for it had been sufficiently secured by troops, walls, and engines. Saladin, too, from without, closing us round, on every side, with his army, still keeps us, as it were, in a state of siege. Many, however, as we have learned from good authority, through bodily weakness and being overburdened with toil and expenses, have deserted from his army, nor could they be induced to remain longer by entreaties, bribes, or even threats. Among his troops, it is said, Saladin has been able to find a man of probity to introduce into Acre, for the purpose of removing thence the sick and wounded. Of our men also, on the other hand, divers have withdrawn, in different directions, to provide for themselves under the manifold difficulties of the siege, so that by this defection, together with the loss arising from mortality, the Christian army, on the spot, has suffered great diminution. Nevertheless, the Christians, trusting in the consolation of Christ, hope to be able to hold out, under the labours and privations of the siege aforesaid, until the arrival of our kings. We say this, in the event of their arriving about Easter, for should they postpone their coming until later, money will fail for our expenses, and hope of earthly consolation will vanish. Thus much relative to the siege of Acre." *

In March, 1191, relief came with Philip Augustus and the French army. On the arrival of the King of France, orders had been given to renew the assault upon the beleaguered city, but they were suspended. A reason was assigned, in accordance with the spirit of the age, that Philip's motive for inaction was, that the two kings, being engaged

* Diceto, Ymag. Hist. x. Script. 658.

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in a common cause, the town ought not to be taken, until the King of England should have the opportunity of sharing in the victory. But the chief officers of the camp knew, and even the common people began soon to suspect, that to attack the town, before the arrival of Richard and the main army of the English, would have been to waste life, with no probability of success. More anxiously still, therefore, were all eyes turned towards the sea, watching for the English. On the 8th of June, the fleet was discovered in the distance. The sea was beautifully calm; but it was night, before a landing could be effected. In the poetical language of one of the chroniclers, its very calmness seemed to smile on the assembled multitude. But when the military bands announced the near approach of the hero, the shore became a living mass, from which issued one enthusiastic shout of welcome. The illumination of the city revealed the fact to the distant enemy. A midnight festival was extemporized. High and low, knight and squire, mingled in the dance. Men drained their costly cups to the very dregs, while drinking to King Richard's health; and they felt an heroic spirit kindled in their own hearts, as they listened to popular ballads and martial airs.*

I describe the event, as I gather it from contemporary chroniclers; to observe, how slight has been the change, in public demonstrations of joy, and how strong is the propensity of a multitude, in time of peril, to yield itself implicitly to the guiding of a master mind.

Richard deceived, in the end, the expectations of the world; and failed to maintain the high position, which had been assigned to him, by the public voice of Europe. His was not a master mind; he lacked the genius, which enables the consummate general to see in the dark, and to hear in the midst of noise; which endows him with a

* Vinsauf, iii. 2.

foresight and a presence of mind to frustrate, by anticipating, the attempts of the enemy, and, by availing himself of every casualty, to control events. Nevertheless, Richard was more than a mere cavalry officer, — a gallant sabreur. War was his pastime; and, in the field of battle, he could direct the exertions of others, at the same time that the effect of the deadly weapon, which his right hand wielded, was such, as to induce a belief, that his strength, like Samson's, was more than human.

After the arrival of Richard, no time was lost. Preparations were immediately made for an assault. The army was, however, soon after, filled with consternation at the rumour of their hero's illness. But their admiration of their leader became enthusiastic, when they beheld the sick man borne on a mattress to his military engines; when they saw him directing his petrariæ, and using them, with such effect, as to demolish one of the towers of the enemy. The tower was levelled; the ditch was filled up. Richard could not himself lead the troops; but he shouted his applause, as he saw his brave Englishmen entering the breach, led on by Robert Fitz-Parnel, Earl of Leicester, and by Hubert, Bishop of Salisbury, the more energetic of the two.

Although, from want of sufficient co-operation and of a good understanding between the two Kings of England and of France, the town was not, at this time, captured; it, soon after, fell into the hands of the crusaders. While Richard was making it habitable for its new possessors, the Bishop of Salisbury was busily occupied in the sacred duties of his ecclesiastical office.* Living, as he did, in the midst of a vicious camp and court, it is to his credit that not a word was whispered against his morality, and that he was always foremost in every work of charity and religion. By him, in conjunction with other prelates,

* Hoveden, 396.

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a very simple daily service was ordered, to be performed by the whole army, when it was on the march. At the close of the day, before the men retired to rest, some one was deputed to stand in the centre of the camp, and to cry with a loud voice: "Help, help for the Holy Sepulchre!" The whole army, repeating the words, made a solemn response with hands outstretched towards heaven. There was a short pause for private prayer, when the voice of the herald was again heard, "Help, help for the Holy Sepulchre!" Every one repeated the prayer. This was done three times, and the men were then dismissed to their quarters. We can easily believe the chronicler, that many were moved to tears, by this simple act of devotion; and we accept his assurance, that "the army appeared to be much refreshed by crying out in this fashion."*

Although a large portion of the crusaders were, like Richard, brought to the Holy Land, not by any feelings of religion, which they did not possess, but merely by a love of adventure; there were, at the same time, many others influenced, like Baldwin and Glanville and Hubert, by an earnest sentiment of religion. They were deeply grieved to think of their Lord and Master insulted, by the fact of his sepulchre being in the hands of those, who knew him not as the Eternal Son of the Father, and had no faith in the meritorious efficacy of his cross and passion.

The Bishop of Salisbury accompanied Richard on his march from Acre to Ascalon; and the king found, in the Bishop of Salisbury, a prudent counsellor, an able coadjutor, and a devoted friend.

A special instance of the vigilance of the bishop, when acting as a general officer, is given by Vinsauf. Whenever the army marched, it was always harassed by the light troops of the enemy, and its safety was mainly owing to

* Vinsauf, iv. 12.

the resolute forbearance of the crusaders, and to the consequent firmness of their columns. But, when, in 1192, the army was advancing to Jerusalem, the French division was thrown into confusion, by a sudden attack of the Saracens. The event shall be described by the chronicler himself:—

"Both sides now laboured in the contest, with doubtful success. The heavens resounded, with the shouts of war. The earth was moist with blood. Swords rang, as they clashed together; shields rattled, and each side was agitated with equal fury. Our men, fatigued by the weight of the battle, began to waver; when, by divine providence, the Count of Perche, hearing the noise of the combat, came up. Yet he showed himself but a timid man; and the French would have been routed on that day, had not the Bishop of Salisbury, hearing the tumult, come quickly to their succour." *

Richard not only availed himself of the Bishop of Salisbury's valour in the field, he knew his value also as a diplomatist. In August, 1191, he sent him on a delicate and difficult embassy to Tyre.†

On one occasion, indeed, it was to the firmness, courage, and presence of mind of Hubert Walter, that the army was indebted for its salvation. In 1192, Richard, being at Joppa, was confined to his bed, by an attack of ague. The disease increased, and the physicians became alarmed. Their fears were communicated to the camp, and one of those panics ensued, which seem, for a time, to deprive men of reason. There were very few, observes Richard of Devizes, among the many thousands, who formed the camp, who did not meditate a flight. The dispersion or surrender of the crusading army seemed to be inevitable. The Bishop of Salisbury was the only man, who was prepared to meet the crisis. Without a moment's loss of time, he

* Vinsauf, v. 51.

† Vinsauf, iv. 3.

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convened a council, and proposed that a truce should be demanded of Saladin. He argued so forcibly, that he carried his point. He then proceeded, to address the army, and though not a man of eloquence, yet by his earnestness, he produced a wonderful effect.

Although the danger of the king could not be concealed from the enemy, Saladin acted with his usual generosity. He sent his brother, Saffatin, to the camp, to confer with the Bishop of Salisbury and the council. The result of the conference was a truce for three years, three months, three weeks, and three days.

To this arrangement Richard gave his consent, when he was restored to health.* Jaffa and Tyre, with all the castles and all the country, on the coast, between them, remained in the possession of the Christians, and the pilgrims of the West were permitted to repair to Jerusalem, at all seasons, exonerated from the payment of those tolls and taxes, which, exacted in an arbitrary manner, and in a persecuting spirit, had originally provoked the crusades.

On the part of those, who had entered into this crusade, under the influence of religious or of superstitious feelings, an anxiety was now displayed to visit the sacred places. The pilgrimages were conducted, in an orderly manner. They were divided into three companies. At the head of one of them appeared the Bishop of Salisbury. Richard had no inclination to visit, by permission, a city, which he had hoped to possess by right of conquest. The Bishop of Salisbury was his representative.† Hubert was well known, by character, to Saladin, who respected, in him, that wisdom and prudence, in which he knew Richard to be

* Richard of Devizes gives a full account of the stratagem to which the bishop resorted for the purpose of reconciling Richard to the arrangement.

† Newburgh, iv. 29.

deficient. The sultan sent a deputation to wait upon the bishop, to conduct him to the sacred places, and to offer him a residence in the palace. The bishop declined the offer, as he had come to Jerusalem with a religious object only, and as a pilgrim. The sultan directed, that every attention should be shown to the episcopal pilgrim, and signified his respect, by sending him presents. He was so anxious to have an interview with him, that Saladin offered him a sight of the Holy Cross.

When they met, they conversed together, for a considerable time. Saladin was minute, in his inquiries about his great opponent, the King of England; and was also desirous of knowing the real opinion of the more enlightened Europeans about his Saracens. The bishop was courteous in his reply, and stated what must have been the general opinion as well as his own. "Of my king, I may truly say, that he has not his equal among knights, for deeds of valour, or for liberality in his gifts. And I may add, that, in my humble opinion, if you, my lord, were converted from your unbelief, there would not be in the world two such princes as King Richard and yourself."

Saladin was plain-spoken. He admired, in Richard, his indomitable courage and animal strength. Men often admire those points in another, of which they are conscious of a deficiency in themselves. Saladin was a man of unquestioned valour, but had no pretension to Richard's strength of muscle. But Saladin was also a great general; and he had not failed to detect, that Richard's strength of head was not equal to his power of arm. "I have," he said, "been long aware, that your king is a man of the greatest honour and bravery, but he is imprudent, not to say foolishly so, in thrusting himself so frequently into danger; and he shows too great recklessness of his own life. For my own part, of however large territories I might be

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the king, I would rather have abundance of wealth, with wisdom and moderation, than display immoderate valour with rashness." The conversation then took a familiar turn; and Saladin, says Vinsauf, told the bishop to ask for anything he liked, and it should be given him. The bishop, in reply, requested that he might have, until the next day, to consider what his demand should be. This was granted, and he then requested, that, whereas divine service was, till now, performed irregularly at our Lord's tomb, in the barbarous way, as he called it, of the Syrians, it might be allowed, for the future, that two Latin priests, with two deacons, to be maintained by the offerings of the faithful, should perform divine service, in conjunction with the Syrians; and, that an equal number might be allowed at Bethlehem and also at Nazareth. The sultan assented to the request; and the bishop instituted two priests, in the aforesaid places, together with two deacons, rendering to God a service, where there had been none before. After this, the pilgrims obtained the sultan's license, and returned from Jerusalem to Acre.*

The Bishop of Salisbury, soon after, turned his thoughts towards England. King Richard had already taken his departure. The army had been disbanded, except that portion of it which was required to garrison the towns and castles of the coast; and, although Jerusalem had not been captured, still the safety of the pilgrims was secured. The expedition had been a failure, so far as its immediate object was concerned; but, even in a military point of view, there was this advantage gained—the Asiatics were duly impressed with respect, for the muscular Christianity of the age, and were not likely, it might fairly be supposed, to proceed to fresh hostilities.

On his way home, the bishop touched at one of the

* Vinsauf, lib. vi. 34.

ports of Sicily.* There he heard of what had befallen King Richard. He proceeded immediately to seek him, and he succeeded in obtaining an interview with the captured monarch at the castle of Trifels.†

Although the main features of the history of the king's captivity are sufficiently clear, the details are rather obscure; or so much mixed up with romance and fiction, that, beyond the fact, that the bishop joined the king, we have nothing to communicate. We can only state, on the authority of William of Newburgh, that Hubert was despatched by the king, to England, for the twofold purpose of counteracting the intrigues of John, Earl of Mortaigne, the king's brother, and of raising, as expeditiously as possible, the ransom demanded for Richard's release. The king required a zealous and judicious friend, to maintain his interest in England, and, as the chronicler just quoted remarks, he had no other friend, of whose fidelity, prudence, and sincerity, he had enjoyed such frequent proofs in many emergencies.‡

When Hubert arrived in England, on the 20th of April, Walter de Constantiis, Archbishop of Rouen, was chief justiciary. Although this prelate did not formally resign his office as justiciary, till September; yet Hubert, armed with the royal authority, appears to have assumed, at once, the functions of the king's vicegerent.

John, on a report, originating with himself, that the king had died in prison, had taken possession of the castles of Windsor and Wallingford, and had demanded the crown as lawful heir. The prelates and barons had

* William of Newburgh, iv. 33.

† I infer this from the king's letter to his mother and the justiciaries given in Hoveden, 413. In that letter King Richard says that subsequently to the departure of Hubert he had been removed from Trifels to Hagenau.

‡ William of Newburgh, iv. 33; see also Gervas, 1582.

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met the treasonable attempt, by raising the royal standard. Hubert, immediately, assumed the command of the loyalists, and compelled the garrison of Windsor, to surrender, concluding a truce with John till Michaelmas.

Equally expeditious was he, in devising measures for the king's ransom. He proceeded in a businesslike manner, forming a committee, consisting of himself, the Bishop of London, the Earl of Arundel, the Earl of Warrenne, and the Mayor of London, under the seal of the queen-dowager and the Archbishop of Rouen, the justiciary.

The archbishopric of Canterbury was still vacant: no successor to Baldwin having been appointed. It was important to the king, that he should have a friend so devoted, and, at the same time, so judicious, at the head of affairs, both in Church and State. Richard, accordingly, wrote a prudent letter to the chapter at Canterbury, requesting the monks, as a personal favour to himself, to elect the Bishop of Salisbury to be their father and pastor. At the same time, he addressed a letter to the queen dowager, and to the suffragan bishops of the province of Canterbury, directing them, in the event of opposition on the part of the monks, to permit no election to take place before his return.*

To have rejected a crusader, one who had risked his life "in the evangelical cause," as it was called, would have been scarcely possible, in the existing state of public feeling; nor could the monks have refused a favour asked by one, who had filled both Europe and Asia with his renown, and who had now become an object of indignant commiseration to every loyal heart. But the monks resorted to one of those pitiful manœuvres, on the occasion, which, offensive to straightforward persons, are looked upon, as clever, by men

* The letter may be found in Gervas, Chron. 1583, "quia de illo hoc volumus et non de alio."

of narrow minds, weak intellects, and strong party feeling. The suffragans of Canterbury claimed a concurrent right of election, when a metropolitan was to be appointed to the province. This claim the monks resisted. And now, when they were summoned, as was usual, to meet the bishops and the representatives of the crown, in order that they might confer, on the election of a primate, they made their appearance. But they merely appeared to state, that the election had already taken place, and that Hubert Walter was the archbishop. They were aware, that the bishops could not propose any one else, and all that the suffragans had to do was to express their indignation and their assent.

Although the election took place on the 30th of May, 1193, yet, owing to the intervention of some important events, the new archbishop was not enthroned, till the 7th of November following.

The king had required the presence of the queen dowager and of the Archbishop of Rouen in Germany, to settle finally the terms and conditions of his liberation; and, when they left the country, in obedience to the royal summons in September, Hubert Walter was appointed justiciary.*

We shall now consult the reader's convenience, by considering in separate sections the character of Hubert, first as a statesman and a lawyer, and secondly as an ecclesiastic and a divine.

I. The civil appointments of Hubert gave great offence, not, as some persons have supposed, because the laity viewed with jealous eyes the appointment of an ecclesiastic to the discharge of civil and judicial functions, — for this was, in every country, a common occurrence, — but because it was considered to be beneath the dignity of an

* Gervas, 1586.

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Archbishop of Canterbury to hold office under the crown: it was a contravention of the principle, for which Becket died.* The primate was to be treated not as the servant of the king, but as his equal. This was the feeling of the religious world, while men of real and ardent piety, who had regard, exclusively, to the spiritual functions of the episcopal office, viewed with displeasure Hubert's acceptance of an appointment, which would not only involve him in an immense amount of secular business, but, in violation of the canons, require him to sit in judgment upon causes of life and death.

There have been others besides Hubert, who have accepted bishoprics without believing in the divine institution of episcopacy; and who, out of eagerness to realise the temporal advantages of their position, have not been very mindful of their pledges to observe the rules, or to act in accordance with the canons of the Church. We will, however, say of Hubert, that, even if he made his secular employment his primary concern, yet he did not neglect his duties as a metropolitan and diocesan; and if he deserves the character given of him by a high modern authority, that "few persons, who have filled such high offices, have passed through their career, with so little blame," † his merit is the greater; for fewer still have there been, among statesmen and lawyers, who have been placed under circumstances of such extreme difficulty.

His first business was, to raise the ransom for the libe-

* When, at a later period, he became chancellor, and expressed a hope that by his official influence he would be able to restrain King John in his excesses, Hugh Bardolph, himself a justiciary, remarked to him: "By your leave, my Lord,—if you really well consider the power of your name and the dignity of your position, you would not impose upon yourself the yoke of slavery, for we have never before seen or heard of a chancellor being made out of an archbishop, though we have seen an archbishop made out of a chancellor."—*Hoveden.*

† Foss, Judges of England, ii. 126.

ration of Richard; and the measures resorted to, in order to raise the money, were not likely to secure the popularity of the minister. They shall be given in the words of William of Newburgh. "The royal officers," he says, "accelerated the business, throughout England, without sparing any one; nor was there any distinction made between clergy and laymen, secular or regular, citizen or husbandmen; but all, indifferently, were compelled to pay the stipulated sum for the king's ransom, either in proportion to their substance or the amount of their revenues. Privileges, prerogatives, immunities of churches and monasteries were neither pleaded nor admitted. Every dignity, every liberty was silent; nor had any one licence to say, 'Such and so great am I; have me excused.' Even the monks of the Cistercian order, who had hitherto been exempt from all royal exactions, were, at this time, more heavily burthened, in proportion as they had formerly less experienced the weight of public pressure. For they were taxed, and compelled to give up even the wool of their sheep, which is their chief means of support, and appears to be almost the only revenue they have, for their necessary subsistence and expenses. It was thought that such a mass of money would exceed the sum of the king's ransom; however, it was found not to be sufficient, when the whole came to be collected at London; but this is supposed to have happened through the fraud of the officers. In consequence of the inadequacy of the first collection, the king's officers made a second, and a third; despoiling the more opulent of their money, and extenuating the manifest disgrace of exaction, with the honourable title of royal ransom. Lastly, that no occasion might be wanting, and that the locust might eat the leavings of the caterpillar, the palmer-worm the leavings of the locust, and the mildew the leavings of the palmer-worm, they proceeded to take the sacred vessels;

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and, as the venerable determination of the fathers had not only permitted, but even advised, that such vessels should be used for the redemption of any Christian captive, it was judged that they ought, *a fortiori*, in a more especial manner to be applied to the redemption of a captive prince. Wherefore, the sacred chalices, throughout the whole extent of England, were delivered to the royal collectors, or, as matter of favour, redeemed for something rather under their value. And when England now appeared almost wholly drained of money, and the king's tax-gatherers were tired and wearied of collecting it, still (as it is said) the whole accumulation of money was inadequate to cover the expense of the king's ransom; and, therefore, the greater part of the appointed sum being paid to the Emperor's ministers, the king, lest his release should be protracted beyond measure, craftily satisfied the Emperor, for the residue, by competent hostages."*

The Earl of Mortaigne, the king's brother, thought it worth while to sound the archbishop, and to ascertain whether he was inflexible in his loyalty to Richard. Hubert received a visit, in March, 1194, from Adam of St. Edmunds, a clerk of the household of John. The archbishop politely invited him to dinner. Master Adam accepted the invitation, and availed himself of the opportunity to boast of the prosperous circumstances of his master; of the intimate relations, which existed between him and the King of France; and of the fact, that the French king had delivered to John the castles of Driencourt and of Arches, which he had stipulated to place in the hands of the Archbishop of Rheims. He added significantly, that the king was prepared to make over other castles to John, if John could find men, in whom he could place confidence.†

* William of Newburgh, lib. iv. c. 38.

† Hoveden, 418.

There was a large party, and the archbishop was extremely angry. He would not, however, violate the laws of hospitality or apprehend Adam, while sitting as his guest. But no sooner had master Adam reached his lodgings, than he received a domiciliary visit from the Mayor of London, who seized his papers, and placed them in the hands of the archbishop as justiciary.

The next day, the justiciary summoned into his presence as many bishops, earls, and barons as could be found. He showed them the letters of Earl John, and explained their purport. It was, at once, decided, by the common consent of the council, "that Earl John should be disseized of all his lands in England, and that his castles should be besieged;" which was accordingly done.

On the same day, Hubert, Archbishop of Canterbury, Hugh, Bishop of Lincoln, Richard, Bishop of London, Gilbert, Bishop of Rochester, Godfrey, Bishop of Winchester, the Bishops of Worcester and Hereford, and Henry, Bishop elect of Exeter, together with the abbots and many of the clergy of the province of Canterbury, met together in the chapel of the Sick Monks at Westminster, and pronounced sentence of excommunication against Earl John, and all his abettors and advisers, who had disturbed the peace and kingdom of the King of England, or should disturb the same; unless desisting from their hostilities, they should give satisfaction.*

The next step was to reduce the fortresses, which were held by John in England. The archbishop took the command of the forces, in person. He laid siege to Marlborough Castle, which, in the course of a few days, surrendered. The Castle of Lancaster was held by Theobald, the archbishop's brother, and was at once given up. Not-

* Hoveden, 418.

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tingham held out, but while the siege was in progress, on the 13th of March, 1194, Richard himself landed at Sandwich.

Nothing could exceed the enthusiasm, with which the hero of the Crusades was received. He rushed, at once, to Nottingham, to enjoy the pleasures of a fight, and to confer, on public affairs, with the archbishop.

The garrison at Nottingham, when certified of the king's return, capitulated; and, on the tenth of April, the king proceeded to Northampton, where he kept Easter with great festivity and splendour. On the 17th, he proceeded to Winchester, where the archbishop had the pleasure of once more placing the crown on his head.* On the 12th of May, the ungrateful, unpatriotic, unprincipled Cœur de Lion left England, to squander his people's money, and to revel in scenes of debauchery and bloodshed on the continent.† He only valued England for the wealth, of which he drained her; and it is said, that Hubert, by some means or other, was enabled to send him, in the course of two years, the incredible sum of one million one hundred thousand marks.

That a sum of money approximating that, which has just been named, should have been sent out of the country without causing a disturbance, impresses us with a high notion of the administrative abilities of Hubert. He was enabled to raise considerable sums, by a course of proceeding, which ultimately conduced to the liberty of the subject. He sold charters to the principal towns, and thus conceded to them municipal rights, which, when once granted, were resolutely maintained. He was also ex-

* A full account of this coronation is given in Hoveden, 420. The Norman kings were accustomed to wear the crown on great occasions, when it was placed with great solemnity on their heads, but the unction was not, except under special circumstances, repeated.

† Hoveden, 421.

tremely regular in the administration of justice. He was never accused of corruption; but, through the courts of justice, considerable profit accrued to the crown,—in the shape of what we should call fees. Justice might be fairly administered, but high sums might be demanded, before the court might condescend to sit. The first of the *Rotuli Curiæ Regis* are dated from the administration of Archbishop Hubert; and from them we learn how great was his diligence, in the discharge of his judicial duties.* These rolls contain repeated references to his authority, as justiciary,—days given to parties, record made by him of the king's oral declarations,—pleas heard and judgments pronounced,—writs issued by his command.†

There seemed to be nothing, to which he did not direct his attention. In the year 1195, he caused an oath to be administered, which may be regarded as the foundation of the Proclamation against vice, which is usually issued at the commencement of a reign. It ran as follows:

"That all subjects of the kingdom of England shall, to the best of their power, keep the peace of their lord the king. That they shall not be thieves or robbers, nor yet harbourers of them, nor shall in any way abet them; and, that, whenever they shall be able to know of any malefactors of that character, they shall, to the best of their ability, endeavour to take them, and deliver them up to the sheriffs, and they shall on no account be liberated, but by our lord the king, or his chief justice; and if they shall not be able to arrest them, they shall give notice of them, whoever they may be, to the bailiffs of our lord the king. When a hue-and-cry is raised for the pursuit of outlaws, robbers, thieves, or the harbourers of such, all shall join in pursuit

* The Rotuli Curiæ Regis, Rolls and Records of the Court held before the king's justiciars or justices from the 6th year of Richard I. to the accession of King John, were published by Sir Francis Palgrave in 1835.

† Rot. Cur. Regis, vol. i. 9, 14, 25, 32, 33, 35, 46, 47, 72, 82, 87, 89, 94, 125, and Abbreviatio Placitorum, 3, 4.

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of them, to the best of their ability; and if they shall see any one, and it shall be clear, that he has not joined in the said pursuit, or, that he has, without permission, withdrawn himself therefrom, they shall take such same persons, as though they were the offenders, and deliver them to the sheriffs, not to be set at liberty but by the king, or by his chief justice. Also, the knights, who are appointed for that purpose, shall make all persons of their respective districts, of the age of fifteen years and upwards, appear before them, and shall make them swear, that they will keep the peace of our lord the king, in manner above mentioned, and that they will not be outlaws, robbers, or thieves, nor yet harbourers of them, nor will in any way abet them; and that they will, in manner above stated, make full pursuit of them; and if they shall take any one in the commission of an offence, will deliver them to the knights placed over them, in their respective districts, and for that purpose appointed, who shall deliver him into the custody of the sheriff. And in like manner, on a hue-and-cry being raised, for the purpose of pursuing the said offenders, if they shall see any person, or it shall be known to them, that any person does not join in the pursuit, or if he shall, without leave, withdraw himself from the pursuit, they shall take him as the offender, and deliver him to the aforesaid knights, for the purpose of being delivered into the custody of the sheriff, as though he were the offender himself; and he shall not be liberated, except by the command of our lord the king or his chief justice."

Accordingly, for the purpose of carrying out those orders, certain officials were sent throughout all the counties of England; who, upon the oaths of trusty men, arrested many in their respective neighbourhoods, and put them in the king's prisons. Many, however, being forewarned thereof, and having bad consciences, left their homes and possessions and took to flight.

Hubert's attention was directed to commercial affairs. In the year 1198, he issued a decree, in the king's name, that "throughout England, all measures of corn and pulse, both in cities and other places, should be of the same size,

and especially the measure of ale, wine, and the weights of merchants. It was also decreed, that woollen cloths, in all parts of the kingdom, should be two ells wide, within the borders, and should be as good in the middle as they were at the sides. It was, moreover, decreed, that no trader should hang up before his shop red or black cloths, or anything else, by which the sight of purchasers should be deceived in choosing a good cloth. A decree was, also, passed, that no dye, except black, should be anywhere made use of in the kingdom, except in the capital cities or the boroughs; and if any one should be convicted of transgressing any of these laws, that his body should be imprisoned, and his goods confiscated to the revenue." *

We have reserved for distinct and detailed consideration, the controversy, which existed between Hubert and Fitz-Osbert. As this is done, in order to illustrate the manners of the age, we shall commence with a digression, on the state of London at this time.†

The city of London, in the twelfth century, was surrounded by a high wall with seven double gates, turreted at intervals on the north and south sides. The southern wall, washed by the Thames, had been partially undermined by the constant ebb and flow of the waters. Besides the Tower of London, there were two strong towers at the west end of the city; and two miles beyond, but connected with the city by one long street, stood the king's palace, a magnificent edifice, which, with its outward walls and battlements, towered above the river.

Within the walls, there had been a great improvement

* Wendover, ad. ann. 1197.

† I take this description from Fitz-Stephen compared with Fitz-Ailwyne's Assize, and with the Liber Albus in the Munimenta Gildhallæ Londoniensis, together with Mr. Riley's valuable introduction. The date of the last work is later than the period under consideration, but, in describing the present, it alludes to and throws light on the past.

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in the houses, since the fire, which took place in King Stephen's reign. The conflagration commenced at London Bridge, had destroyed St. Paul's Cathedral, and had burnt all the houses as far as St. Clement's Danes. Before that event, the houses were wholly built of wood, and thatched with straw, reeds, or stubble, but now they were generally erected with freestone partition walls, and roofed with thick tiles. They consisted, with few exceptions, of only one story* over the ground floor. Glass was only to be seen in the windows of the opulent,—the windows of the citizens, in general, were merely open apertures, crossed with iron stanchions, and covered with iron shutters by night.† Chimneys there were none at this time, except in the abodes of the wealthy, the smoke in the houses of the middle and lower classes having to find its way out of the doors and windows as it best might.

Carts, with wood and charcoal for fuel, stood at Smithfield and Cornhill, and sea-coal is mentioned as paying custom at Billingsgate. The shops were mere open rooms on the ground floors, with wide windows, and very frequently with projecting stalls. By reiterated enactments of the city authorities, orders were taken for keeping the highways clean from rubbish — hay, straw, sawdust, dung, and other refuse. Each householder was to clear away all dirt from his door, and to be equally careful not to place it before that of his neighbour. No one was to throw water or anything else out of the window, but he was to bring the water down and pour it into the streets,—through which, two kennels ran, leaving a space for the footpaths on either side. Persons, living in the city, were permitted to keep swine within their houses, but strict injunctions were issued, from time to

* In the 14th century houses of two or three stories are mentioned.

† Riley, xxxiii. Before the close of the century windows had become common.

time, that no pigsties should be allowed to encroach upon the street.

There were, in the city and suburbs, thirteen conventual churches, besides smaller churches, to the number of one hundred and twenty-six. There were three public schools, attached to three of these churches. Thither, on holidays the magistrates would repair, and give a feast to the scholars, of whom some disputed syllogistically, while others repeated verse-tasks, or were examined in grammar. These feasts were a kind of Saturnalia, at which the scholars gave full utterance to the opinions they entertained of their superiors, and displayed that union of wit and noise, which seems to have been handed down from one generation of untamed undergraduates to another.

We must not omit to mention, that Newgate, under the name of Newport, was already used as a gaol.* The other prison was the "Tun" at Cornhill, which answered the purpose of a house of correction.

Although the luxurious club had no existence as yet; there was a certain well-known cook's shop, where could be obtained, every day, according to the season, all kinds of meats and dishes: roast, baked, fried and boiled fish both great and small; flesh of the coarser sort for the poor, but more delicate for the rich; venison, poultry, and game.

Our ancestors were not in want of a Tattersall's. Immediately outside of one of the gates, in the suburb, Fitzstephen informs us, there was a certain plain, both level in reality and so denominated — Smoothfield, corrupted into Smithfield. Here, there was, on every Friday, a show of horses. It was much frequented by earls, barons, knights, and citizens. Fitzstephen tells us, that it was very amusing to see the palfreys with shining trappings, walking

* Rot. Cur. Reg. introd. xxxviii.

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delicately, raising and lowering both their feet on the same side, like subalterns in logic. In one place (our author continues) there were horses, calculated to be knights' chargers, walking more heavily, but yet nimbly, raising and lowering their opposite feet, like logical contradictories. Elsewhere there were young thorough-bred colts not yet broken in,

"With lofty steps and limber legs advancing."

Our learned author was evidently a judge of horseflesh, and describes, with delight, both the large packhorses with sinewy limbs, and the warhorses of great value, elegant in form and tall of stature, with pricking ears, lofty neck, and broad haunches: and he informs us, that those, who intended to purchase, would watch their steps and paces; first, they would try them at walking, then they would make them gallop, while the horses would raise their front feet, at the same time, and also their hind feet, and again lower them, like contraries in logic.

There was also a race-course. When the race commenced, all vulgar horses, with their riders, were told to stand aside. The racers were mounted by young lads, sometimes three abreast, at other times, two and two. The riders, skilful in the management of horses, reined in their fierce mouths with bits, which nothing could resist, doing everything in their power to win the race.

There was also an agricultural show. At some distance, but on the same smooth field, were exhibited the wares of rustics, instruments of agriculture, swine with long flanks, cows of unwieldy size, and woolly sheep, and mares for the plough or for the waggon.

There were also reviews, sham-fights, and much military display. The Londoners were celebrated for their deeds of chivalry. When, in the time of Stephen, a review was held of persons, qualified for military service,

they mustered twenty thousand strong in cavalry, and sixty thousand infantry. Every Sunday in Lent, after dinner, the young men would issue forth into the meadows around, armed with lance and shield, with spears sharpened but without iron, and engage in military exercises. The courtiers would be present, and sometimes the king himself: and the citizens would be joined by young men, from the households of bishops, counsellors, and barons, who had not yet been rewarded with the belt of knighthood. In Lent, the banks of the river would be crowded to witness the representation of a naval battle. There were boarfights, and bullfights, and cockfights, and football, and all kinds of sports.

Around the city, there were suburban houses, in the midst of beautiful gardens. On the north side of the town, there were meadows, intersected by streams giving motion to numerous mills. There were wells of sweet water,—Holywell, Clerkenwell, and St. Clement's well,—whither the youth of both sexes would repair, to enjoy the fresh air and to carry on their flirtations on a summer's evening. In the immediate neighbourhood, was a large forest, embosomed in the woods, the resort of stags, fallow deer and wild boars. The citizens of London delighted in hunting and hawking, and had the right of hunting in Middlesex, Hertford, and in Kent as far as the river Cray.

Fitzstephen further informs us, that the citizens of London, meaning the governing body, were celebrated for their polished manners, their genteel dress, and their well-ordered tables. The inhabitants of other cities were called citizens, but those of London were nobles.* Barons,

* This statement is also made by William of Malmesbury. Hist. Nov. lib. iii. 45. He tells that Henry of Blois, in the time of Stephen, addressed the Londoners, as being the chief of England, as nobles. That the aldermen of London ranked as barons, is further shown by the

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bishops, and abbots were proud to be enrolled among them, and enjoy the privileges of the municipality. Many of the barons had mansions, or stone houses in the city, where they resided at great expense, when summoned to the metropolis, to attend councils, convened by the king or the primate,—or when they had private business to transact.

The liberties of the city, inherited from Anglo-Saxon times, had been secured to the Londoners by William the Conqueror, confirmed by his successors, and resolutely maintained by the citizens. Among these privileges, was the right of self-government*, subjected to some control

baronial emblem, the hawk on fist assumed on his seal by Fitz-Ailwyn, one of the aldermanic body, afterwards distinguished as mayor. Such tokens of station, Palgrave observes, were not taken without due warrant. Rot. Curiæ Regis, introd. xxxviii.

* For a Charter to the City of London by Henry I. see Fœdera, is 11, from an Inspeximus of 2 Edward IV., and the Leges Regis Henrici Primi, in the Ancient Laws and Institutes. Mr. Thorpe sums up the privileges granted to the City of London :

1. To hold Middlesex for ever in farm for 300*l.* a year; to appoint whom they please to be sheriff and justiciary "ad custodienda placita coronæ meæ et eadem placitanda;" and that there should be no other justiciary "super ipsos homines Londoniæ."

2. The citizens "non placitabunt" without the walls of the city "pro nullo placito," and shall be "quieti" from *eschot* and *lot*, and from *danegeld* and *murdrum;* and none of them "faciet bellum;" and if any citizen is impleaded "de placitis coronæ, per sacramentum quod judicatum fuerit in civitate, se disracionet homo London."

3. No one to be quartered within the walls of the city, and no quarters assigned by compulsion to any one "de mea familia, neque de alia."

4. The men of London and their goods to be "quieti" and "liberi" over all England, and in all seaports, from toll, passage (transit duty), and lastage; and from all other customs.

5. The churches, barons, and citizens to hold and enjoy, well and in peace, their *sokes*, with all their customs; so that the indwellers in their *sokes* shall "render custom to none" but to the owner of the *soke*, or to his officer.

on the part of the king's court not of a very definable nature. At the time of which we are now writing, the Mayor, at the head of the corporation, was a distinguished man, Henry Fitz-Ailwyn. The aldermen were termed, in the ancient city books, "Majores" or "Nobiles;" under these were the burgesses*, or the persons governed.†

At the period now under consideration, the latter class were beginning to feel their power, and to assert their rights, as opposed to the aldermen, even as the aldermen had successfully maintained their own privileges, when

6. In pleas relating to money, a man of London shall not be sentenced "in misericordia, nisi ad suum *were*, scil. ad centum solidos."

7. There shall be no longer *miskenninge* in the *hustings*, nor in the *folkmote*, nor in any pleas within the city; and the *husting* shall sit every Monday.

8. "Et terras, et wardemotum (vadimonia, Fœd.) et debita civibus meis habere faciam, infra civitatem et extra; et de terris de quibus ad me clamaverint, rectum eis tenebo lege civitatis."

9. If any one takes toll or custom from the citizens of London, the citizens may take as much from the *burg* or *vill* where the exaction took place, besides damages.

10. And all persons indebted to citizens of London shall pay their debts in the city, or show there that the demand is unfounded. And if they refuse, the citizens of London to whom they are indebted may take by distress within the city, "de burgo vel villa, vel de comitatu, in quo manet qui debitum debet."

11. And the citizens of London shall have their hunting grounds for hunting as was best and most fully enjoyed by their predecessors; that is, in Chiltern, in Middlesex, and in Surrey.

* Burgesses are named in William the Conqueror's time. "Modo habet rex civitatem Hereford in dominio, et Anglici Burgenses ibi manentes habent suas priores consuetudines." — *Cons. Civit. Gale*, iii. 764.

† The Charter of the 16th of John is the first, in which the privilege of the citizens of London to elect their mayor is acknowledged. It has been sometimes considered as creating the municipal office, but Palgrave justly remarks, that very frequently the Charter, purporting to give a new privilege, is merely the confirmation of a pre-existing right. Other entries occur, respecting the mayor, upon the records, so as to establish the existence of this magistrate in fact and name. Rot. Curiæ Regis, introd.

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attacked by the crown. The time for asserting, with success, the rights of the commonalty had nearly arrived, —but any actual movement was, just at this crisis, premature. At first, after the Conquest, the governing body had consisted of Normans or of Normanised Saxons, —and the burgesses, if we may employ the term, were for the most part Anglo-Saxons. But the distinction of race had almost disappeared in the reign of John. As, in the castles, by intermarriages, and, in the time of war, by companionship in arms; so in the towns, by that freedom and equality, which commerce and trade have a tendency to create,—the people, high and low, had begun, without looking back to their origin, to regard themselves not as Saxons, not as Danes, not as Normans, but as English.* The races were fused, blended, and united by intermarriages and by common interests. The burgesses had a common object, in resisting the oppression of those, who had the government of the city; and the aldermen were determined to assert and maintain their power, sometimes, as the manner was, at the expense of justice. The ground of estrangement, between the two great parties in the city, may, nevertheless, be traced to the original distinction of race. As regards the burgesses, the Norman minority had been fused into the Saxon majority, and had been leavened with the feelings of Anglo-Saxon independence: on the contrary, the functionaries were, at first, almost exclusively Normans, and although Anglo-Saxons, or the sons of Anglo-Saxon mothers, had been admitted, by degrees, into the governing body, there remained among them the proud, exclusive, overbearing, aristocratic spirit, by which the Normans were everywhere distinguished.

* We are told, by contemporary authority, that this tendency to an amalgamation of races had advanced so far in the time of Henry II., that the distinction between Norman and Saxon had nearly disappeared, and that even differences of language were passing away. Dialogus de Scaccario, lib. i. c. 10.

The two parties came into collision, when Hubert was justiciary. The burgesses were right in principle, but had for their leader a violent and profligate man, who damaged their cause: the aldermen were in the wrong, but, in the event, theirs became the side of social order, and that cause was maintained by Hubert.

The dispute originated first, as most contests for liberty in England have done, in a question relating to taxation.

In 1196, the Justiciary Hubert demanded of the city of London a certain sum of money, to meet the expenses of the war in France. His business, according to the constitution, as it then existed, was to lay a certain rate upon the city. How it was to be raised, was a question to be decided by the municipal functionaries. Their decision was, that the money should be raised, by a poll tax. Nothing could be more unjust,—the tax was to be levied not on property, but upon the person; rich and poor, all were to pay alike, the rich from his superfluities, the poor, by robbing their children of their daily bread.

The murmurs were deep though not loud, until they found a voice in William Fitz-Osbert, known by the name of William with-the-longe-berde, commonly called Longbeard.* Violent as was the language used by Longbeard

* The opinion to which Palgrave evidently inclines is, that Fitz-Osbert nourished his growth of beard, to render himself notable in the crowd, and folk-mote. He was of a mean appearance, and endeavoured thus to give importance to his looks. The assertion, that he and his kinsmen adhered to this as an ancient Saxon fashion, as a testimony against their Norman masters, is untenable. The Saxons were not a bearded people, at the time of the Conquest, as may be seen in the Bayeux tapestry, and we have no account of any such party badge having been assumed by them. William Fitz-Osbert was, as his name proclaims, not a Saxon by descent, at least not on his father's side. And, as it has been shown above, the dispute before us did not arise out of difference of race, but from a collision of classes. This was Fitz-Osbert's fault: like a demagogue, he sought to set class against class, without regard to the consequences. He was a lawyer, an unprincipled

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against the "nobiles" of the city, he was, nevertheless, politic in his mode of proceeding. He professed great loyalty to the king. He inveighed against the system of taxation, by which, while the poor were oppressed, the king was defrauded. Let a tax be placed upon property, and a much larger sum might be demanded than, under existing circumstances, it was possible to raise. He passed over to Normandy and had an interview with Richard, praying "peace for the citizens and himself;" by which was meant, protection against the government and the city functionaries. The chroniclers differ as to the answer he obtained, but from the result we may suppose, that Richard received, with cordiality, his former companion in arms. On Longbeard's return to England, he organised his faction, and, according to William of Newburgh, fifty-two

man, but a man of surpassing eloquence. He had attended King Richard to the Crusades, and retained, as we shall see, some influence with the king. He had been indebted for his education to an elder brother, Richard by name, whose kindness he ungratefully repaid by accusing him of high treason. He affirmed, that at a meeting held in the stone house of Richard, when a discussion arose, concerning the aids granted to the King for his ransom, Richard Fitz-Osbert exclaimed, "In recompence for the money taken from me by the chancellor within the Tower of London, I would lay out forty marks, to purchase a chain in which the king and his chancellor might be hanged." There were others present, who heard this speech, Jordan the Tanner, and Robert Brand, without doubt the two true men noticed, but not named, by Ralph de Diceto, whose brief account of the transaction agrees, as far as it extends, with the record. And they also vied with Richard Fitz-Osbert in his disloyalty. "Would that the king might always remain where he now is, quoth Jordan." In this wish, Robert Brand cordially agreed, — and — "Come what will" — they all exclaimed — "in London we never will have any other king except our mayor — Henry Fitz-Ailwyn, of London Stone." Longbeard was cast in his suit, the authentic record of which is among the earliest entries in the Roll of the Curia Regis, Introd. xi. The magnates of the city sided with Richard Fitz-Osbert, who probably was one of their number. Hence the hostility of William. Newburgh, v. 20; Diceto, 691.

thousand citizens enrolled themselves by name as his adherents; that is to say, they arrayed themselves against the magistrates. Longbeard raised a kind of servile war. All, who were possessed of property, felt, that their wealth, their honour, their very lives were in danger. They were, night and day, under arms keeping watch and ward.

Longbeard was, in the meantime, holding folkmotes or meetings, at which he harangued the people and inflamed their passions. He proclaimed himself to be the king and saviour of the poor; he denounced his opponents as traitors, and thundered out his intention of curbing their perfidy. A specimen of his oratory has been handed down to us. "The pride of his discourses," says William of Newburgh*, "is plainly shown by what I have learned of a trustworthy man, who asserted, that he himself had, some days before, been present at a meeting convened by him, and had heard him address the people. Having taken his text or theme from the Holy Scriptures, he thus began: 'With joy shall ye draw water out of the wells of salvation' (Isa. xii. 3)—and applying this to himself, he continued,—'I am the saviour of the poor. Do ye, oh poor! who have experienced the heaviness of rich men's hands, drink from my wells the waters of the doctrine of salvation, and ye may do this joyfully; for the time of your visitation is at hand. For I will divide the waters from the waters. The people are the waters. I will divide the humble from the haughty and treacherous. I will separate the elect from the reprobate, as light from darkness.'"

Hubert was justly indignant at the conduct of the thoughtless and selfish king, who, if he did not encourage the malcontents, had certainly not supported his government at home. Nevertheless he saw, that decided measures

* Lib. v. c. 20.

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must be adopted, if the peace of the country was to be secured; and if we cannot entirely justify his proceedings, we are equally unable to deny that he acted, though with firmness, yet with discretion.

He called a council. Before the council Longbeard was summoned to appear. He appeared, escorted by an immense mob, who cheered him loudly on his way. The council was intimidated, and admitted, that to proceed against him, by the ordinary process of law, would be a hopeless endeavour. The military were, therefore, called out, — all those in the neighbouring counties, who were holding property under the king. But, before they arrived, Hubert determined to make trial what could be done, by conciliatory measures and the arts of persuasion. He had been accustomed to address and to control masses of men, in Palestine, and, though not distinguished for eloquence, he knew how to express himself with clearness and precision. He appeared himself in the city. A folkmote was called, and such were his powers of persuasion, that he actually induced the people, to surrender to him hostages for the preservation of the public peace. We may presume that this concession was made, to avoid an assault upon the town by the troops now collecting in the neighbourhood. The hostages were removed to distant fortresses, and London was declared to be in a state of siege.

Hubert was supporting, and was himself supported by, the "nobiles" in the city; and he now felt strong enough to demand the apprehension of Longbeard. Measures were taken to effect this object. When it appeared, that the capture could be accomplished safely and securely, the justiciary placed a small body of troops, under the command of the civic functionaries; and Longbeard was attacked. The assailants were, at first, gallantly repelled, and under Fitz-Osbert's axe, wielded in Holy Land, first

one of the leaders fell and then another. But the force brought against him was overwhelming, and the people were either not aware of his danger, or did not present themselves, in sufficient numbers, to insure a successful resistance. Fitz-Osbert acted with calmness and precaution. He took sanctuary. With his mistress and family, he removed within the precincts of St. Mary le Bow. His retreat was wisely chosen. St. Mary le Bow was a peculiar of the Archbishop of Canterbury, by whom it might be fairly supposed, that the sanctity of the place would be respected; or, at all events, Fitz-Osbert felt, that he could convert the church into a fortress, until, as he expected, the people having heard of his danger, should rise in his defence.

Against any popular disturbance, the archbishop had taken effectual precaution, when he obtained hostages, from the leaders of the popular party. The people were well aware, that Hubert Walter, an old soldier of the Crusades, was not a man to be trifled with, and they were not prepared to risk the lives of their children by a revolt.

Hubert was quite ready to take upon himself all the consequences of a violation of sanctuary, if, without such a violation, he could not capture the enemy. He sent orders to Longbeard, that he should come forth and abide justice. Longbeard refused to surrender, but, seeing himself surrounded by troops, he retreated into the church, which he began to fortify.

No time was to be lost. The populace, although intimidated, might be roused by the agents of Fitz-Osbert. Orders were, therefore, given, that the whole building should be set on fire. Thus attacked, by fire and smoke, Longbeard was compelled to rush out of the building, and was gallantly fighting his way, when he was dangerously wounded by a stab in his belly, from the weapon of the son of that citizen, whom in the first onset he had slain.

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Longbeard was now secured, bound with manacles and fetters, and carried to the Tower. The "majores" of the city, and the king's officers, all joined, in urging the justiciary to inflict condign punishment on the offender. But Hubert, though determined and severe, was calm. He ordered a trial, and was prepared to abide by the decision of the "proceres," who assembled in the Tower to conduct it. Fitz-Osbert was by them sentenced to death. The punishment was inflicted with its usual barbarity. He was stripped naked, tied to a horse's tail, and dragged, over the rough and flinty roads, to Tyburn, where his lacerated and almost lifeless carcass was hung in chains on the fatal elm.

When the sentence had been carried into execution, the people were no longer afraid to give expression to their sympathies; — and they, who had deserted their advocate, when he needed their assistance, lamented and honoured him, when dead. Longbeard was worshipped as a saint. Countless miracles were wrought beneath his gibbet. The people regarded him, as a second St. Thomas. But he was not canonised by the Church, and he was soon forgotten.*

Upon the merits of Fitz-Osbert and his cause, opinions were divided in the 12th century, as they still are in the 19th, political prejudices being permitted to bias the judgment on either side.

The conservative William of Newburgh observes:—

"Thus, according to the Scriptures, 'He that diggeth a pit shall fall into it; and whoso breaketh down a hedge, a serpent shall bite him' (Eccl. x. 8). The contriver and fomenter of so

* The authorities are William of Newburgh, lib. v. c. xx. xxi; Gervas. Chron. 1591; Wendover, ad ann. 1196; Matt. Paris, 181; Hoveden, ad ann. 1196. I have harmonised the accounts, I think, correctly, although there may be some slight differences of opinion as to the order of the events.

much evil perished at the command of justice, and the madness of this wicked conspiracy expired with its author; and those persons, indeed, who were of more healthful and cautious dispositions rejoiced when they beheld or heard of his punishment, washing their hands in the blood of the sinner. The conspirators, however, and seekers after novelty, vehemently deplored his death, taking exception at the rigour of public discipline in his case, and reviling the guardian of the realm as a murderer, in consequence of the punishment which he had inflicted on the mischief-maker and assassin."*

Matthew Paris takes the opposite side :

"So perished William Longbeard, for endeavouring to uphold the cause of right and the poor. If it be the cause, which makes the martyr, no man may be more justly described as a martyr than he." †

The insurrection was certainly important. It warned the rising generation of aristocrats, that there was a spirit, in the English people, which could and would resist oppression; but, as we have before remarked, the time had not arrived, when any permanent good would have resulted from its success. The Justiciary Hubert, by his firmness, his energy, and his presence of mind, saved the country from anarchy and confusion; but he was aware, that his enemies were numerous, that his government was unpopular, and, that he had been ungenerously treated by the king he served. His violation of the immunities of the sanctuary of St. Mary le Bow excited the indignation of the religious world; and the monks complained of his being always ready to sacrifice the privileges of the Church to the interests of the crown.

Hubert, under these circumstances, tendered his resignation to the king. The king remonstrated with his offended minister, for it has been justly remarked, that "no one was ever found like unto Hubert for the preservation of the king's rights and the administration of law."

* Newburgh, lib. v. c. xx. † Matt. Paris, 181.

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But Hubert persevered, until accounts were received of a formidable incursion of the Welsh, which threatened desolation to the marches. Hubert instantly resumed office. His army was already collected. The old crusader placed himself at the head of it. By the rapidity of his movements, he gave an immediate check to the invaders, and soon after he was able to report to the king that he had entirely defeated them in a pitched battle, the killed and wounded of the enemy amounting to five thousand.

To Hubert, himself, accustomed to fight by the side of bishops and archbishops on the plains of Palestine, there appeared to be nothing incongruous in the viceroy of England, although its primate, placing himself at the head of an army to defend his country and to serve his king. But the casuists of the day made a distinction, intelligible if inadmissible, between fighting in what they called the army of God, and engaging in ordinary warfare; and although prelates and popes had commanded armies, it was a sign of moral advancement, when the inconsistency of such conduct began to be so far perceived, as to afford an argument to political faction, for the deposition of an obnoxious opponent. In the course of his administration, Hubert had given offence to the regulars in general, and for reasons, presently to be shown, to the monks of Canterbury in particular. He had no friend in the pope. The pope was, therefore, easily persuaded by Hubert's many accusers, to censure in another, that absorption in secular affairs, of which he was himself guilty; and writing to King Richard, he exhorted him, as he valued his soul's health, to remove the archbishop from the justiciarship, and to abstain, thenceforth, from employing any prelate in secular affairs. Richard had no particular tenderness for his soul, but he was under obligations to the pope, and knowing that Hubert was anxious to resign, he transferred the justiciarship to Geoffrey Fitz-Peter.

He acted, probably, on the advice of Hubert himself; for these two great statesmen and lawyers acted on the same principles, in what related to the government of the country and the administration of its laws.

But, although no longer in office, Hubert had no thought of retiring from political life. Towards the close of 1198, he was summoned to Normandy. The two sovereigns, the King of France and the King of England, had selected the retired minister to mediate between them and to effect, if possible, a reconciliation. Hubert did not succeed in the negotiation, but his selection for this important business, by a foreign potentate, is sufficient to show the high estimation in which he was held as an honest and skilful diplomatist.*

Hubert was in Normandy, when Richard met with his death on the 6th of April, 1199.

In the existing state of public affairs, the death of the king involved the leading statesmen of England in difficulties and perplexities, which required to be met and solved without delay. There was a thoroughly good understanding between the great justiciary Fitz-Peter and the primate; and the latter was able to advise with William Marshal, Earl of Striguil, one of the wisest and most potent of the barons. The question before them was nothing less than the disposing of the crown of England. Who was to be king? According to modern notions, or the notions introduced by the Stuart dynasty, we should not hesitate to say that the crown devolved upon Arthur, the son of the late king's next brother Geoffrey.† But the

* Hoveden, 445.

† The law of succession cannot be said to have been established, before the accession of the Stuart dynasty. Henry VIII. assumed that he had a right, with the consent of Parliament, to nominate his successor. Parliament, dreading the succession of Mary Queen of Scots, called upon Elizabeth to do so.

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rights of primogeniture were not yet acknowledged, with respect to the crown. The kings, of the Norman and Plantagenet dynasties, represented themselves to be the legitimate successors, as they had indeed now become, of the Anglo-Saxon royal family. Although, among the Anglo-Saxons, the succession was confined to the house of Cerdic, and the eldest son of a defunct sovereign, or his representative, had a prior claim, to that of any other of the family, yet the Witenagemot was always at liberty to set him aside, if incompetent, and to elect some other member of the royal house to occupy the vacant throne. This was well known to such distinguished lawyers as Hubert and Fitz-Peter. With them, the question was one not of principle, but of expediency. The prior claim of Arthur, Duke of Brittany, was admitted, and they were quite aware that, clearer notions now prevailing on the subject of succession, there was the danger, if his claim were set aside, of creating a pretender ever ready to cause disturbances and civil war in the country; they were also aware of the extreme unpopularity of the Earl of Mortaigne. But, on the other hand, Arthur was a child only twelve years of age, and the country was in a state of great excitement, requiring the coercion of a strong hand. The Welsh were again preparing to invade the marches; bishops, earls, and barons, in a state of great alarm, were filling their strongholds with soldiers. There was a fear, lest the times of Stephen would return. John had all along asserted his right to the throne; there were many, who supported the claim of the son over that of the grandson of Henry II., and now he had retained the soldier knights, whom Richard had in his pay, and, by the promise of large gifts, he was increasing his forces.

The character of John had not yet been developed in all its baseness and weakness, and the great king, his father, had entertained a high opinion of his abilities.

It was determined that John should be king. And, accompanied by William Marshal, the archbishop returned to England, to call upon all persons to swear fealty and to preserve peace towards John.*

The decision of the archbishop was most important. To him pertained the right of crowning the sovereign, and the notion of a divine right in the monarch had relation, not to priority of birth, but to the unction, by which a kind of sacerdotal character was conferred upon the anointed of the Lord.† The suffragans of Canterbury concurred with their metropolitan, on this occasion, and preparations for the coronation were duly made.

At Easter, 1198, the Earl of Mortaigne was girt with the sword of the Duke of Normandy at Rouen, and on the 25th of May, 1199, the Duke of Normandy landed at Shoreham. On the day after, the Eve of Ascension-day, he proceeded to London. On the 27th of May, the archbishop, bishops, earls, barons, and all whose duty it was to be present at his coronation, assembled at Westminster Abbey. Philip, Bishop of Durham, made an appeal to prevent the coronation, in the absence of Geoffrey, Archbishop of York, but the appeal was rejected. The archbishop bound the king with a triple oath, to love the holy Church and its ordained priests, and to preserve it harmless from the attacks of evil designers,—to do away with bad laws, substituting good ones in their place, and to see justice rightly administered through England. When the oath had been taken, the archbishop solemnly adjured the king, in the name of God, not to accept the kingly office, unless he was fully prepared in his mind faithfully to discharge the obligations, which he had just

* Hoveden, 450; M. Paris; Ann. Burton, 257; Rot. de oblatis, 1; John M. 23; R. de Diceto, 705; Bromton, 1281; Knighton, 2413; Coggeshale, 87.

† An instance of this is given in the next chapter.

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admitted; and John, in reply, promised, that by God's assistance, he would, in all good faith, keep the oath he had made. Then the archbishop, standing in the midst of the people, made the following speech: —

"Hear, all of you, and be it known, that no one has an antecedent right to succeed another in the kingdom, unless he shall have been unanimously elected, under the guidance of the Holy Spirit, on account of the superior merits of his character; after the example of Saul, the first anointed king, whom the Lord set over his people, not as the son of a king, nor as born of royal ancestry. In the same manner, after Saul came David, son of Jesse. Saul was chosen because he was a brave man, and suited for the royal dignity; David, because he was holy and humble. Thus those who excel in vigour are elevated to kingly dignity. But if any relation of a deceased king excel others in merit, all should the more readily and zealously consent to his election. We have said this, to maintain the cause of Earl John, who is here present, brother of our illustrious King Richard, lately deceased without heirs of his body. And as the said Earl John is prudent, active, and indubitably noble, we have, under God's Holy Spirit, unanimously elected him for his merits and his royal blood."*

The people shouted, God save the king; and the election was declared to be unanimous. The archbishop anointed John, and placing the crown on his head, declared him to be the king undoubted of this realm.

Hubert, to the great disgust of the Becket party, and in defiance of the opinion so strongly expressed to King Richard by the pope, again took office. He did not aspire to the justiciarship. That office was in safe hands, and the archbishop had sought to increase its dignity, by advising the king, on the day of his consecration, to gird Geoffrey Fitz-Peter with the sword of the Earldom of Essex. Hubert contented himself with the inferior office,

* Matt. Paris, 197.

as it was then accounted, of High Chancellor. The justiciary and the chancellor were able, in many ways, to restrain the excesses of the unprincipled king, and the king, though unable to dispense with their services, repaid them with a hatred, which he laboured in vain to conceal, during their lives, and expressed in the coarsest language at their death. Hubert had the political sagacity to see, that the loss of Normandy, though a disgrace to John, was an advantage to England, and opposed, therefore, the expedition which, towards the close of the archbishop's life, the king projected, for the recovery of his foreign dominions. The king, in consequence, accused him, but without foundation, of favouring the French monarch.

Of Hubert's administration of his office, when Lord Chancellor, no accounts have, as yet, so far as I know, been brought to light; but his practical good sense was incidentally displayed in a charter issued for the regulation of fees to be taken by the officials of the court.* The exactions had previously been exorbitant and oppressive. In order also to ensure a speedy administration of justice, he made a temporary regulation, which the wisdom of the 19th century has made permanent,—in the appointment of a vice-chancellor.

Hubert lived in princely magnificence, and frequently entertained the king. John was mean enough to regard the splendid hospitalities of the archbishop, with feelings of jealousy, rather than with gratitude. Rumours were frequently afloat of misunderstandings between the king and the primate; but as Gervas, who mentions the violence of John, on one occasion, justly observed, the archbishop's admirable tact prevented any permanent quarrel.

* The reader will find a translation of the charter in Lord Campbell's Lives of the Chancellors, vol. i. Lord Chancellor Campbell cannot imagine his predecessor to have had any object in view, beyond that of increasing his income.

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We may conclude this portion of our subject, by adverting to the high character given of this prelate by one, who was, for many years, bitterly opposed to him,—Giraldus Cambrensis. He speaks of him as the man, who dared to restrain the wrath of kings, and who was resolutely opposed to tyranny; as a lover of peace, to whom all people, high or low, resorted for protection, when they were in need of assistance. Bishop Godwin adds, that he was a loyal subject, a patriotic citizen and a statesman, whose wisdom is impressed upon the constitution of our country, through the legal system he was, among others, instrumental in establishing.*

II. The name of Giraldus Cambrensis reminds us of a memorable controversy, which may introduce us to that portion of Hubert's history which remains to be told,—his conduct as Primate of all England The controversy arose indeed, in some measure, from the archbishop's political views; and is worthy of being treated more in detail, than some minor controversies, from the light it throws upon the condition of the Church, at this period of our history.†

It had been the policy of Henry II. to apply to Wales the system, which William the Conqueror had found successful in England. The Welsh people, whom William Rufus and Henry I. were unable to subdue by force of arms or by military execution, Henry II. determined to govern by the clergy. * English bishops were placed in

* Godwin, de Præsulibus, 85. The passages to which he refers in Giraldus, are in the "De jure et statu Menev. Eccles." and "Gemma Ecclesias." Dist. ii. c. xxxvi.

† The history of the controversy is deduced chiefly from the "De rebus a se Gestis" of Giraldus, which is to be found in the Anglia Sacra, and in Giraldi Cambrensis Opera, ed. Brewer. Succinct accounts are given by Brewer in his Preface, and in the learned history of St. Davids by Jones and Freeman.

* "Hæc est in Anglia regula non fallens, quod nemo Wallia oriundus

Welsh sees. These prelates were enabled, by their numerous retainers, to maintain the peace of the country, in ordinary times; and, on the first symptoms of a rebellious spirit displaying itself, they were prepared to give notice to the border garrisons. This policy commended itself to the judgment of Hubert, and he acted upon it. It was not, of course, acceptable to the Welsh; although we gather from the writings of Giraldus Cambrensis, that it did not excite any very strong feeling of opposition or disgust. Giraldus, with all his ability, eloquence, and talents, was unable to excite in others the enthusiasm which glowed in his own heart, upon the subject. It was the only subject, on which he rose above his intense selfishness; and with his selfish ambition and vanity it was closely connected.

When in the year 1176, the See of St. Davids had become vacant by the death of David Fitzgerald, the uncle of Giraldus Cambrensis†, the chapter selected four candidates for the vacant bishopric, from whom they desired the king to select one. At the head of the list, was Giraldus Cambrensis. There was an irregularity on the part of the chapter, in this proceeding, forasmuch as they had not first obtained the *congé d'élire*. Of this Henry availed himself, and he forced on the chapter, Peter de Leia.‡ This prelate, notwithstanding the remonstrances of some of the

cujuscunque probitatis fuerit aut bonitatis, in Wallia Episcopari debet; sed probatissimo Wallensi et dignatissimo vilissimus Anglicus in hoc est præferendus."—*De Invectionibus. Girald. Camb.* opp. p. 181.

† For an account of Giraldus de Barri, called by himself Giraldus Cambrensis, and by his enemies Silvester or the Wild Man of the Woods, see Life of Baldwin, Chapter X. of this book.

‡ Girald. Camb. de rebus a se Gestis, opp. Brewer, i. 40. Here again we have the statement made of Henry's policy: "Quia rex ille Henricus II. morosus erat in responsionibus, tandem responsum hoc acceperunt; quod nunquam id tempore suo rex permitteret, nec capu Walliæ dando Walensibus Archiepiscopum contra Angliam erigeret."

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Welsh clergy, immediately took the oath of canonical obedience to the Archbishop of Canterbury ; much to the disgust of Giraldus Cambrensis. This disgust was occasioned to the mind of Giraldus, from the circumstance, that the one object, to which he devoted his ecclesiastical life, was the establishment, or the re-establishment of the metropolitical rights of the See of St. Davids. He desired to make the Church of Wales an independent Church ; to have the Bishop of St. Davids recognised as the Primate of all Wales, and to have himself elected to the new metropolitan throne.

The see was vacant again in 1199. Again the chapter chose four candidates, and once more the name of Giraldus was at the head of the list. Hubert was now the Grand Justiciary, the *de facto* king in England. The example of Henry was followed. The list was rejected, and the justiciary refused to appoint Giraldus.

Giraldus is very free in attributing corrupt motives to all persons except himself. He insinuates, that the opposition of the Archbishop to his appointment, was on account of Giraldus's having deposed William Wibert, Abbot of Betlesdene, a friend of the primate.* William Wibert appears to have been an unworthy person, who had been employed by Hubert, in political transactions. It is very probable, that Hubert rewarded his political services, by preferment in a remote part of the country, where clerical delinquencies could create little scandal : it is almost probable, for it is natural, that he

* Erat enim offensus Archidiacono tam plurimum propter Abbatem de Bedlesdene, sc. Willelmum Wibertum monachum Cisterciensis ordinis trutanissimum, per operam Archidiaconi, quem graviter offenderat, paulo ante depositum. Fuerat enim Archiepiscopo familiaris et ut nuntius ejus tam in Walliam quam in Scotiam fieret, et ad varias partes ipso mittente discurreret, se frequenter inferebat."— *Girald. Camb.* opp. i. 95.

was angry, when his measures were frustrated by an over-zealous subordinate. But, throughout the controversy, Hubert showed no personal hostility to Giraldus: what he did was done, in accordance with an established system of policy, which was carried on by Hubert's illustrious successor the Justiciary Fitz-Peter: and it was an absurdity to suppose, that the primate of all England would promote the appointment, to the see of St. Davids, of a clergyman, who had asserted that his first object in life was, to render the see of St. David's independent of the church of Canterbury.

Giraldus, who rather insinuates than asserts the charge brought against the archbishop, of his being influenced by private feelings, wrote to him on the occasion, and his letter, under the circumstances, reflects no credit on himself. He first alludes to the victory, which the archbishop, as justiciary, had just obtained over the Welsh rebels,—of which mention has been already made. He congratulates the justiciary, commencing with the text "Blessed be the Lord who hath taught your hands to war and your fingers to fight.* Blessed be his holy name," he continues, "for that he hath decreed that this kingdom should be governed by laws and its peace preserved, by the arms of a primate of so much activity,—who can wield both swords alike, and adapt himself, by his wonderful powers of government, to any emergency. For since the days, when Harold boldly invaded Wales and almost exterminated the natives, there is no record of such a victory as yours, gained by any person in a single battle." He then proceeds to deprecate any unfriendly feeling, on the part of the primate, towards himself—a man so quiet and inoffensive, who had bidden farewell to the world, and who had determined to devote himself exclusively to the

* Girald. Camb. i. 96.

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study of the Bible. He concludes with a rhetorical flourish on the vanities of the world.

The single object of the letter was to flatter and conciliate the justiciary. Hubert was not easily deceived; and he addressed the following dignified answer to the archdeacon: —

"Hubert, by the grace of God Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of all England, to his beloved son Master Giraldus, Archdeacon of St. David's: health and benediction.

"To me you have ascribed the destruction of the Welsh, who fell, the other day, through their own pride; whereas the praise should be given not to me but to God, who humbles the proud and casts them down. For their foolish heart was so darkened, that although, not only by me but by other illustrious and religious persons, they were urged and entreated to desist from their design, and to pursue a wiser course; they had not the wisdom to understand the advice, which was given, or to foresee the destruction to which their folly was dragging them. That the work was the work of God, not of me or of any other human being, you will clearly perceive, when you hear that, in the conflict, not one of my men received a mortal wound.

"You tell me, that you are determined henceforth to devote yourself to the study of Holy Scripture. We highly approve your resolution; and we gather from it that you have now come to the conclusion, that it is safer for you to sit with Mary and hear the word of God, than to minister with Martha.

"You tell me, that you have never done an injury to any one, and that, in consequence, you ought not to receive injury from us. Our answer is, that you yourself best know whether you have done what you deny doing. We do not accuse you: and neither against you nor against any one else, so far as I can remember, do we entertain any unfriendly feelings. Farewell."*

A more straightforward rebuke, to a hypocritical profession of friendship, has seldom been written.

Giraldus Cambrensis, at length, expressed himself willing, though not with a very good grace, to waive all claims on

* Girald. Camb. i. 101.

his own part, and to acquiesce in the election of a nominee of the archbishop, provided only that a good man were appointed.* Two persons were nominated by Hubert, who left the choice between the two, to the chapter; Geoffrey of Henelawe, Prior of Llanthony, and Alexander a Cistercian monk. The first was eminent as a physician, when physicians were generally clergymen.

The chapter of St. David's refused to elect either of the parties nominated. They, evidently, had taken courage from the resignation of Hubert, who had ceased to be the justiciary. But the policy of the government, now in the hands of Geoffrey Fitz-Peter was unchanged, and the canons of St. David's received peremptory orders, to send at least four of their chapter, to hold an election in the presence of the king now in Normandy. Notwithstanding his late protestations, Giraldus appeared in London, at the head of the deputation. The justiciary, Fitz-Peter, presented to them the two candidates, who had been nominated by the archbishop. The canons refused to elect them; and after sundry conferences it was agreed that two of them should proceed to the king, Richard; whom they followed, without overtaking him, through Normandy, Anjou, and part of Aquitaine, and thence into Limousin, where at length they found him,—dead. The king's death was in their favour, for Giraldus had been preceptor to John; and the deputation turned back to Chinon, where they found the Earl with the Queen, Berengaria and with the Queen-mother, Eleanor.

John, immediately, gave his promise to ratify the elec-

* His expression was remarkable, and was an indirect cut at the late bishop:—"Excipimus omnem nigræ cucullæ belluam. A monachis enim cunctis, et præcipue nigris, omnique hujuscemodi peste voraci ecclesiam nostram miseram, ne miserior immo miserrima fiat, et funditus evacuata dispereat, in perpetuo amodo defendat Deus." — *Girald. Camb.* i. 102.

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tion of Giraldus, if on him, as he little doubted, the choice of the chapter should finally rest.

But the promises of John were only made to be observed, if convenient. Giraldus carried all his points so far. He was unanimously elected by the chapter of St. David's. He received the recommendation, which he himself dictated, that he should proceed to Rome for consecration, and so avoid the necessity of taking the oath of canonical obedience to the see of Canterbury.

But to the archbishop, as we have seen, the new king was mainly indebted for his peaceful succession to the throne; and a mandate was issued in the king's name, commanding the chapter of St. David's, to hold an election, in the presence of the archbishop and the justiciary. It was accompanied with a notification, that, unless their choice fell on Geoffrey of Henelawe, the primate would dispense with the election, and proceed, at once, to consecrate Geoffrey as the Bishop of St. David's. The proceedings were sufficiently arbitrary. The archbishop, from his former experience of Giraldus, probably supposed that, after a little blustering, the archdeacon would yield. But the small quantity of Welsh blood which flowed in the veins of Giraldus was now up,—and an appeal was carried to Rome.* It was not without misgivings, that Giraldus determined upon this course. But the example of Becket was before him, and he might become the saint, even the martyr of Wales, if he had sufficient perseverance and courage.

The real independence of national churches was sacrificed, not so much through the intrigues and ambition of popes, as by the folly of clergy and people, even when, as in this instance, their independence was their object.

The archbishop was informed, in August 1199, that

* Girald. i. 113.

Giraldus had started for Rome. Hubert employed a Lombard, Buon Giovanni, to watch the proceedings at the papal court.

According to Giraldus, a system of indirect bribery commenced on either side, though he professed to consider the acceptance of bribes in the court of Rome as a thing scarcely to be believed. Giraldus pointed out the advantages, which would accrue to the see of Rome, in the event of St. David's recovering its metropolitan rights; Peter's pence from the whole of Wales, amounting to more than 200 marks, and tenths, which would not come to less than 3000 marks. Buon Giovanni had three strong points, on which he relied, and which he judiciously produced, according to circumstances: there was the favour of the King of England, whose close alliance with the pope was at that time desirable; there was the fact, that the chapter of St. David's had become willing to listen to the proposal of the archbishop, corrupted, as Giraldus says, by his money; and, though Giraldus could not believe it, there was the further fact, that he had money at his command, whereof many of the cardinals stood in need.*

Giraldus, in his egotism, invested with importance everything, in which he was personally concerned; but a question relating to a remote see in Wales was not likely to occupy much of the attention of Innocent III. The pope, however, received the postulate of St. David's, with more than the courtesy, with which an appellant from a national Church was sure to be received at Rome; and with all the honour due, at that time, to a man of considerable talent and of undoubted learning. Giraldus amused him. The witty archdeacon was a good mimic, and made the pope laugh heartily, as he gave specimens of Archbishop

* Ang. Sac. ii. 568.

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Hubert's bad pronunciation of Latin, and of his blunders in theology.* On being requested by the pope to read a letter, in which the archbishop stated his objections to the appointment of Giraldus to the see of St. David's, the witty archdeacon commenced with saying, "This fellow writes more like the arch enemy than an archbishop." †

The pope, in his turn, was accustomed to laugh at the pomposity of the self-important archdeacon; and on one or two occasions, he nearly got himself into a scrape by his facetiousness.‡ But, although Innocent evidently felt for Giraldus that affection, with which we always regard the person of a good man, by whose eccentricities we are amused; still the pope had no intention of embroiling himself, at this time, with the court of the King of Eng-

* Ang. Sac. ii. 578. Wharton adds:—Huberti archiepiscopi illiteraturam Giraldus in Gemnâ ecclesiasticâ (Dist. 2, cap. 36), tacito ejus nomine, deridendam pluribus allatis exempla proponit, et in his tandem verbis narrationem claudit: Unde a clerico Curiæ Romanæ in Angliam transmisso, quæsivit quidam quare Dominus Papa toties literis et nuntiis archiepiscopum ad se vocaret. Cui ille caput et humeros, more suæ gentis, avertendo respondit: Non sine causâ vocat illum; vult enim ipsum examinare in Donato.

† Girald. Camb. opp. i. 120.

‡ Every personal trait in the character of so great a man as Innocent III. is interesting. Two anecdotes related by Giraldus are referred to above. One day, Giraldus paid a morning visit to the pope, when he was received jocosely. "Enter my lord elect of St. David's." Down went Giraldus on his knees and kissed the pope's toe. "This salutation," he said, "must have in your lordship's mouth the effect of a confirmation." "Nay," replied the pope, with a smile, "I only address thee as others do. A pope cannot call any one elect in earnest until his confirmation has actually taken place." On another occasion, when Giraldus paid a private visit to Innocent, the pope facetiously addressed him as "My lord archbishop." Down went Giraldus again on his knees, declaring that the words of such a pontiff must be prophetic. Some men, though jokers themselves, are slow to understand the jokes of others. Ang. Sac. ii. 544, 547.

land, surrounded as the king then was by wise counsellors; among whom stood foremost, Hubert, Archbishop of Canterbury, a bad linguist, and not a learned divine; but, nevertheless one of the first statesmen of the age, and a man, the pope was well aware, of a very independent spirit.

A compromise was the result of the proceedings. The election was referred to a commission of judges in England; and the administration of the see of St. David's, during the vacancy, was committed to Giraldus.

While these things were going on at Rome, the archbishop had not been idle in England. The chapter of St. David's had been gained, as we have said, by Hubert; and, through his influence, the Abbot of St. Dogmael's had been elected bishop.

Giraldus appealed to Rome, and, in the spring of 1201, the archbishop was informed that he had once more departed for the continent. The archbishop sent his proctors to the Roman Court, and the result was, that judgment was deferred, until the November of the following year. Innocent promised to hear the arguments, in behalf of the metropolitan rights of the see of St. David's, in case the majority of the chapter desired it. This was mortifying enough to Giraldus, as he knew, full well, that the chapter had no inclination to prolong an unprofitable controversy.

The commissioners, appointed to decide upon the election, sat at Brackley, Bedford, and St. Alban's. At St. Alban's, judgment was given against Giraldus. The canons appeared against him,—(bribed, as he asserts,)—and absolutely refused, to open the question, relating to metropolitan rights.

If the canons were bribed, the bribery, according to Giraldus's own showing, did not cost the archbishop much. "He sent them," he says, "gold rings (though

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truly I think they were gilded) made in London, girdles tricked with gold and ivory, neck chains of gold and silver fretwork, and all manner of such gifts, wherewith that luxurious city doth so much abound."

The archbishop probably treated with courtesy, those whom Silvester, — the Savage *, — had endeavoured to bully. Giraldus, however, savage as he may have been, was right in principle. The independence of the Welsh Church would have been advantageous to the cause of religion. He was right, also, in fact, for he had been canonically elected. But he failed to create a public feeling in favour of his cause; and when a man fails, having had all the advantages on his side, we conclude him to have been deficient in judgment, practicability, and temper.

The archbishop, suspecting that Giraldus would make a further appeal to Rome, acted in conjunction with the justiciary, and issued a proclamation, by which all persons were prohibited from conveying him out of England. These proclamations were seldom of avail. Giraldus got out of the kingdom, and reached Rome on the 4th of January, 1203. The object of the archbishop, in issuing the proclamation, was probably to obtain time, so that his own agents might reach Rome before the arrival of Giraldus. When Giraldus appeared at Rome, he found his opponents ready to meet him, headed by Osbert, Archdeacon of Carmarthen.

According to Giraldus, every one behaved ill except himself; and the bribery and chicanery was something awful to contemplate. However that may have been, the Roman court arrived at a wise, if not an absolutely just decision. The preceding elections were annulled; the chapter was directed to proceed to a new election; and a commission was issued to the suffragans of the

* So Giraldus was called by his opponents.

Archbishop of York to try the right of metropolitan jurisdiction. Giraldus was allowed half his expenses.

Before the return of Giraldus to England, the Justiciary Fitz-Peter had required the canons of St. David's to meet himself and the archbishop, at Northampton; there, they presented four persons, out of whom the justiciary was to make his choice. They were the same as had been before selected, and out of them, the justiciary at the archbishop's suggestion, selected Reginald Foliot.

Everything appeared now to be settled: the justiciary, the archbishop, the canons were all agreed, when a message came from the king, at this time in Normandy, requiring the election to be set aside. This was occasioned by the interference of Giraldus, who, on his way home, paid a visit to his royal pupil, and persuaded him to take his part in the controversy.

Giraldus, on his return, found himself offensive to all parties. No one stood by him, and his private affairs were in great confusion. He, at length, gave up the cause; and was treated with great consideration by the archbishop and the justiciary.

An election was appointed to take place, in St. Catherine's Chapel in Westminster Abbey. A compromise seems to have been agreed upon: Giraldus was to retire from the contest, but he was to be permitted to nominate a candidate. How completely the justiciary and the archbishop were influenced by political feelings, is seen from the advice given by the former to Giraldus, that he should propose some foreign clergyman free from all local predilections or natural prejudices. Giraldus nominated two Normans. The chapter refused to elect them: the canons were so completely alienated from Giraldus, that they would not yield to his dictation. The archbishop then proposed his original nominee, and, on the 10th of November, 1203, the final choice of the chapter

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fell upon Geoffrey of Henelawe. The Prior of Llanthony was now consecrated without opposition—even Giraldus admitting that the appointment was in every respect unexceptionable.

Giraldus had, at first, threatened a new appeal, but he was wearied and disgusted; and yielded to the conciliatory proposals of the archbishop. Hubert paid his expenses, and conferred upon him ecclesiastical benefices to the amount of sixty marks; and Giraldus stipulated, that he would give the archbishop no more trouble, by reviving the claims of the see of St. David's. The archbishop, always placable, at the desire of Giraldus, obtained the consent of the new Bishop of St. David's, to an arrangement not to be justified, according to which, Giraldus was permitted to resign the archdeaconry of Brecknock and the prebend of Mathrey in favour of his nephew, the son of a favourite brother. Considering the various denunciations of bribery, which had emanated from Giraldus, we perceive that his conscience was not very scrupulous, or his regard for consistency overpowering.

We complain, in these days, of the manner in which the *congé d'élire* is administered; and of the inefficient, though seldom objectionable, men, who are forced upon the chapters. But, when we pass from theory to history and practice, we are compelled to ask, whether any better results have been obtained by any other system.*

* The practical evil which results from the virtual exclusion of the clergy from *all* voice in the election of their spiritual rulers, is its tendency to mar ecclesiastical discipline. It is universally admitted that fresh powers should be conferred upon the bishops, to enable them to enforce the discipline of the church. But so long, as persons are appointed, or may be appointed, to the episcopal office, in whom, as a body, the clergy have no confidence; and so long, as bishops are nominated, by the advice of ministers, who may or may not be men of religion, any concession of fresh powers to the bishops would be resisted by the clergy almost to a man.

When the church is endowed,—its rulers must be selected, not simply from a regard to their learning or their piety or their zeal,—but to their practical wisdom in making the church work well with the state. This is not said to justify the present anomaly, but because history

> "Puzzles the will;
> And makes us rather bear those ills we have,
> Than fly to others which we know not of."

We must now pass on, or rather, having brought this controversy to its close, look back. King Richard, in the year 1195, prevailed upon Pope Celestine to appoint Archbishop Hubert his legate in England. It may be surmised that, in making this application, the king was affected by private feelings, and that to their influence the primate gave way in accepting the appointment. The king desired, by these means, to enable the Archbishop of Canterbury to supersede his half-brother Geoffrey, Archbishop of York, who had offended him by his turbulence and disaffection.

Hubert may not have forgotten their former rivalry, and he may have thought it a short and easy way of settling some of the many claims to an equality, which were asserted by the northern metropolitan, and disputed by the primate of all England. Hubert's proceedings were, as usual, prompt and arbitrary, but they were conducted with circumspection as well as energy. As soon as he had obtained his commission, he notified to the authorities at York, his intention to hold a visitation. The answer was, that he would be received not as Archbishop of Canterbury, but simply as legate of the pope. Hubert never wasted time on useless controversies. He had the power, by whatever right it might be claimed, and he was going to make it felt.

On the 10th of June, 1195, Hubert approached the white walls of the noble capital of the north with a mag-

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nificent retinue. He looked upon the minster, of which he had formerly been the dean; and, having regard to the circumstances of his present advent, to the days of his youth and to the events of his maturer years, he might have appropriated to himself the lines of Horace,

> "Qui didicit patriæ quid debeat, et quid amicis
> Quo sit amore parens, quo frater amandus, et hospes,
> Quod sic conscripti, quod judicis officium, quæ
> Partes in bellum missi ducis; ille profecto,
> Reddere personæ scit convenientia cuique."

On the next day, the feast of St. Barnabas, commonly called Barnaby bright, he entered the city. No suffragan of the province met him, but he was received in solemn procession by the chapter.* On the Monday, he presided in his Court Christian, where he judged ecclesiastical causes; while his ministers or deputies held a court, for pleas of the crown. On the Tuesday, he visited St. Mary's Abbey †, and deposed the abbot. On Wednesday and Thursday, he held a synod in the cathedral. He sat on an elevated seat prepared for him, and was surrounded by almost all the abbots, priors, officials, rural deans and parsons of the province. The canons are given in Hoveden, and may be found in Wilkins. I select the following as illustrative of customs:—

"We ordain, that no more than three take a child out of the sacred font; two men, and one woman a male child, and two women and one man a female child. And when a child is found exposed, and it is not known that he has been baptized, let him be baptized, whether he be found with salt or without; for that cannot be said to be iterated, which is not known to have been done before."

We have, at all times, seen how anxious some of the

* Durham and Carlisle were vacant. The Bishop of Whithern was commissary to Archbishop Geoffrey.

† William of Newburgh, v. 12; Hoveden, 429; Wilkins, i. 501.

clergy were to divest themselves of clerical distinctions, and to assume the lay habit. The tenth and eleventh canons have reference to this:

"And we have ordained, that clerks, who have received the crown from the bishop, do preserve their crown and tonsure; and if, out of contempt, they do it not, let them be compelled to it, by deprivation of their benefices, if they have any. Let them, who have no benefices, be clipped against their wills by the archdeacons or deans.

"We ordain also, that priests go not in capes with sleeves, but in apparel suitable to their order, that, as they are superior to others in dignity, so they may give them a more perfect scheme and pattern of decency."

At the conclusion of the synod, the archbishop returned to his own province.*

That we may consider the synodical regulations of Archbishop Hubert in connexion, we may here observe that, in 1200, he held a general synod at Westminster; from the canons of which I select, as worthy of notice, the first, which shows that a distinct pronunciation in reading prayers was not even at that time attainable:

"Whereas an error in divine offices endangers both the souls and bodies of men, it is wholesomely provided by this council, that the words of the canon be roundly and distinctly pronounced by every priest in celebrating; not curtailed by an hasty, or drawn out into an immoderate length by an affectedly slow pronunciation. In like manner, that the hours and all the offices be rehearsed, plainly and distinctly, without clipping or mangling the words; the offenders, after three admonitions, are to be suspended till they make just satisfaction. Saving in all things the honour and privilege of the holy Church of Rome."

In the third canon, there is a regulation concerning conditional baptism and lay baptism:

* The archbishop was, the next year, again at York. Hoveden, 432.

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"If there be any doubt, whether one have been baptized, or confirmed, we charge according to the holy canons, that the sacrament of which there is a doubt be conferred. Let foundlings be baptized, whether found with salt or without. Let none be held at confirmation by father or mother, or by father or mother-in-law. A deacon may not baptize, or give penance, but when the priest cannot, or will not, and yet death threatens the child or the sick man. If a layman baptize a child, in case of necessity (and even a father or mother may do it without impeachment of matrimony), let all that follows, after the immersion be performed by the priest. Saving, &c."

We have an insight into the necessary expenses of a visitation, in the fifth canon:

"We, following the decrees of the Lateran Council, which are the most famous of any that have been ordained by the modern fathers, do forbid archbishops to exceed the number of forty or fifty men and horses; bishops, the number of twenty or thirty, in visiting parishes; let the archdeacon be content with five or seven, the deans under the bishops (*i. e.* rural deans) with two. And let them not make their progress with hunting dogs or hawks; but like such as seek not their own, but the things of Christ. We bid bishops not to lay taxes on their subjects, but only to demand moderate aids of them, when necessity requires them. Let archdeacons and their deans presume to exact nothing of their priests or clerks. The abovesaid number of horses and men is tolerated, in relation to rich places; in poor places moderation is to be observed: and they who formerly used a less number, are not to think their power greatly enlarged by this indulgence. The design of visitation is to see what concerns the cure of souls, and that every church have a silver chalice, a sufficiency of decent vestments for the priest, necessary books and utensils, and whatever is necessary for the honour and dignity of the sacrament. For the cure of covetousness and negligence, by the authority of the Council of Toledo, we charge, that no visitor demand any procuration or money in lieu of it, of a church, where he hath not duly performed the office of visitation. Saving," &c.

Regulations were made with reference to marriage, in the eleventh canon:

"Let not a man contract with a relation of his former wife, nor a woman with a relation of her former husband, nor a godson with a daughter of the baptizer, or of the godfather, whether born before or after. Let no marriage be contracted without banns thrice published in the church, nor between persons unknown. Let none be joined in marriage but publicly in the face of the church, otherwise let it not be allowed of, except by the special authority of the bishop. Let no married persons take a long journey, without the mutual consent of both made publicly known. Saving," &c. *

This council is chiefly celebrated for having established vicarages.† Lay patrons had hitherto been at liberty to appropriate churches, together with the whole or part of the tithes, to any religious bodies, at their own option, and without regard to the maintenance of a parish priest. The parochial duty was done, by some member of the religious house, sent out for that purpose,— or, if the religious house was at a distance, by a priest appointed to serve the cure, but inadequately remunerated. It was now ordained, in the fourteenth canon, that no impropriations should be made, except by the permission of the bishops. And it is added,—"We decree, that in any church appropriated by any of the religious, a vicar be instituted by the care of the bishop, who is to receive a decent competency out of the goods of the church."

We have already alluded to the controversy, which existed between the chapter of Canterbury and the archbishop. The archbishop enlarged the manor at Lambeth, which his predecessor had purchased from the church of Rochester, completed his works and established a colle-

* Wilkins, i. 505.

† Here, if I mistake not, we have the beginning of vicarages in England. Inett, ii. 474.

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giate church. The chapter of Canterbury suspected him of an intention, to carry out the design of Archbishop Baldwin, by which the election of the primate of England was to have been transferred, from the monks of Canterbury to the secular canons of Lambeth. They required Hubert to desist from his works, and to dissolve his college. Firm as the archbishop was, and sometimes arbitrary in his proceedings, he always had recourse, in the first instance, to conciliatory measures. By way of giving security to the monks of Canterbury, that he had no desire to infringe upon their reputed privileges; he proposed, "that whosoever should be made a canon of Lambeth, at his admission to that dignity, should go down to Canterbury, and take his oath at the high altar of the cathedral church, that he would neither by himself, nor by anybody from him, claim a right to the election of the Archbishop of Canterbury, or do, or assist, or advise, in anything prejudicial to the rights of the church of Canterbury; that he would not assist any person in removing the see of Canterbury or the relics of St. Thomas the Martyr; that he would not procure or assist at the consecration of any chrism in the church of Lambeth, or do or advise anything to the prejudice of the ancient rights of the church of Canterbury, and that if any canon should refuse to go to Canterbury, and give his oath as above, his prebend should immediately be void." To preserve and cultivate the friendship betwixt those two bodies, the archbishop further proposed, "that the Prior of Canterbury should always be a prebendary of the church of Lambeth, and should have the first stall on the left hand of the choir, and should be privy to all the business of that body." To this reasonable proposal the monks would not consent. They sent, clandestinely, two of their body to Rome, and obtained a bull, dated April 1198, in which the pope, in a style unusually

haughty, not only commanded that the college of Lambeth should be demolished, and the canons dispossessed, but threatened also "that, if he was not obeyed in thirty days, he would command the bishops of the province not to own the archbishop as their metropolitan, and would suspend him from his office as bishop." *

When this bull was produced, a letter was addressed to the prior and convent of Canterbury, in the name of the king, but at the dictation of the archbishop, then justiciary; in which, the king is made to express his indignation, at their appeal to Rome: —"Whereas," says the document, "it has, by immemorial usage been received, as a law of England, that the king or the bishops might, in their own lands, build conventual churches and endow them, yet without our knowledge you have endeavoured to destroy this church, erected by the archbishop, contrary to the law and to the dignity of this realm. When the demolishing of the church of Hackington was agreed upon, it was also agreed, that the foundation should be translated to Lambeth, and, as this agreement was made by us, with the concurrence of the bishops and barons, and sealed with our seals, so it was confirmed by the bishops of Rome; yet, notwithstanding all this, to the prejudice of our crown and dignity, you have attempted to destroy this agreement; which presumptuous attempt we cannot and will not suffer to pass unpunished." Therefore the king required that, as they valued his favour and their own liberties and possessions, they should abstain from the execution of that bull, which they had, by unworthy arts, gained from the court of Rome. He commanded the prior and some of the monks, to wait upon him, and to give him satisfaction, for the wrong done to him and his kingdom. He received that house into his immediate and special protection, and commanded

* Gervas, 1602.

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all his officers not to suffer the prior to any other person, to attempt anything, to the prejudice of the church and college of Lambeth.*

The consent of the king had been easily obtained, to the publication of this document. He was led to suppose, that he should be able to screw money out of the convent, on account of the illegality of their proceedings, and, for that purpose, it was, that he summoned them to Normandy. It were tedious and unprofitable to enter into the subsequent details of this controversy. It is sufficient to say, that, as was generally the case in this age, the pope and the monks were more than a match, for the king and the archbishop. The college of Lambeth was destroyed, and the canons were dispersed. But the controversy is interesting, as the result was, that, from the time of Hubert to that of Sumner, Lambeth has been the chief residence of the primates of England.† Diceto remarks that this papal aggression filled all England with astonishment.

An account of this archiepiscopate would be incomplete, if we did not allude to the Sabbatarian controversy, which arose at this period. In our own age, when, by many religionists, Christianity is made to consist simply in the acceptance of the Bible, as an inspired volume; and when only one ordinance is enforced as scriptural, — the observance of the Sabbath, — the zeal of Eustace, Abbot of Flaye, will be regarded with peculiar interest, even if his mode of acting be not entirely approved.

"In the year 1201," says Hoveden, "Eustace, Abbot of Flaye, returned to England, and preaching therein the word of the Lord from city to city, and from place to place, forbade any person to hold a market of goods on sale upon the Lord's day. For he said, that the commandment under-written, as to the observance of the Lord's day, had come down from heaven.

* Gervas, 1604. † R. Diceto. an. 1199.

"The holy commandment as to the Lord's day, which came from heaven to Jerusalem, and was found upon the altar of Saint Simeon, in Golgotha, where Christ was crucified for the sins of the world.

"The Lord sent down this epistle, which was found upon the altar of Saint Simeon, and after looking upon which, three days and three nights, men fell upon the earth, imploring mercy of God. And after the third hour, the patriarch arose, and Acharias, the archbishop, and they opened the scroll, and received the holy epistle from God. And when they had taken the same, they found this writing therein: I am the Lord, who commanded you to observe the holy day of the Lord, and ye have not kept it, and have not repented of your sins, as I have said in my Gospel, 'Heaven and earth shall pass away, but my words shall not pass away.' Now I caused to be preached unto you repentance and amendment of life, and you did not believe me, and I have sent against you the Pagans, who have shed your blood on the earth, and yet you have not believed; and because you did not keep the Lord's day holy, for a few days you suffered hunger; but soon I gave you fulness, and after that, you did still worse again. Once more, it is my will, that no one, from the ninth hour on Saturday, until sunrise on Monday, shall do any work except that which is good. And if any person shall do so, he shall with penance make amends for the same. And if you do not pay obedience to this command, verily I say unto you, and I swear to you, by my seat and by my throne, and by the cherubim, who watch my holy seat, that I will give you my commands by no other epistle, but I will open the heavens, and for rain I will rain upon you stones, and wood, and hot water, in the night, that no one may take precautions, but that so I may destroy all wicked men. This do I say unto you;

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for the Lord's holy day, you shall die the death, and for the other festivals of my saints which you have not kept: I will send unto you beasts that have the heads of lions, the hair of women, the tails of camels, and they shall be so ravenous that they shall devour your flesh, and you shall long to flee away to the tombs of the dead, and to hide yourselves for fear of the beasts; and I will take away the light of the sun, from before your eyes, and will send darkness upon you, that, not seeing, you may slay one another, and I will remove from you my face, and will not show mercy upon you. For I will burn the bodies and the hearts of you, and of all of those who do not keep as holy, the day of the Lord. Hear ye my voice, that so ye may not perish in the land, for the holy day of the Lord. Depart from evil and show repentance for your sins. For, if you do not do so, even as Sodom and Gomorrah shall you perish." *

The Abbot of Flaye was welcomed to Yorkshire by the archbishop and clergy. It is said, that he preached the gospel with great success, dwelling chiefly on the observance of the Lord's day. Like other preachers of his class, he gave pungency to his sermons and lectures by narrating anecdotes, not unlike some, which have been given of late years, with great effect: although, in an age of credulity, more was made of the marvellous, than can be attempted, when the story-teller is surrounded by sceptics. We present the reader with a specimen of the anecdotes of the Abbot of Flaye.†

"One Saturday, a certain carpenter of Beverley, who, after the ninth hour of the day, was, contrary to the wholesome advice of his wife, making a wooden wedge, fell to the earth, being struck with paralysis. A woman

* Hoveden, 466, 467.

† Hoveden gives the stories as his own, but it is evident that he only repeats what Eustace had previously stated.

also, a weaver, who, after the ninth hour on Saturday, in her anxiety to finish a part of the web, persisted in so doing, fell to the ground, struck with paralysis and lost her voice. At Nafferton, also, a vill, belonging to Master Roger Arundel, a man made for himself a loaf and baked it under the ashes, after the ninth hour on Saturday, and ate thereof, and put part of it by, till the morning, but when he broke it, on the Lord's day, blood started forth therefrom; and he who saw it bore witness, and his testimony is true.

"At Wakefield, also, one Saturday, while a miller was, after the ninth hour, attending to grinding his corn, there suddenly came forth, instead of flour such a torrent of blood, that the vessel placed beneath was nearly filled with blood, and the mill wheel stood, immovable, in spite of the strong rush of the water: and those who beheld it wondered thereat, saying, 'Spare us, O Lord, spare thy people!' Also in Lincolnshire, a woman had prepared some dough, and taking it to the oven after the ninth hour on Saturday, she placed it in the oven, which was then at a very great heat; but when she took it out, she found it raw, on which she again put it into the oven, which was very hot; and, both on the next day, and on Monday, when she supposed, that she should find the loaves baked, she found raw dough. In the same county also, when a certain woman had prepared her dough, intending to carry it to the oven, her husband said to her, 'It is Saturday, and is now past the ninth hour, put it on one side till Monday;' on which the woman, obeying her husband, did as he had commanded: and so, having covered over the dough with a linen cloth, on coming the next day to look at the dough, to see whether it had not in rising, through the yeast that was in it, gone over the sides of the vessel, she found there the loaves ready made by the divine will, and well baked without

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any fire of the material of this world. This was a change wrought by the right hand of Him on high."

"And yet," exclaims Hoveden, "although by these and other miracles of His might, the Lord Almighty invited the people to the observance of the Lord's day, still, the people, fearing more the royal and human power than the divine, and fearing those who kill the body, but are able to do no more, rather than Him, who, after He has killed the body, has power to send the soul to hell; and fearing more to lose the earthly things than the heavenly, and things transitory than things eternal, have, oh shame! like a dog to his vomit, returned to the holding of markets on the Lord's day."*

Hubert appears, in his later years, to have lived on good terms with his chapter, notwithstanding the treatment he had received at their hands. He was of a placable disposition, and although there was some sternness in his character, yet his manners were conciliatory and his disposition kind. He conferred upon the monks of his cathedral the living of Halstow, devoting the tithes thereof to the support of the Minster library.† He obtained also from John, the renewal of the ancient liberty of a mint in Canterbury.

Hubert's magnificence extended to everything, in which he was concerned. His taste for architecture was indulged without regard to expense. Gervas says of him, that he not only erected anew certain splendid edifices, and thoroughly repaired the palace of Canterbury, but, that he acted, in the same spirit of munificence, with respect to all the archiepiscopal manors. He was, continues the same chronicler, exceedingly desirous of excelling in good works; finishing what had been already begun, and then beginning others on a larger scale. We have before mentioned the monastery, which he founded

* Hoveden, 467. † Battely's Somner. p. 1, App. p. 41.

at Dereham, his native place, to testify his affection towards his foster-parents, Glanville and Bertha. He thus evinced the gratitude of a noble heart, repaying their kindness, by attributing to them the good work thus performed.

At the time of his death, he was engaged in carrying on extensive works at the cathedral. He went to Canterbury to direct the progress of these works, in May 1205. On the 29th of June, the feast of St. Peter and St. Paul, he celebrated divine service, in the cathedral, with unusual splendour and with great devotion.

He now evidently felt, in himself, the symptoms of decay, and he thought that he might never live to revisit his cathedral. On the 6th of July, therefore, he summoned the monks to the chapter-house and there delivered to them the following truly Christian and affectionate address: —

"I would have you, dearly beloved, to examine yourselves that ye may discover wherein ye have done wrong with a view to an amendment therein. When, by God's will, I shall be dead, you who cannot die*, should devote all your endeavours to promote the honour and usefulness of your church. If I have offended any of you, in any respect, I ask your forgiveness; and such as have offended me, I heartily forgive. Believe me, my beloved brethren, I am more sorrowful for your troubles, than I am for my own."

When the brethren of the church thanked him for the kindness, which he had evinced towards them, and were grieved at his departure, "I will speedily return to you," said he, "and then I will pay you a visit, which shall be longer than heretofore." †

When he rose to give the benediction, every one was dissolved in tears. It was a happy, blessed termination of a career of wonderful activity, prosperity, and success.

* That is, in their corporate capacity. † Gervas, 1682.

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On the morrow, the archbishop set out for Rochester, but rested at a vill called Tenham. He arrived there, on the 8th of July. On the third day after his arrival, he was taken ill, and the illness increasing, he became aware of his being in danger. He, immediately, with his usual business-like habits, summoned to his presence, Gilbert de Glanville, Bishop of Rochester, and Geoffrey, Prior of Canterbury, and caused his will to be written. He dictated it, with clearness of memory, and in great composure of mind. Gervas, the monk of Canterbury, to whom we are indebted for this account, gives also a list of the legacies, devised to the church of Canterbury. "He granted and confirmed to the precentor, the church of Halegesto, for the purpose of amending the books of the church. Also, he gave to the same church of Canterbury two palls interwoven with gold, three chasubles, three copes, three dalmatics, three tunicles, three albes, three stoles with maniples, two amices, a golden chalice, and two cruets of crystal. He also gave a portable altar, made of calcedony stone, a cross with a portion of the true cross, a girdle and a comb of ivory, six mitres, and three pairs of gloves, all of which were beautifully adorned with jewels and gold. Also, he gave mitres and gloves without gold, candlesticks and cruets, and a censer of silver, and basins of silver gilt, two cloths of silk woven with gold, three pins of gold, a silken napkin, a knife of jasper, and another of horn, a vessel of crystal containing balsam, a cup of gold and another of silver gilt, three silver saucers for chrism, four golden rings set with precious stones, a good carpet, a Bible, containing the Old and New Testaments, a psalter glossed, four chests, one cushion, and three horses. He also gave to the church an excellent chapel *, which in his testament he styled his

* In the language of the period a chapel means whatever was required for the performance of divine service. See Ducange, *sub voce.*

best; but on the condition that the convent should spend three hundred marks for his soul. This King John took away from the church."

After he had signed his will, he received the holy eucharist, and soon after the other offices of the church, which pertained to his condition. He expired, with great devotion, on the 13th of July, 1205. His body was conveyed to Canterbury; and was consigned to the grave, with all the honours due to his high station in the church, and with those feelings of respect, which his long services could not fail to excite, even in those who had been most opposed to his policy.

The chroniclers, generally, were prejudiced against him, as being a low churchman. They represent him as secular, and as somewhat severe, but all admit him to have been bold, energetic and diligent, at least in the discharge of his temporal duties. Gervas, a contemporary, says of him,—"He was so hospitable, so liberal, so bountiful in providing for the poor and the wayfarer, that his income seemed common property. He was a wonderful builder of large and splendid edifices. In the conducting of the divine office he was devout, and of such incomparable magnificence, that ill-minded men thought him proud. He gave such care to the recovery of what had been alienated or lost, that he might have been called avaricious, for he regained Saltwood, Hythe, the castle of Rochester, the fee of Geoffrey de Ros (the service, namely, of five knights), the homage of the Earl of Clare, for Tunbridge Castle, and other matters, which had long been lost. So heartily did he love what was religious and honourable, that when he was visiting those churches, throughout England, which belonged to his jurisdiction, he praised the good conduct and honest manners of the monks of Canterbury, even at the time, when he seemed most devoted to the chapel at Lambeth.

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But since there is no man who is perfect in every respect, nor can anything be done by any one so well, but that it may be perverted, by those who choose to give it an evil interpretation, so he afforded too ready a hearing to slanderers, thinking probably, that what they spoke, through malice or envy, was dictated by love,— a proceeding, which, at times, offended his best friends. There was one remarkable and great token, however, of his truthfulness; and it was this, that he attached to his service such persons, as he discovered to be truthful in deed and word. Like Solomon, the treacherous lips, and lying tongue, and deceitful mouth did he hate." *

The power of Hubert Walter was, during one period of his life, as William of Newburgh remarks, regal and apostolical, and being an energetic man, he caused it to be felt: he was primate, legate, chief justiciary, chancellor, and king's vicegerent,—an accumulation of offices which never centred in any other individual.

His tomb with his effigy upon it, in stone, is still visible on the south wall of Canterbury cathedral.†

* Proverbs, viii. 13. Gervas, 1682.

† Dart, 132.

CHAP. XII.

STEPHEN LANGTON.*

Dearth of contemporary information. — Parents. — Brother. — Studies at University of Paris. — Poet, Schoolman, Biblical scholar. — Prebendary of Notre Dame and York. — Friend of Lothaire. — Lothaire Pope. — Langton, Cardinal of St. Chrysogonus. — Office of Cardinal. — Monks elect Sub-prior of Canterbury to Primacy. — John procures election of De Gray. — Each party appeals to Innocent III. — He annuls both elections. — I. Consecration of Langton. — John's indignation. — Monks expelled. — Simon Langton's interview with John. — John refuses to receive Langton as Archbishop. — Interdict declared. — Langton at Pontigny. — Versatility of his genius. — Original letter. — Interdict only partially observed. — John menaced with excommunication. — Ports guarded. — Arrangement for interview with Langton — Unsuccessful negotiation with Pandulph. — John's unpopularity. — Innocent deposes John. — Crusade against England. — King of France commander. — Independent feelings of the English aroused. — Yorkshire hermit's prediction. — John sends for Pandulph. — Becomes vassal of Pope. — Charter of submission. — Langton arrives in England. — Meets John at Winchester. — John's oath. — Archbishop heads opposition to King and Pope. — Clergy defrauded by legate. — Remonstrance of Langton and clergy. — Pandulph and Simon Langton go to Rome. — Interdict revoked. —

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* Authorities:—Roger of Wendover; Matthew Paris; Matthew of Westminster; Epistolæ Innocentii III.; Chronicle of Waverley; Chronicle of Margam; Ralph of Coggeshale; Monumenta Francescana, with Mr. Brewer's preface; Wilkins' Concilia; Rymer's Fœdera; Rotuli Litterarum Clausarum, edited by Mr. Hardy; Rotuli Litterarum Patentium, with Mr. Hardy's introduction; Rotuli de oblatis et finibus, edited by Mr. Hardy; Rotuli de liberate et misis, edited by Mr. Hardy; Dean Milman's Latin Christianity; Professor Stanley's Memorials of Canterbury.

Discontent in Church and State. — II. Langton as a statesman and politician. — Leader of baronial confederacy against John. — Barons successful only under his direction. — Council of St. Alban's. — Langton discovers Charter of Henry. — Barons swear to contend for it. — Meet at St. Edmondsbury. — Langton threatens the King's army with excommunication. — Deputation at Oxford. — John rejects petition. — Barons attack Northampton. — Occupy London. — Army of God and the Church. — Treaty of London. — John's followers disperse. — Magna Charta. — John's energy. — Siege of Rochester Castle. — Pandulph sent by John to Pope for aid. — Langton resolves to follow and counteract him. — Papal envoys order him to annul Magna Charta. — Refusal and suspension of Langton. — Pandulph's misrepresentations. — Papal Bulls against Magna Charta and baronial party. — Extraordinary position of Pope. — England under John's banditti. — Prince Louis of France invited to England. — Langton at Rome. — John's death. — Langton's return. — Desires to retire from public life. — Council of London. — Still mindful of English liberty. — Crowns Henry III. — Eleanor of Brittany. — Rebukes William Brewer. — Council of Westminster. — Legate Otho. — Strange proposal. — Langton's ecclesiastical administration. — Superstition. — Becket's translation. — Langton's retirement. — Death.

CHAP. XII. Stephen Langton. 1207—1228.

It is to be regretted, that of the personal history of Stephen Langton, one of the most distinguished statesmen this country has produced, we are able to obtain very little information. Lanfranc, Anselm, Becket, either had admiring biographers, or have spoken to us, by their own letters, or the letters of their contemporaries. But no one has recorded the sayings, or described the person of Stephen Langton. Few materials for his history are to be found among his published works; and from the titles of his works not printed, we may presume, that they are not of historical value. Even the public history of his times has no contemporary annalist, except Roger of Wendover and his continuator Matthew Paris. In this chapter all available authorities have been consulted, which indirectly throw light, on the great archbishop's character and conduct. But the difficulty of distinguishing between party libels, and those historical facts, which form their remote

basis, at all times great, becomes, in John's reign, almost insuperable.

Our difficulty commences with the birth place of the archbishop. Where was he born? From his being so early preferred in York Minster, and from the election of his brother to the northern metropolitan see, I should argue that he belonged to the Yorkshire family of Langton.

But Langton, near Spilsby, is the place usually mentioned, as that, from which he derived his name. The only facts beyond dispute are, that he was an Englishman by birth, and that he was born of worthy and loyal parents.*

He had a brother to whom allusion has just been made. Simon Langton, on more than one occasion, was employed in important and delicate negotiations, by Stephen, when he became archbishop. Simon was appointed by his brother to the archdeaconry of Canterbury. He was in 1215 elected to the archiepiscopal see of York, but rejected by the king.† He was also a man of literature.

Stephen Langton, at an early period of life, went to the university of Paris, at that time as eminent as a school of theology as Bologna was for the study of canon law. If it be true, that he was a disciple of Fulk ‡, he must

* Innocent. III. ad Joan. II. 134: "Vir tanti nominis de tuo regno ducens originem;" and shortly after, "In terra tua natus est de parentibus tibi fidelibus et devotis." Lord Campbell, in his Lives of the Chancellors, states, that the Chancellor, John de Langton, was of this family, and also Bennet Langton, the friend of Johnson.

† "Master Simon Langton was elected Archbishop of York, but by the influence of the king his election was soon annulled. He was afraid that if Stephen, being Archbishop of Canterbury, bore rule over the Southern Province, and his brother Simon in the North, they would play into one another's hands, and everything in England be regulated by their will."—*Mat. West.* ad 1215. More particulars relating to this affair may be found in Wendover.

‡ A. Wood. MS. Pits.

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have been, in early life, a reformer of the abuses of the university, and a preacher of the new crusade. Stephen became distinguished, as a poet, a schoolman, and a biblical scholar. When he was at Paris, his fortune is described as splendid; and was derived from his two prebends, one in Notre Dame, and the other, in the cathedral at York. The notice of the last preferment is important, as it shows that, although resident at Paris, he was not forgotten in his native land, and for the reason just assigned. It is said, by some writers, that he was chancellor of the university of Paris and dean of Rheims. But it is more than doubtful, whether there was, at this time, any chancellor of the university, as distinguished from the chancellor of the church of Paris. It is probable, however, that he exercised some of the powers, which afterwards devolved upon the chancellor; for it is expressly stated, by the older writers who mention his name, that he presided over and governed the schools of Paris.*

Stephen Langton, when a student of Paris, became intimately acquainted with an Italian of noble family, a relation of Pope Clement III., Lothaire by name. Lothaire did not remain long at the university. By the nepotism of Clement, he became a cardinal of Rome when only twenty-eight years of age. His interest, however, in the place of his education, continued†; and, on his election to the papal throne, in his thirty-seventh year, as the successor of Celestine III., he appointed Stephen Langton a member of his household.

* "Stephanus Langtonus, patria Anglus, Lutetiæ vero educatus, ubi maximam sibi ex doctrinâ famam ac gratiam conciliavit; adeo ut Cancellarius Academiæ Parisiensis, Canonicus Parisiensis et Decanus Rhemensis crearetur."—*Cave Hist. Lit.* p. 703. The older writers referred to are Henry of Gand and Trithemius.

† Epp. Innoc. III. There are two letters in his works, addressed to the University of Paris.

The ambition of Innocent was unbounded. He determined to carry out, to their full extent, the powers, with which he was invested, by the forged decretals. He had the sagacity to perceive, that such power, to be secure, must rest on a moral basis, and in the respect, which, even in a corrupt age, virtue and disinterestedness cannot fail to command. He was himself a man of irreproachable morality; his charities were unbounded; and his piety was fervent to asceticism. Like other religious enthusiasts, he was not improved by contact with the profane world; and we may think, that he sacrificed his principles to his policy; but if he did so, it was unconsciously. His first step, on assuming the pontificate, was to check the notorious venality of the Roman Curia; and then to surround himself, as far as possible, by spirits kindred to his own.

A man more inflexibly upright than Stephen Langton, or more profoundly erudite, both as a philosopher of the schools, and as a biblical scholar, could not be found. In the controversies of a university not free from turbulence, and in the discussions of ecclesiastical chapters, where intrigue was often busy, Langton had found opportunity, to prove, that, by his varied talents and knowledge of human nature, he was qualified to shine equally in the court and in the cloister; in the conduct of public affairs not less than in the meditations of the contemplative life; among politicians as among scholars. When Stephen Langton was summoned, by the new pope, to Rome, he quitted Paris with great reluctance,—tantum non coactus, est.* He was received, by Innocent, with great liberality and kindness. He lectured publicly, and with wonderful success; the pope himself being, not unfrequently, one of his auditors. Innocent determined to employ him in public affairs; and, in the year 1206, Stephen was pro-

* Ep. Innocent. III.

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moted to be cardinal priest of St. Chrysogonus. His promotion was regarded with such satisfaction by his friends in England, that, although King John afterwards affected to treat him as a stranger, the king addressed to Langton letters of congratulation on his appointment.* The king probably felt it an advantage to have a subject, in the papal council; and the favour thus shown to him by the king may have first suggested to the mind of Innocent, his nomination to the see of Canterbury.

We are not to suppose, that the office of a cardinal † was, at this time, what it afterwards became. The cardinals had not assumed the red hat, with its tassels; for that, which is now regarded as the emblem of their office, was not conceded to them, till the year 1245, by Innocent IV. They were not apparelled in the purple; for the purple cloak was not assigned, as their robe of office, till 1464, by Paul II.‡ They were, probably, even when not consecrated to the episcopal office, permitted to officiate in pontificalibus, for this privilege had been conceded to many of the abbots, who ranked as their inferiors; and they were authorised to give the benediction, at least within their cures. They were not superior to the legates, for we shall find Pandulph, who never was a cardinal, and who, during the period of his acting in England, was only subdeacon, assuming authority over Langton himself. They were not addressed, as

* Ep. Innocent III.

† "Clerici summæ sedis, cardinales dicuntur, cardini illi, quo cætera moventur, vicinius adhærentes."—*Mansi, Col. Concil,* xix. 653.

‡ Ferraris, l. c. Art. ii. No. 13. At the present time the form used at the inauguration of a cardinal is "Ad laudem Omnip. Dei et Sanct. Sedis Apostolicæ ornamentum accipe galeum rubrum signum singulare dignitatis cardinalatus, per quod designatur, quod usque ad mortem et sanguinis effusionem inclusive, pio exaltatione Sanctæ fidei, pace et quietate populi Christiani, augmento et statu S. Roman. Eccl. te intrepidum exhibeas. In nomine Patris," &c.

"your Eminence," for that title was only conceded to them, by Urban VIII. in the year 1630.* But still they alone were eligible to the papacy, according to a decree of Stephen IV. in 769; and by Nicolas II. the principle was established, that, by the cardinals only, the pope was to be elected. They had not, as yet, assumed a position of equality with princes of royal birth; and the consistory did not exist, in its present form. But, as counsellors of the sovereign pontiff, whose aim was to exercise dominion over the civilised world, the power of the cardinals was great. Although their venality had hitherto been their disgrace, the fact, that it was worth while to bribe them, is sufficient to show, that their voice and vote were influential in the various causes which were brought by appeal to Rome.

Soon after Stephen's settlement at Rome, when he had accepted the office of cardinal, but before he was incardinated, the news came of Archbishop Hubert's death. The first intelligence of the event, was the arrival, with great parade and pomp, of Reginald, who called himself Archbishop of Canterbury elect. Reginald demanded an immediate audience of the pope. He came to demand his pall; but had first to prove the validity of his election. He produced his letters, from the chapter of Canterbury. Several monks were with him, prepared to affirm, that the election was canonical. But there were suspicious circumstances, or certainly circumstances which demanded circumspection. Who was this Reginald? Who had ever heard of him? Was he known, even by name, to the prebendary of York? The truth is, that Reginald was a person who, though he thought highly of himself, was unknown beyond the precincts of his monastery. He had only been sub-prior. It was not probable that, in electing an archbishop, the chapter of Canterbury would fix upon

* Ferraris, l. c. Art. ii. No. 13.

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a sub-prior of unknown character, and with no distinguishing merit. Then again, Reginald was a pompous, conceited, vulgar little man, who had exposed himself to ridicule, by assuming the style and retinue of an archbishop before his confirmation; and, as it, soon after, appeared, in direct violation of an oath made before the chapter, that he would keep his election secret, until the pope was committed to his cause.

Innocent, always cautious, suspected that there was some irregularity in these proceedings, and disappointed Reginald, by informing him, that the court would take time to consider his case. He then directed, that an investigation of all the circumstances should be made.

The wisdom of the caution was soon apparent; for, not long after, another party of English arrived at Rome. They, also, were monks, of the chapter of Canterbury. They were envoys, from the king, sent to require the pope to confer the pall upon the Bishop of Norwich, duly elected to the primatial see of England. They were headed by Master Elias of Brantfield, who had to make known some disgraceful conduct, on the part of the monks of Christ-Church, and conduct still more disgraceful in Reginald the sub-prior.

Immediately after the death of the late archbishop, and at midnight, before his funeral had taken place, — the younger and inferior members of the conventual church of Canterbury, without applying, according to law, for the king's permission, had elected to the primacy, Reginald, their subprior. They chaunted the Te Deum, placed him first on the high altar, and then in the archiepiscopal chair. Afraid, that, if the account of this election, which had taken place without the king's consent, should reach the ears of John, he would prevent the accomplishment of their object, they despatched the subprior, that very night, to Rome, having bound him by

an oath not to consider himself elected, without the permission and special letters of the convent. Their object was to conceal the election, until they had ascertained, whether they could obtain the support of the Roman Curia. If that were refused, they might avoid the king's anger, by cancelling the proceedings.

The monks of Canterbury received information from Flanders, that, in passing through that country, Reginald had violated his engagement; and how, in spite of his oath, he had betrayed their secret, and assumed the archiepiscopal state. This determined the offending minority to concur with the wiser members of the monastery, and they proceeded to act in the usual way. They applied to the king for a *congé d'élire*. John immediately granted it, and recommended to their notice the Bishop of Norwich.* The monks were anxious to conciliate the king, whose just anger, if he became acquainted with their late proceedings, they feared; and to a great concourse of people assembled in the metropolitan church, the king himself being present†, the prior of Canterbury announced that John de Gray, Bishop of Norwich, had been unanimously elected to the vacant primacy. He was immediately enthroned, with all becoming ceremony; and the king put him in possession of all the property belonging to the see.

All things seemed to be going on smoothly, king and

* John de Gray, the prelate nominated, was a considerable personage He is described as being a man of agreeable manners and sprightly conversation, well informed and intelligent, ready in council, and energetic in action. When sent into Ireland, in 1210, as Lord Deputy, he divided that province into counties, and introduced the English laws. He had succeeded John of Oxford in the see of Norwich, in the year 1200. His intimacy with King John reflects, however, discredit upon his character; and it is supposed that he was the chief instigator in the opposition to Langton. See Foss, ii. 76.

† Wendover and Rot. Litt. Pat. p. 57 a.

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chapter acting in harmony,—when a third party from England, appeared in Rome. The suffragans of Canterbury claimed a right of election, with the chapter. It was evidently against the interests of the Church, to leave the election of the primate of all England, in the hands of a chapter of monks, who, instead of looking to the welfare of the church at large, thought only of selecting an abbot, devoted to the interests of their establishment. Both the king and the prelates insisted, on their right to interfere. But King John, always rash and precipitate in his measures, in his eagerness to procure the election of De Gray, had entirely overlooked the suffragans. And these prelates, justly offended, now sent agents to Rome, to denounce the Bishop of Norwich, as unduly elected, and to prevent his obtaining the pall. Here we have another instance, — and we have seen many — of the manner in which, from the spirit of the age, honours and powers were thrust upon the Popes. King, chapter, hierarchy, all placed themselves in the hand of Innocent, and, in doing so, recognised him as the legitimate arbitrator in their disputes. They acknowledged his as the supreme authority, and referred to him, as a judge, from whom there was no appeal. Innocent did not condescend to thank them for the concession; and their conduct showed, that he only gave utterance to the principles already in vogue, when, in his inauguration sermon, he made a statement, which appears to us to contain a monstrous assumption of power: "Ye see what manner of servant that is, whom the Lord hath set over his people; no other, than the vicegerent of Christ; the successor of Peter. He stands, in the midst, between God and man; below God, above man; less than God; more than man. He judges all, is judged by none; for it is written, 'I will judge.' But he, whom the pre-eminence of dignity exalts, is lowered, by his office of a servant, that so

humility may be exalted and pride abased; for God is against the high-minded, and to the lowly he shows mercy; and he, who exalteth himself shall be abased. Every valley shall be lifted up, every hill and mountain laid low."

Thus confident of his powers, and justly relying on his discernment, Innocent proceeded to act. He was determined to reject De Gray, as he had no desire to see the Archbishop of Canterbury, as in the case of Hubert, a servant of the crown; but he honestly desired to procure the best man he could, for the Church of England. Who that man was, he could not doubt, when Stephen Langton stood before him. Innocent had called Langton to Rome, that he might have at hand, as his counsellor, a man of piety and wisdom, a sound lawyer, and, at the same time, a divine, mighty in the Scriptures;—he reluctantly parted with him, in order, that the most important see in Western Europe might be properly filled. Innocent stated this, in a letter to King John; and there is no reason to doubt his sincerity, in making the assertion, that in sending Langton to Canterbury, he made a sacrifice. The ends, which Innocent placed before himself, however censurable we may, in these days, regard them, were, in his own estimation, righteous; his grand fault, his sin, was, that he was unscrupulous in the means he employed in carrying them into effect.

Unscrupulous and arbitrary were his proceedings, on the present occasion. By the parties themselves, who had appealed to the court of Rome, he was constituted their judge, and he proceeded to pronounce judgment. He annulled both elections. The nullity of Reginald's election was admitted by both parties; that of the Bishop of Norwich was pronounced to be irregular, as it occurred pending an appeal.

The suffragans of Canterbury were nonsuited. If the

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previous judgments may have been equitable, this last was indisputably a harsh and unjust decision. It was, however, in perfect keeping with what had long been the policy of the Roman court. The pope had ever been the enemy of episcopacy. The object of the papacy was to depreciate and degrade the hierarchy of every national church; and to represent the Bishop of Rome as the only real bishop in Christendom. All other prelates, whether patriarchs or archbishops, were only to be regarded as his deputies,—the satellites of the central Jupiter.

Innocent now proposed to those members of the chapter of Canterbury, who had been brought to Rome by the appeals, to proceed to the election of a primate. Following the example of the English kings, Innocent desired, that the election should take place in his presence; and he recommended to the electors, Master Stephen Langton. The monks, assembled, demurred to the proceeding. They stated, that, without the king's consent and a delegation from the chapter, they had no authority, either themselves to elect an archbishop, or to sanction an election.* Innocent took them up sharply: "You may regard yourselves," he exclaimed, "as having plenary authority in the church of Canterbury; and, as to the second difficulty, it is not customary, when elections are made at the apostolic see, to wait for the consent of princes. You are sufficient in number and in authority; and, by virtue of your obedience and under penalty of our anathema, we command you to elect, as archbishop, the man whom we give you as a father and as the pastor of your souls."

The monks were in a dilemma. If they disobeyed the

* M. Paris affirms, that they had been bound by oath to the king not to consent to the election of any one except the Bishop of Norwich. Doubts are entertained as to the correctness of this statement; but oaths were, in this age, easily taken, and without much compunction as easily broken.

despot of Rome, they would be excommunicated; if they obeyed him, they were aware, that there was a tyrant in England, who would subject them to the penalties of high treason. As it usually happens, the immediate inconvenience was that, which was most dreaded; and to the election of Stephen Langton all of them agreed, with the one honourable exception of their president, Elias of Brantfield. When he had carried his point, Innocent then seems to have felt, that he had acted with an unwise precipitation. He addressed to the prior and chapter of Canterbury, and also to the suffragans, explanatory letters. His letter to John was almost of an apologetic tone and character.*

The election of Stephen took place, in December 1206; but no steps were taken for his consecration, until the king's answer to the papal announcement had been received. It was not, till the spring of the following year, that the envoys of John made their appearance in Rome, conveying letters from the king, expressive of his extreme indignation, at the daring insolence of the pope. † He denounced the abrogation of the Bishop of Norwich's election as disgraceful, and spoke of Langton, as a man unknown to him,—as one who had dwelt, among his enemies, in the kingdom of France. He complained, that the promotion of Stephen, without his consent first obtained, was an audacious proceeding; which redounded to the prejudice of his crown, and to the subversion of those liberties of his church and realm, which he was sworn to maintain. He expressed his astonishment, in a sarcastic sentence, that the pope and all his court did not recollect

* These letters may be found in Wilkins, i. 515, 516, 517. The letter to the prior and convent of Canterbury is dated December 21, immediately after the election.

† John deprived Langton of his prebend in York in 1207. Rot. Claus. i. 96.

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the advantages they derived from the friendship of the King of England,—more abundant profits accruing to them from his kingdom, than from any other nation on this side of the Alps. He declared, that he would die, if need should be, in defence of the rights of his crown, and that nothing should prevent him from completing the translation of the Bishop of Norwich. He proceeded to threats: if his wishes were not immediately attended to, he would prevent his subjects, from ever visiting Rome; and, instead of permitting the wealth of the kingdom to enrich his enemies, he would take care himself to employ it to their detriment. He possessed in England, and in his other dominions, many archbishops and bishops who were men of piety and learning, with whom he could advise, when he needed advice; and never again, out of his own dominions, would he seek for justice or for judgment.

This defiant epistle was answered by Innocent, in a tone of haughty insolence, though with the supercilious calmness, which is discoverable in all his epistles. The epistle was followed by an act of defiance. On the 17th of June, 1207, at Viterbo, Stephen Langton was consecrated by Innocent himself. This was a challenge to John, which the king was not slow to accept.

The monks, who formed the chapter of Canterbury cathedral, had been guilty of treason. The king ordered their property to be confiscated. On themselves he pronounced sentence of exile. He confided the execution of the sentence to the proper officer, the sheriff of Kent, Henry of Cornhill. In those days, the laws could seldom be enforced against communities, except by the intervention of the military. In the last chapter, we have seen the justiciary of England bringing refractory barons to justice, by besieging their castles. With the sheriff of the county, was now associated Fulk de Cantilupe, who was to be the

sequestrator, and to have, for his remuneration, the usufruct of the confiscated property. That these men showed little mercy, in the execution of their commission, and that the king acted harshly, as was his custom, is more than probable. But, although the monks may have suffered severely, their punishment was not an act of injustice. They had knowingly, and after due warning, offended against the laws of the land; and although we may pity them, we cannot admit, that they had fair grounds of complaint. In obeying the pope, and in electing a primate, without first obtaining the royal permission, they were quite aware, that they were doing what was illegal. They knew, that they would be regarded as guilty of treason, by the laws of England, if they obeyed the pope rather than the king; and they knew that they should be excommunicated if, in loyalty to their country, they disobeyed the pope. They had been placed in a dilemma, and they chose to violate the laws of their church and country, rather than oppose the pope. They knew what the consequences might be, and they dared them. When the anticipated consequences occurred, whether they were right or wrong, they had no just ground of complaint. Men can never become heroes, without exposing themselves to danger, and seldom without undergoing some amount of suffering.

We are to observe, that, although the monks of the cathedral were exiled, care was taken for the due performance of divine service. Application was made, for this purpose, to the clergy of the neighbouring monastery of St. Augustine's; and the monks of St. Augustine entered, with alacrity, on the field of duty vacated by their hated rivals.*

So far John acted, if fiercely, as the manner then was, yet with determination and firmness. Throughout his

* M. Paris, p. 224.

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reign, we shall find him failing, through the moral weakness, which depraved his character. His frivolity and caprice rendered it impossible to say, beforehand, what, under any state of circumstances, he might determine to do. His inconsistency of temper would, at one time, hurry him into deeds of tyranny, and, at another time, degrade him into acts of indescribable meanness. He feared not to stain his hands in a nephew's blood, and yet he licked the dust before a subdeacon of Rome. Nevertheless, we find in him, no want of animal courage, no want even of mental vigour, when, at any time, he was compelled to rouse himself from the filth and sloth of his self-indulgence. By his conduct towards the chapter of Canterbury for obeying the pope, King John had now hurled back defiance at the most powerful man in Europe. For the encounter, which was to ensue, Innocent was prepared.

The event, just described, took place on the 5th of July; and, in the August following, we find the pope preparing a measure of retaliation. The monks of Canterbury had transgressed the laws of their country, and had suffered. The king of England, in the execution of the law, had offended the pope of Rome. The pope of Rome, to avenge himself on the King of England, determined to involve a whole nation in misery, by placing it under an interdict. Could Innocent have believed, that an observance of the ordinances of the gospel were generally necessary to salvation? If he had believed it, could he have found it in his heart to deny those means to thousands of his fellow creatures? These are the questions, which would suggest themselves to the mind, if we were not acquainted with the inconsistencies of human nature, and the various devices, by which man deceives his treacherous heart. Innocent was regarded as a man of fervent piety, and, in his almsdeeds, he was profuse; but he felt it to be his duty, as pope of Rome, to

humble the kings of the earth; and, like other generals, in order to secure his victory, he did not calculate on the loss of human life, or else he regarded it as a necessary sacrifice. In the mighty game he was playing, his attention was so fixed on the kings, bishops, and knights, that the pawns were neglected.

The interdict was determined upon in August. Innocent, however, proceeded with due caution. He endeavoured, through his letters, to persuade the peers and prelates of England, by opposing the designs of the king, to avoid an embroilment with the court of Rome. He issued a commission to William, Bishop of London, Eustace, Bishop of Ely, and Mauger, Bishop of Worcester, to pronounce the interdict. The time for doing so was not fixed, but enough was done, to show that the Pope was in earnest.*

John now became alarmed, and he acted with his accustomed infirmity of purpose. In January 1208, he caused it to be signified to the papal commissioners, that he was ready to obey the papal monition, in such manner as his council should think advisable, saving to himself and his heirs, the rights, dignities, and liberties of his crown.† The proviso, "salva dignitate regia, et libertatibus regiis," might mean everything or nothing;—it was only a pledge to obey, when obedience was politic or convenient.

John now opened communications with Langton. A safe conduct was offered to Simon, the archbishop's brother, in February. Of this Simon availed himself, and he was permitted to remain in England till Easter.‡ Simon Langton had an interview with the king on the 12th of March. We may presume, that the archbishop doubted

* The events which intervened between August and November may be gathered from Wilkins, 519, 525, and Innocent, Ep. x.

† Rymer, i. p. 99.; Rot. Litt. Pat. 78.

‡ Ibid.

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the sincerity of the king, or that Simon had received directions from Rome, to be content with nothing, on the part of John, but an unconditional surrender. The king evidently thought himself, or wished his people to believe, that he had been hardly used. He published the result of the interview, in a letter addressed to the people of Kent: "The king, to all the men of the whole of Kent, &c. Know ye, that Master Simon of Langton, came to us at Winchester, on the Wednesday next before Mid Lent (12th March), and, in the presence of our bishops, prayed us to receive Master Stephen Langton, his brother, as Archbishop of Canterbury. When we spoke to him of preserving to us our dignity in this business, his answer was, that he would do nothing for us, with respect to that, unless we placed ourselves altogether at his mercy. We inform you of this, that ye may know what ill and injury has been done to us, in this matter. We command you to give credence to what Reginald of Cornhill shall tell you on our behalf, concerning the aforesaid transaction between us, the said bishops, and the same Simon; and concerning the execution of our precept herein. Witness ourself at Winchester, the 14th day of March" (A.D. 1208).

By letters of the same date, the king committed to, Reginald of Cornhill the custody of the archbishopric; and, on the following day, he despatched letters to the good men of Canterbury, commanding them to take charge of the church of Canterbury, and its treasure, as Reginald of Cornhill would direct them, so that nothing should be lost through their neglect.* On the 17th of March, the Bishops of London, Ely, and Worcester waited upon the king. They stated the commands of the pope, that he should receive the archbishop and recall the monks of Canterbury. They entreated him, with tears, to avoid

* Wendover, Rot. Litt. Pat. 80.

the shame of an interdict, by submission to the papal will. After the offer of compromise, and the concessions which had been already made, we are not surprised to find, that the king was enraged, or, that the rage of a Plantagenet amounted to madness. He uttered maledictions, which, if expressed with unbecoming violence, were nevertheless not undeserved, upon the pope and his cardinals. He swore, by God's teeth, that if they, or any other priests, presumptuously dared to lay his dominions under an interdict, he would send all the prelates and clergy packing out of England, and confiscate their property. He added, that if any of the clergy of the Church of Rome were to be found in England, or in any of his other territories, he would send them back to Rome, with their eyes plucked out and their noses slit, that they might carry with them, to the grave, indelible marks of their disgrace. He bade the three prelates to take themselves from his presence without a moment's loss of time, if they valued their bodily health.

On the 23rd of March, the papal commissioners proclaimed the interdict, and, in danger of their lives, they fled the country.*

The king, immediately, sequestered the property of all among the clergy, who, refusing to perform divine service in their churches, obeyed the interdict.

Excluded from his see, Archbishop Langton sought an asylum at Pontigny. With Pontigny we became acquainted in the life of Becket. It was, probably, the feeling, that his circumstances were similar to those of his illustrious predecessor, which induced Langton to make this monastery his chief place of abode, for the next six years. His admiration of Becket amounted to enthusiasm, but, in point of character and genius, they differed widely.

* Wendover; M. Paris; Chron. Wav.

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Becket made everything personal. He identified himself with his cause, whatever it might be, and regarded a public opponent, with all the feelings of a private enemy. Langton was firm, and even more consistent than Becket, in the maintenance of a public cause; but, when he was himself concerned, he was submissive almost to a fault. There is no record of any eccentric asceticism at one time, and of relapses into luxurious living at other times, on the part of Langton, during his residence at Pontigny. His life was consistent, and such as adorned the high station, to which he was called. We are not told of his vain attempts to master the difficulties of Scripture, and of his falling back into the study of the canon law, as being more suitable to his genius and taste. He was the most profound biblical scholar of the age, and to the Scriptures he looked for consolation and wisdom. He was always ready to leave his books, that he might enter into the duties of active life; but, when he returned to them, it was with renewed zest and enjoyment. We never read of his injuring his cause, by his impetuosity, or through the ebullitions of a violent temper. But Becket had, by this time, become an ideal character. He had died, as Langton thought, to maintain the rights of the Church against the aggressions of a tyrant; he was a patriot, a saint. He was the martyred saint of Langton's church; and Langton believed, that, by his prayers in heaven, St. Thomas of Canterbury was assisting his successor, in his struggles to maintain the principles of civil and religious liberty, now sanctified by his blood.

The versatility of Langton's genius is shown, by the variety of his literary pursuits,— the literary pursuits, we must remember, of a man of the world, continually called, from his studies, to take his part in public affairs. He commenced his career of author, in the capacity of a poet. One of the earliest miracle plays, in Norman

French, is attributed to him.* He composed an heroic poem, in hexameters, on the six days of the creation, under the title of Hexameron.† He wrote also a canticle on our Lord's passion. He was an historian, and wrote a life of Richard I., frequently referred to by ancient writers, though no longer in existence. Some authors attribute to him a life of Mahomet, and another of Becket, but on very questionable authority.‡ But his favourite study was always the Bible. He wrote commentaries on most of the books of the Old Testament. I am not aware, that any of them have been published, but they are known to exist in the libraries of Oxford and Cambridge. The following allusion is made to his writings, by an old chronicler. "In xi. yere of Herry, deied Stevene Langdon, Bishop of Cauntirbury, that was a grete clerk in his dayes in making of many bokes, specially upon Scripture. For his work upon the XII Prophetys have I seyn."§ To his industry we are indebted, at the present hour, for there is every reason to believe that it was

* De la Rue, Archæol. xxvi. The fact, however, is controverted by Price, in his notes to Warton, ii. 28.

† "Scripsit præterea Hexameron carmine heroico, quem librum a Duroverna ad Isidis vadum translatum in collegio Cantiano aliquando inveni."—*Tanner*, 468.

‡ This refers probably to the Libellus de translatione corporis B. Thomæ Cantuariensis ad calcem Epistolarum Thomæ Becket, editus Bruxellis, 1682, 4to. p. 885.

§ Capgrave's Chronicle, p. 152. Of his "Expositio libri duodecim Prophetarum" there is a copy, according to Wright, in the British Museum; Harl. MS., No. 104; and, according to Hingeston, in Oriel College, liii. ff. 8–218; and at Trinity College, Oxford, MS. lxvi. There are MSS. in the Public Library, Cambridge, and in the Library of Corpus Christi College, in the same University. There is a sermon of Langton's in the British Museum, MS. Arundel, No. 292, fol. 38. ro., of which Mr. Wright gives a specimen in his Biog. Brit. Lit. p. 447. Mr. Wright is singularly judicious in the various selections he makes from authors little known, to illustrate their different styles and modes of thought.

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he who first divided the entire Bible into chapters.* They who have examined the subject, know how deep must have been his acquaintance with the sacred volume, when he was able to devise an arrangement, which, if not faultless, is so nearly perfect, as to answer every practical purpose.

I do not think it necessary to give a list of his works, as the learned reader will find them in Cave, and in the authors referred to by him.†

But one specimen of his style I am induced to give, because it shows the conciliatory temper of Stephen Langton, and how willing he was to make a sacrifice of everything merely personal for the sake of peace. It will be interesting to the general reader, as I may venture, on the authority of a name, so distinguished as that of Mr. Duffus Hardy, to mention it, as the earliest specimen of Norman French existing in this country. It was written, when the negotiations between him and the king were almost, but not entirely concluded.

" Stiovene par la gc̃e Deu arceveske de Kantuarbiſ primat de tut Engletr̃e, cardenal del eglise de Rume, a tuz ki ceste chartre verrunt, saluz. Sachiez tuz que nus ne volum ke rien ke fet est p nostre chier sengnur Johan le Rei de En-

"Stephen, by the grace of God, Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of all England, Cardinal of the Church of Rome, to all who shall see this charter greeting. Know all of you that we do not wish that anything which is done by our dear Lord John,

* "Omnes Biblorum libros in capita distinxit quibus ecclesia adhuc utitur."—*Bale. Pits.* Langton's claim to this honour has been disputed; but there is an early manuscript in the Bodleian, which gives weight to the claim of Langton, "A.D. MCCXXVIII. Magister Stephanus de Langnetona archiepiscopus Cantuariensis obiit, qui Bibliam apud Parisium quotavit, libros Regum exposuit, vitam regis Ricardi dictavit, multaque alia industriæ suæ volumina post se reliquit.—*MS. Bodl.* 487, fol. 100.

† Cave, Hist. Lit. p. 703. He concludes with saying, "Quamplurima alia ejusdem opera enumerant Baleus, Pitseus et Carolus de Vesch; quos adeant qui plura velint."

gletẽ, u p nus, del election, u del confmemēt u del sacre beneit leslit de Rouecestr̃ ki puisse nuire u semble ki puisse nuirre a nostre devandit seignur u a ses eirs, nuisse a lui ne a ses eirs, ne en seisine, ne en dreit, ke il *kil dit* ke il ad en le avocisun del eves ke de Rouecestr̃. Cest otrei vulum ke soit estable, se la peine se prent, ke purple est entre lui t̃ nus e se la peis se prent, la chartre ke le devandit nostre sire li Reis nus fist avant del avocisun de la devandit eglise de Rouecestr̃ serra fermemēt tenue a tuz tems: e ke cestes choses seient estables, nus les avum confme p ceste chartre t̃ nostre seel. Tesmoines, nos chier freres Pieres le eveske de Wincestr, Joceliñ le eveske de Ba t̃ de Glastingebir̃, Waltũs eveske de Wigrecestr̃, maistre Pandulf le subdiacne le apostoille. Dat̃ a Wincestr̃ le p̃ merein an de la relaxatiun de geñral entr̃edit de Engletr̃e le vintenesme jor de Jenever."

the King of England, or by us, touching the election, or the confirmation, or the consecration of the elect of Rochester, which can be hurtful or may seem to be hurtful to our aforesaid Lord, or to his heirs, shall be hurtful to him or to his heirs, either in seisin or in right, which he declares himself to have in the advowson of the Bishop of Rochester. Moreover we wish it to be established, if the peace is not concluded, which is spoken of between him and us, and if the peace is concluded, the charter which the aforesaid our Lord the King made us beforehand of the advowson of the aforesaid church of Rochester*, shall be firmly held at all times, and that these things may be established, we have confirmed them by this charter and our seal. Witnesses, our dear brothers Peter, Bishop of Winchester, Jocelin, Bishop of Bath and Glastonbury, Walter, Bishop of Worcester, Master Pandulf, the subdeacon of the Pope. Dated at Winchester the first year of the relaxation of the general interdict of England, the 20th day of January."†

* See Rot. Pat. 16 John, p. 124. Stephen addressed both the prior and the monks of Rochester.

† Rot. Chart. 16 John, Memb. 5 in dorso. Printed in the Charter Roll of John, p. 209.

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The most distinguished literary men have often been men, whose minds have been rendered acute, by mixing in society, and by having worldly business forced upon them. Of the interruptions, to which they are subjected, they often complain; but those interruptions are frequently only the breezes, which are necessary to disturb the calm which might otherwise become a stagnation.

When Stephen heard of the sufferings of the chapter of Canterbury, he immediately issued a commission to the Bishop of London, giving him full powers to act in the archbishop's behalf, and to take immediate measures, without waiting for communication with, the metropolitan, to prevent the Church from suffering detriment.*

We are glad to hear of the interference of the archbishop, to mitigate the severity of the interdict, so far, that divine service might be performed, once a week, in conventual churches. The necessity of some such relaxation soon became apparent. Among modern historians, many seem to take it for granted, that the effect of an interdict was precisely what it was designed to be; and that all religious offices did actually cease, in all parts of the country. We are all told that, from one end of the land to the other, the church bells ceased to sound, and that the churches were closed; that not a taper was lighted or a canticle sung; that the relics of the saints were taken from their shrines, and laid upon ashes in the secret sanctuary, their statues and pictures being covered with veils of black cloth; that marriages were solemnised clandestinely; that the dead received the burial of an ass, in the roadside or in a ditch; that the clergy were only seen creeping, with stealthy steps, to the house, where a new-born babe required to be baptized, or where the dying parent was gasping for the viaticum.†

* Wilkins i. 522.

† The precise date of the origin of interdicts is not known. Ivo of

But, when we write thus, we yield rather to the inspiration of the tragic muse, than to the stern facts of history. The clergy, who remained in England, were many in number; and their continuance in the country was a toleration, which they experienced, on the sole condition, that they did *not* observe the interdict. The close rolls contain many letters from King John, for the delivery of lands and other property, to such of the clergy as refused to observe the interdict. Three bishops, — Winchester, Durham and Norwich, — bishops of extensive and important dioceses, remained firm to John, and, in their dioceses, the interdict was only partially observed. There were not wanting preachers to vindicate the conduct of the king.* The abbot of Beaulieu was one of John's advisers.

Hence it was, that, although Innocent intended to make the interdict, in England, more than ordinarily stringent and severe, he was obliged to grant dispensations; for his own partisans were the greatest sufferers. Marriages and churchings were allowed, but only at the church door. Sermons might be preached, but in the open air. The silent burial of the clergy was permitted. In the convents of the regulars, the observance of the canonical hours became a necessity, for the preservation, if not of piety, yet of that discipline and of that regulation of time, without which the convents soon degenerated and became corrupt,— but it was to be without singing. Baptism was always permitted to children, and the administration of the Sacraments to the dying.†

It is to be observed, that the only two successful mili-

Chartres, in 1125, ep. 95, speaks of it as "remedium insolitum, ob suam nimiam novitatem," and refers it to a decree of the Council of Limoges in 1031. To this Council Lingard also refers as originating the discipline. Lingard iii. p. 20.

* Matt. Paris, 228.

† Alexander III. c. ii. x. iv. 1; Innocent III. c. 43. x. de Stat. Excom.; c. ii. x. de Pæint, v. 38; c. 25, de Privil. v. 33.

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tary expeditions, during the reign of John,—the one against Ireland, and the other against Wales — took place, when the country was under the interdict; and, when England was threatened with an invasion from France, instigated by the pope himself, a circumstance to which we shall presently have occasion more particularly to refer, an immense army, not of foreign mercenaries, but of English subjects, rallied round the excommunicated king.

But, although more mischief was designed by an interdict, than the overruling providence of God would permit it to effect, it was the cause, nevertheless, of much social annoyance and of considerable political inconvenience. In many parishes, though not in all, the interdict was strictly observed. Sometimes, this happened in contiguous districts. The removal of the aged or the pious to a distance, to enable them to enjoy the consolations of religion, was a trouble, and an expense, which some encountered, but which was impossible to the very infirm. The sufferers, and those who witnessed their sufferings, became more and more hostile to the government, which had subjected them to these inconveniences. In the more favoured places, the spiritual food was reduced to the minimum; and, as a superstitious appetite for religious observances had been encouraged, the absence of them was felt as keenly, as, in these days, a fanatic would feel the grievance, of being debarred from hearing a ranting preacher. People had been habituated to spiritual alcohol, and when the stimulant was withdrawn, the reactionary depression was hard to bear. Among the chief sources of amusement to the female portion of the community, and to the more refined among the humbler classes of society, we must reckon the various ecclesiastical processions, and the music of the sanctuary. What would Paris be if deprived, for six years, of all military display! What would be the condition of the religious

world in England, if all pulpits were closed! When we have thought of our answer to these questions, we may form some idea of what was suffered, in England, under the interdict by those who, eschewing the dissipation of the tournament, had been accustomed, in their self-deception, to seek it in the religious procession. The monastery, also, answered the purpose of a modern poorhouse, and many monasteries being now closed, the distress of the poor was great. Then again, although the mercenaries of the king cared nothing for interdict or for excommunication, and the barons did not care much; yet John was well aware, that they might, at any time, make this a plea, for withdrawing their allegiance; and the common people were always on the side of the church, because the church was the revolutionary interest of the age.

John was quite aware of the difficulties, to which he was exposed. He had hoped, by his violence, to intimidate the papal commissioners. But, when the step was taken, and the interdict was pronounced, he was so alarmed for the consequences, that he immediately reopened negotiations with the court of Rome. He would yield up all the points in dispute but one; and even on that he was willing to make a concession. He would recall the exiled chapter of Canterbury; he would restore the sequestered property of the church. As regarded the archbishop, with the petulance and childishness, which were among his characteristics, he could not be persuaded to admit him into his presence; but he would make over the regalia to the pope, and permit Innocent to invest Langton, with the temporalities of the see.*

But when John became aware, that the interdict would not have all the effect, which the pope intended, and which he had himself anticipated; then, his desire for a

* Innoc. ep. xi. 89, 90, 91, 102, 141.

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reconciliation became less eager. The negotiations continued, through the year 1209, but they came to no good result. When the commissioners insisted upon the entire restoration of the sequestered property, the king demurred, being unwilling or unable to fulfil the stipulation. His conduct towards Langton was equally disingenuous. He was pledged to permit the archbishop, to come to England, under certain conditions; and, while he was negotiating with the pope, he invited Simon Langton to confer with him on the subject. In September, the archbishop himself received a deputation, consisting of certain abbots and envoys from the king, requesting him to repair to England, and producing a safe conduct. But when the safe conduct was examined, it appeared that Stephen Langton was invited, not as primate of the Church of England, but simply as a cardinal of the Church of Rome. The Archbishop of Canterbury declined the invitation.*

Innocent, disappointed at the little effect, comparatively speaking, which had been produced by the interdict, had, at the beginning of the year 1209, held out a threat of excommunication † against the person of the king himself. John again became alarmed; the interdict exposed his subjects to inconvenience; but excommunication would be something directly personal. It might be, that, obeying the injunctions of the pope, his courtiers would shrink from intimacy with an excommunicated person, and the disaffected, among the nobles, might make it the plea for shaking off their allegiance. All the ports were guarded, and every traveller was rigorously searched, to prevent the introduction of a bull of excommunication; while it was proclaimed, that whoever introduced it should be subjected to the severest penalties of the law.

* Rot. Litt. Pat. p. 85, 86; Annal. Wav.

† Innoc. ep. xi.; Wilkins, 528, 529.

Once more, friendly communications from the king were received by the archbishop, in consequence of which, in all probability, the excommunication was suspended. The archbishop sent his seneschal, Alexander, to the king, who received him kindly, and sent him away loaded with presents.* As early as March, Simon Langton received a safe conduct to London, there to remain till three weeks after Easter, to confer with the king's council concerning the see of Canterbury.† On the 2nd of October, the archbishop himself was at Dover. But the king, even now, could not prevail upon himself, to grant Langton the interview. He came to Chilham Castle, near Canterbury. Thence he sent proposals, by the justiciary, Geoffrey Fitz-Peter, and the Bishop of Winchester. The archbishop demanded, and the king refused, to promise the entire restoration of the sequestered property of the Church.‡

We may infer, that the archbishop, when he refused to accede to the king's wishes, ran some risk of detention. We are told, that he and his retinue returned to France, under the escort of Geoffrey Fitz-Peter, the justiciary, and of William Briwer and others "qui securitatem ei promiserunt veniendi et recedendi." What makes it more clear, that he would not have trusted the king, unless some of the barons had given security for his protection, and that they were obliged to interfere in his behalf, is this, that in the absence of such pledge he refused to meet the king, on another occasion. Arrangements had been made for an interview between the king and the archbishop, at Dover, in 1210. John went to Dover, in full expectation of meeting Langton. But Langton had received intimation, that none of the nobles, who had promised him protection, were with the king, and he refused to sail from

* Chron. Wav. † Rot. Litt. Pat. p. 89.
‡ Chron. Wav.

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France. We find John, indeed, saying to the envoys of the pope, who had an interview with him at Northampton, in August 1211, "You may ask what you will, and I will grant it; but never shall that Stephen obtain a safe conduct, of force sufficient to prevent me from suspending him by the neck, the moment he touches land of mine."

The envoys of the pope here alluded to, were Pandulph, a subdeacon of the pope's household, and Durandus, a Templar. They attended, at the king's request. John, to obtain a relaxation of the interdict, had pledged himself to abide by their decision, and, if he had given any just cause of offence, to do any penance they might direct.

They must have been surprised, when they reached Northampton, to see the excommunicated king surrounded by a brilliant court; scarcely any of the courtiers having refused to remain with him, on their former terms of intimacy. Although he was under the papal curse, the loyalty of his army had not failed. He had been successful in the Irish expedition; and now he was keeping high festival at Northampton, to celebrate the subjugation of the Welsh.*

John was very much like a schoolboy, who is unduly frightened when, by his misconduct, he has got him into a scrape; but is thoroughly careless and hardened, when he finds that the consequences of his misbehaviour are not so bad as he was led to expect.

The king treated the papal nuncios, though they had come at his invitation and request, with indignity and contempt. But this would have been of little importance, if he had acted, in other respects, with ordinary prudence. When first the interdict, and then the excommunication, were threatened he was ready to lick the dust before the

* Chron. Burton.

pope. But when he found, that, although the papal proceedings subjected his subjects to inconvenience, yet they could not do any serious injury to himself, his insolent temper displayed itself in licentiousness and cruelty. Never had monarch been more nobly supported by his subjects, than King John; when that sovereign, in resisting the papal aggression, had asserted the independence of his kingdom. But, in the case of John, his impotence to place restraint upon his will, his temper, and his passions, seemed to keep pace with the increase of his kingly power. He was accused of the murder of his nephew. He was, as Duke of Normandy, tried by his peers and found guilty. To enable their suzerain, the King of France, to enforce their sentence against a vassal, more powerful than the suzerain, they united their forces with his. Instead of obliterating the evil impression, by deeds of mercy or by acts of penance, John made it deeper, and induced all men to confirm the judgment of his peers, by the cruelty, with which he indulged his malignant passions, whenever an opportunity for their indulgence was offered.

He had defied the religious world, as well as the profane; but instead of persevering in the plan he at first adopted, of conciliating those among the clergy, who, instead of yielding obedience to the pope, had nobly supported the throne, he now supposed, that he had them in his power; and, as there was no pope to whom they could appeal, he imposed upon them heavy taxes, and carried his persecutions to their very homes.* The secular clergy, in spite of Hildebrand and Hildebrandine councils, were still, throughout the country, very generally living with their wives.†

* In 1210, he convened the clergy and religious, in London, and compelled them to pay one hundred thousand pounds. M. Paris, 230.

† Giraldus Cambrensis states, that, in the cathedrals, this was the case in Wales, where the cathedrals were not in the hands of the religious.

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It was the interest of these clergy to stand by the king against the pope. But John soon discovered, that they were not influenced by love to him; and that, let his conduct be what it might, they could not do otherwise, than they did. If they fled the country, they would have to leave their families to his mercy, by no means tender, and would excite no sympathy, in their own favour, on the continent. He felt, that they were at his mercy; and therefore, while he compelled them to perform divine service, in defiance of the interdict, he, at the same time, threatened to put into execution, against them, the canons, which prohibited their marriage, unless they purchased, from himself, a dispensation to retain their wives.

The barons, also, had supported the king. They had attended his court, in spite of interdict and excommunication, and had received him as a visitor in their castles and homesteads. How had he repaid them? There was scarcely a house, which had not been polluted by his presence. John's was not the low debauchery of Rufus and Henry. He was a man of refined manners and insinuating address, when he had objects to obtain; and husbands had soon reason to complain of his intimacy with their wives, while mothers were weeping for the seduction of their daughters.*

After making all allowance for the libels, which were whispered at the time, and afterwards treasured up, and published against the most deservedly unpopular of kings, there are facts sufficient to justify the verdict of history, which pronounces John to have been odious as a man, as well as despicable as a sovereign.

All the discontented, who fled the country, repaired to Pontigny. There, the archbishop was made acquainted with the increasing desire of the country to be liberated

* How admirably Shakspeare gives us the two parts of John's character in his scenes with Hubert.

from the yoke, by which it was depressed. The enormities of the king were related, doubtless with exaggerations, as is always the case. Among other stories, it was reported and generally believed, that, in his hatred of the pope, he had designed to become a Mahometan.

The Archbishop of Canterbury, in the summer of 1212, accompanied by the Bishops of London and Ely, repaired to Rome to entreat the Church of Rome to assist the Church of England, now labouring, as it were, in its last extremities.*

Innocent was ready, happy, eager to assume and assert his power over kings, and his right to depose a sovereign for his immoralities. He consulted his cardinals. The forged decretals were found, to assign to him the power he was prepared to exercise. The pope of Rome pronounced the King of England to be deposed. But how was the sentence to be enforced? The army of the sovereign pontiff was not equal to contend with a king, so powerful, as John. But he, who could command the armies of Europe to proceed to Asia against the infidel, was only acting on the same principle, when he invoked the same weapons of a carnal warfare, against the heretic. He immediately wrote to all the nobles, knights, and other warlike men in the different countries of Europe, calling upon them to assume the sign of the cross, and to wage war upon the Englishking. He proclaimed, that all, who afforded money or personal assistance, for the overthrow of the contumacious sovereign, should, like those who made war, in Holy Land, for the sepulchre of our Lord, be under the protection of the pope, during the time of their crusade; in regard to their property, their persons, and their spiritual interests. The King of France was to be the commander, the Godfrey of Bouillon, to this new form of crusade. But Philip Augustus was not a person to fight in another man's

* M. Paris, 232.

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quarrel, without ample remuneration. He was in the market, he might be hired. But what were to be his wages? First he was to receive, at once, remission of all his sins. This, considering the character of Philip, was a payment, if the bank which promised it were not already broken, of immense amount. But Innocent was quite aware, that, although this was, according to the etiquette of the court of Rome, the thing first to be mentioned, it was not likely to be the first thing, which would occur to the mind of the French king. Therefore a worldly consideration was offered. If John were deposed, the throne of England was vacant. As the successful crusader, in Holy Land, had won the crown of Jerusalem, so the crown of England should be conferred upon the King of France, and upon the heirs male of his body lawfully begotten, — if he could get it.

Innocent, however, was not dealing fairly with the King of France. He constituted Pandulph, the subdeacon, to be his legate; and Pandulph received his secret instructions. John had already sent agents to Rome*, — a circumstance, which showed, that, although the terms, proposed by the envoys of the English king, had not been satisfactory or accepted, yet he was nevertheless willing to treat with the pope. John might still repent; that is, he might succumb to the pope; what was then to be done? This was the question of Pandulph, who was a careful, as well as a skilful diplomatist. It was met by Innocent, who dictated a secret form of peace; by agreeing to which, the nuncio might admit the deposed king to terms, and promise him the protection and favour of the apostolic see.

The French king, meanwhile, who had already driven John, as Duke of Normandy, out of France; now hoped, himself, to tread in the steps of a former Duke of Nor-

* Rot. Litt. Claus. p. 126; Innoc. ep. xv. 234.

mandy; and, by a successful invasion, to conquer England. This new crusade was, finally, agreed upon, at a great council, held at Soissons, on the 8th of April, 1213.*

The independent and indignant feeling of all England was now aroused. Detestable and detested as John was, his call to arms was immediately obeyed. A navy was raised, equipped with stores, and with experienced seamen and soldiers. At Mid Lent, army and navy appeared at Portsmouth, ready for service. Earls, barons, knights, freemen, serving men, crowded to the royal standard. John, indeed, had exhibited the decision and skill of a general.† He summoned the entire militia of the country; and he, at the same time, had taken care, that "victual conveyances" should follow the army; he attended to the commissariat. But the numbers, who flocked to the coast, were so great, that no exertions, in the commissariat department, could meet the requirements of the case. It became absolutely necessary, to dismiss a portion of the forces. All, who had not been trained to the use of arms, were sent home. Still an immense army remained — the cavalry being attended by cross bowmen and archers. Soon after John de Gray, the Lord Bishop of Norwich, and the king's deputy in Ireland, joined the camp, with five hundred knights and a large body of horse soldiers. When the king reviewed his forces, on Barham Down, he found them sixty thousand strong. And yet, at this very time, when, as the chroniclers say, there was not a prince, under heaven, against whom they could not have defended the kingdom of England, — at this very time, John made peace, on terms the most humiliating with his enemy, — not with the King of France, whom he still defied, but with the real author of his calami-

* Guil. Armor. de Gest. Phil. Aug. Recueil des Historiens de la France, xvii. 88.

† His proclamations are given in Wendover.

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ties, the pope of Rome. How are we to account for the conduct of the king?

Although the country was prepared to resist an invasion, there were some among the nobles, who had determined to rid the country of a tyrant. They would defend the kingdom, but they might change their king. John had, some time before, received private intimations, from the King of Scotland, warning him of the existence of a conspiracy against him.* A similar communication to the effect, that he would either be slain by his own nobles, or be delivered up to his enemies, had been made to John, by the wife of Leolin, one of the Princes of Wales. Eustace de Vesci and Robert Fitz-Walter, who were accused to him, as leaders in the conspiracy, had fled, the one into Scotland and the other into France; and by their flight they confirmed the truth of the reports, which were becoming, every day, more alarming. John, had indeed a hold upon most barons, as he had taken hostages for their good conduct; but the hostages were not at hand, and the barons were now in force sufficient, if they acted in concert, to overpower him. He might, by his mercenary troops, resist any direct attack, but were his mercenaries to be depended upon? The King of France was bidding high for troops, and they might find, in him, a better paymaster, than John. Moreover, there was a prophecy in the mouths of all men, and it was not long before it reached the royal ear. The prophet was a Yorkshireman named Peter, and to him was assigned, by common consent, the suggestive title of Peter the Hermit. His predictions had been many, and it was reported that they always came true. He openly foretold, that John would not be a king, on the next approaching Ascension day; and that the crown of England was then to be transferred to another. John, an irreligious man, was, as most

* In this conspiracy there can be little doubt that Stephen Langton was himself concerned.

irreligious men are, superstitious. Although, he heeded not the Scriptures, which declare that he who did such things as he had done, should surely die, yet he gave credence to the prophet, Peter the new hermit, and was filled with alarm. He sent for the man. He demanded, whether the man's prediction was, that the king should die on Ascension day; and if not, he inquired as to the manner, in which he was to be deprived of his throne. The hermit did not enter into particulars. "Rest assured," he said, "that, on the day I have mentioned, you will not be a king: if I am proved to have told you a lie, do with me what you will." The king committed him to custody.

It was the universal belief, that the king's reign was fast drawing to a close, and John felt, that there was danger in the very thought. He was aware, that, through the archbishop, communications had been opened with the King of France, on the part of some among the barons: who they were, and how many, he had no means of knowing.

We must admit, that, under the circumstances, John acted, though in the spirit of a traitor, yet with determination and vigour. He was aware, that his real enemy was not the French king, the archbishop, or the barons, but the pope. He determined to buy the pope, and the pope was bought. John knew the price, and reluctantly consented to pay it,—he must become a vassal of the pope of Rome. Innocent knew, that the thing to be purchased, at such a price, was his protection and favour; and, to his eternal disgrace, he extended his ægis over a murderer, a profligate, and a tyrant. John became the favourite son of the pope.

When first we read the history of England, feelings of indignation are naturally excited, in every patriotic heart, at the conduct of John, in making England a fief of the Roman Pontiff. But his conduct, in this respect, was

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not regarded, with such unmitigated feelings of disgust, by his contemporaries. The act was not his act only, he acted in concert with those very barons, who, in defiance of the pope, soon after, laid deep the foundations of English liberty, in Magna Charta.

The king sent for Pandulph.* Pandulph had come from Italy, with the Archbishop and Bishops of London and Ely, who were in correspondence with the discontented barons. Pandulph was a skilful diplomatist; and, in making terms with the king as favourable as possible for the pope, his master, he would not have attempted what would have been impracticable, unless he had known that his proposals would be generally acceptable.

The state of the case was this: the king stood in need of immediate protection from his enemies, at home and abroad; the barons desired to erect some power, in the state, to which an appeal might be made, against the despotic acts of the king, without incessant recourse to arms: the clergy were unwilling to depend, any longer, upon the caprice of a tyrant, for the enjoyment of the temporalities of the church. To bring all parties to an agreement was the one thing requisite. All required protection; all agreed that it was desirable to seek that protecting power in the pope of Rome, rather than in the King of France; in the distant potentate, rather than in the ambitious neighbour. But it is a maxim in law, that protection and subjection are reciprocal. If the pope of

* Pandulph, the papal agent in this affair, is one of the most unpopular characters in English history; and various stories are repeated to bring him into discredit; but when his conduct is fairly examined, according to the principles of the age, there is little fault to be found with him. The story of his receiving homage from the king, and of his trampling on the money offered by John as part of the tribute, rests on no better authority, than that of M. Paris, is inconsistent with Pandulph's general character for discretion, and is now generally rejected. He was never a cardinal; and during the time of his executing the office of legate, he was not even in deacon's orders.

Rome was to afford protection to all the aggrieved parties, he must by all be acknowledged, as lord paramount.

There was nothing uncommon in such a proceeding, nor, according to the feudal notions of the age, was there anything very disgraceful in it. In order to obtain protection, in turbulent times, much allodial property had, by a voluntary surrender on the part of the owners, been converted into feudal tenures. The surrender was only the tender of a *quid pro quo;* and there was nothing disreputable in one potentate becoming the vassal of another, unless the oath of fealty was, instead of a voluntary act, imposed by constraint.

The Dukes of Normandy felt it to be no disparagement of their dignity, to kneel as vassals to the King of France. Not many years before, immediately after the celebrated funeral of Hugh Bishop of Lincoln, on a hill outside of that city, William King of Scots was seen doing homage to John, for all his rights; swearing fealty to him for life, for limb, for earthly honour, in the sight of all the nobles of the kingdom, and on the cross of Canterbury. Not long before, Richard Cœur de Lion did homage to the Emperor of the Romans, for the kingdom of Provence *; to whom he swore fealty, acknowledging him to be his lord paramount. The Emperor Frederick was, at this very time, holding the kingdom of Sicily, as a fief of the Roman Pontiff, to whom Peter, King of Aragon, was also a tributary and vassal.

The feudal system had become so far modified in men's

* The conduct of Richard is not to be compared with that of John—to convert an independent kingdom into a new fief was a very different thing from doing homage for an old fief; but these circumstances are mentioned, to account for the fact, that John's conduct was not regarded, by his contemporaries, in the same light, in which it is regarded by us. Although from the fact that these events are not recorded, it may be inferred that John felt it to be a disgraceful proceeding, only intended to secure a temporary purpose.

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minds that the act of fealty had, in point of fact, become little more than a temporary arrangement, from which, when protection was no longer needed, the party protected might easily withdraw. Many of the barons had sworn fealty to the French king; and they, when the arrangement, now under consideration, was completed, did not hesitate to retract their vows. At a later period of this reign, as we shall have occasion presently to show, some of the barons took the oath of fealty and did homage to the French prince; and he, Louis, gave them back their fealty and homage, on the death of John.

England was now placed in a situation, similar to that of the German Empire a few years before. The precedent had been set by the Emperor of Germany, which John was now advised to follow. In the year 1133, the Emperor Lothaire was crowned by pope Innocent II., but before the pope would consent to officiate, he exacted from him an oath of fealty, far more stringent than that which was demanded of John.*

* This triumph of the Papacy was commemorated in a picture bearing the following motto.

"Rex venit ante fores, jurans prius urbis honores,
Post homo fit Papæ, sumit quo dante coronam."

The king appeared before the door;
To observe the city's rights he swore;
As liegeman of the Pope knelt down,
And as his gift received the crown.

Frederick Barbarossa denied the legality of the act of his predecessor, and, at his request, the picture was destroyed by Hadrian IV. The case was similar in England. Edward III., indignant at the conduct of his ancestor, and determined to resist the demands of the pope, caused the whole subject of John's conduct to be investigated by the parliament, which met in May 1366. The three estates of the realm, the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons of England, declared their unanimous opinion that John had no power to place the realm under subjection to the pope, without the consent of the nation. They pledged themselves — prelates, peers, and commons — to support the king against the pope. Edward and his parliament were right in their principle, but, so far as the sense of the realm could be taken in John's time, the nation must share in the disgrace with the king.

The ease and speed, with which the whole transaction was performed, was sufficient to show, that there was a unanimous desire to effect a peace, and that the measure proposed to be adopted, seemed to be the only measure likely to secure the blessing.

John arrived in the neighbourhood of Dover, on the 8th of May. He took his abode at Ewell—a house belonging to the Knights Templars, conveniently situated between Barham Downs, where the army was assembled, and Dover, before which the fleet lay at anchor. The Knights Templars were acting, as peace-makers, being themselves favourable to the king. Two of their body were among the first, to propose an interview between the king and Pandulph, who had received his final instructions from Rome, in the preceding January *, and was charged with a letter to the king himself. The king remained at Ewell, until the 13th; arranging preliminaries, both with the nuncio and with the barons. On the 13th, he came to Dover, attended by the earls and barons and an immense concourse of people. The terms of peace were unanimously agreed upon, and they were promulgated first by letters patent, and then by a charter. The charter was sealed on the 15th of May; and, on delivering it to Pandulph, the king made homage in the following form:—

"I, John, by the grace of God, king of England and lord of Ireland, will, from this time, as formerly, be faithful to God, St. Peter, the Church of Rome, and to my liege lord pope Innocent and his catholic successors; I will not act, speak, consent to, or advise, anything, by which they may lose life or limb, or be exposed to caption by treachery; I will prevent damage to them, if I

* Innoc. Epist. xv. 234. I am indebted for the dates to Hardy's Itinerary of King John, a most interesting document, by which we trace the king's movements, day by day, through the whole course of his reign.

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am aware of it; and, if in my power, will repair it; or else, I will inform them as soon as it is in my power so to do, or will tell it to such a person, as I believe will be sure to inform them of it. Any purpose, which they may entrust to me themselves, or by their messengers or letters, I will keep secret, and, if I know of it, will not disclose it to any one to their injury; I will assist in holding and defending the inheritance of St. Peter's, and particularly, the kingdoms of England and Ireland against all men, to the utmost of my power. So may God and the holy Gospel help me. Amen."*

Notwithstanding these transactions, the archbishop was not inclined to trust himself to the tender mercies of the king, until his safe conduct was counter-signed by the barons, with some of whom Langton was, already, in correspondence. It was not till July, that the required document arrived. Then a warrant of security was received by the archbishop, accompanied by an earnest request from the king, that the exiles should return to England. The promise was renewed, that, according to the stipulations of the late treaty with the nuncio, the clergy should be immediately restored to all their rights and privileges, and, that they should receive indemnity for all the losses they had sustained. Pandulph, who was now on the king's side, entreated the archbishop to accede to the royal request.†

* Wendover, ad an. 1213.

† See King John's letter to the Archbishop, Patent Rolls, p. 98, dated 24th of May; and the king's letter to Simon Langton, p. 99, dated 27th of May. According to the statement of Wendover, the prelates were recalled because, when the king was at Portsmouth, the barons refused to join the royal standard, as he was about to embark on a foreign expedition, until the excommunication was removed. This would account satisfactorily for the delay in the archbishop's return. But this statement is attended with some chronological difficulties. On reference to King John's itinerary, we find that although the king was in

Upon the arrival of the archbishop and his cortège, at Dover, he received intimation, that the king was at Cranborne, in Dorsetshire.* A communication was opened with John; and Winchester was fixed upon, as a central position, where the two potentates might meet. On the feast of St. Margaret, July 20th, the archbishop and his suffragans, forming a large cavalcade, halted on the beautiful downs, by which the old Saxon capital is surrounded. Their attention was soon directed to a procession, issuing from the walls. The king had arrived at Winchester, the day before. He went forth to meet the prelates, and the two parties came together on Magdalen Hill. The archbishop was hesitating how to receive the king, who was still under excommunication, when John, anticipating the difficulty, fell prostrate at his feet. The excommunicated monarch was imploring the prelates to have pity upon him. This

Hampshire and Dorsetshire, he was not at Portsmouth, during the period, which intervened, between his submission to the nuncio and the return of the archbishop. On Saturday, 1st Feb. 1214, he was, during part of the day at Portsmouth, having arrived there from Dorchester. He set sail immediately for Yarmouth in the Isle of Wight, where his fleet was assembled. The king, on the 13th of June 1212, had ordered his forces to assemble at Portsmouth, and to be in readiness to embark with him, when he should be ready to go. (See Close Rolls, p. 130, col. 2.) He had previously commanded his ships to be in readiness there. It was, at this time, perhaps, that the barons refused to accompany him, as mentioned by Roger de Wendover. Although for these reasons, among others, I am inclined to think that Wendover was mistaken in his statement, yet I admit, that much is to be said on the other side. It may be urged, that the Itinerary does not prove, that John was not at Portsmouth, unless it proves that he was too far off to pay a flying visit to the place.

* In the Waverley Chronicle it is said that, John quitted Dover to avoid meeting the prelates "elongavit se fugiens ab eis." We are enabled to correct this from the Itinerary of John. He was not near Dover in July; on the 1st he was at Bishopstoke; on the 4th and 5th at Bur Regis; from the 6th till the evening of the 8th at Cranborne on the 15th at Corfe; on the 16th again at Cranborne; on the 17th and 18th he was at Porchester; and reached Winchester on the 19th.

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new sign of his humiliation and penitence, moved the archbishop and his suffragans to tears. They raised him from the ground, and a procession being immediately formed, the united parties of the king and the archbishop entered the city, chanting the fifty-first psalm. The archbishop gave the place of honour to the king, between himself and the Bishop of London. It was thus, that they approached the western door of the cathedral; — the noble work of Bishop Walkelin, rather more than a hundred years before. In the cathedral, the chief personages of the realm were already assembled, — with a great multitude of people, weeping and praying. The royal and episcopal procession did not, however, at this time, enter into the church. Wheeling round to the south, they approached the chapter house, which stood near the south-eastern angle.* Here a copy of the New Testament was produced; and, upon the four gospels, the king swore, "that he would love holy church and its ordained members; that he would, to the utmost of his power, defend and maintain them against all their enemies; and that he would renew all the good laws of his ancestors, especially those of King Edward; that he would annul bad ones, would judge his subjects, according to the just decrees of his courts, and would restore his rights to each and to all. He also swore, that, before the next Easter, he would make restitution of confiscated property to all who were concerned in the matter of the interdict; if he did not do so, he would consent to have the former sentence of excommunication renewed. He, moreover, renewed his oath of fealty to pope Innocent and his catholic successors." †

Then Stephen Langton performed his first episcopal act in England. The king knelt before him, and in solemn

* Trussell's MS. quoted by Milner.

† Wendover, ad ann. 1213, p. 239.

tones the archbishop said: "May the Lord Jesus absolve thee! By the authority of God and the Church, I absolve thee from thy sins, whether confessed or forgotten, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost."

The crowd without, were awaiting the event. The archbishop left the chapter house, the king walking as before, between him and the Bishop of London. The assembled multitude, to their astonishment and delight, beheld the procession enter the cathedral. The archbishop ascended the steps of the chancel, and stood before the high altar. For the first time, for six years, the holy eucharist, in very truth, at this time a sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving, was performed in all, its almost forgotten solemnity.

The Church of England was still under a papal interdict; but the Archbishop of Canterbury disregarded the interdict, and was never forgiven at Rome.* For three days, the rejoicings, in Winchester, at the restoration of peace between the civil and ecclesiastical authorities, continued. The archbishops and bishops were welcomed to his palace by the king, and dined with him at his own table.

The day after his absolution, the king sent letters to all the sheriffs of the kingdom, ordering them to send four liege men, from each town, in their demesne, together with the warden, to St. Alban's on the 4th of August, that through them and his other agents, he might make inquiries about the losses and confiscated property of each of the bishops, and how much was due to each.†

Comparing the past and the future of John's life with his present conduct, we are compelled to suspect him of insincerity in these proceedings. His policy was obvious, —he had reason to suspect and fear the barons. He took the cross, therefore, as it was called, and promised to

* Innoc. Ep. xvi. 164, compare Ep. xvi. 89.

† Wendover, ad ann. 1213.

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join the crusades, because, this made his person sacred. His other great object was so to strengthen his hands, as to be able to wreak vengeance upon those, whom his tyranny and crimes had brought to the very verge of rebellion. In order, that he might obtain the assistance of the church of Rome, he had changed his party, and swore fealty to the pope. As the primate of the Church of England was, at the same time, a cardinal of the see of Rome, he thought that the two churches might be regarded as one. This, however, was never the case. Within our own memory, most of the nations of Europe fell under the dominion of the Emperor of the French, the elder Buonaparte, who either forced upon them his own code of legislation, or made his will their law. But however much he might himself believe the empire to be one, — the subdued people, although they acquiesced in, and, although some among them may have approved of, the usurpation, only awaited, with more or less of impatience, for the time when they might reassert their nationality and independence.

Even now, when the papacy was in the ascendant, or rather had reached its culminating point, throughout the nations and churches of Europe, the Church of England remained distinct from the Church of Rome. The interests and the policy of the two churches clashed. The Church of England sided with the barons against a tyrannical king, the Church of Rome supported the tyrant against the barons. The Archbishop of Canterbury was the leader of the popular party, whose chief opponent the pope of Rome now became.

Upon this subject John was soon to be enlightened. At Michaelmas 1213, Nicolas, Bishop of Tusculum or Frascati, arrived, as the pope's legate, in England. He was cordially received by John.* He had come to

* See a letter addressed to him Rot. Litt. Pat.

remove the interdict, in the pope's name, yet many months elapsed before this was accomplished.

The first step was to require the king, to renew his oath of fealty*, and to pay an instalment of the annual tribute — one thousand marks.

John was prepared with the money; and in full assembly, on the 3rd of October, at St. Paul's church in London, he formally executed the charter of surrender. He resigned his crown, and placing it in the legate's hands, received it back as a donation from him.†

All this was satisfactory to John and the papal party. At the same time, the barons did not object to see one, who had acted as an unprincipled despot, compelled to submit to a higher power, to whom an appeal might be made. But now came the subject of compensation. It was no easy matter, for the king to raise the money required, or to obtain it from the sequestrators, who might justly complain of being forced to pay back, what they had received as a boon from the king, for setting at defiance the papal interdict. The king proposed, in plenary compensation, a thousand marks of silver to be paid at once; with such further sum as might appear satisfactory to the legate, when the returns were made, which, immediately after his absolution, he required the sheriffs to commence.

This the legate, with the money in his pocket, and the crown surrendered to him, declared to be a reasonable proposal. The archbishop and bishops of the Church of England thought otherwise. The legate was now in close alliance with the king; and the bishops of the Church of England were by no means satisfied, to leave the matter in

* Lingard clearly shows that no act of homage was performed now or at any other time.

† With the oath of fealty, see Fœdera, i. 115. A copy of the bull is in the British Museum among the Vatican Papers. MSS. Add.

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the hands of a prejudiced person, who had no interest in common with themselves.

The bishops and other dignitaries of the Church pointed to their castles in ruins, their houses and barns burnt, their orchards and woods cut down, their lands untilled, their serfs dispersed, their flocks and herds destroyed. They dwelt on the unfairness of causing those to suffer, who had observed the interdict, while the Bishop of Durham, the Bishop of Norwich, the Bishop of Winchester, and other clergy, who had defied the interdict, though they might be subjected to a penance, were still in possession of their property uninjured. At this very time also, the Church of England and the Church of Rome were in collision on the subject of the Peter-pence. The original payment of Peter-pence had been a fixed sum designed for a definite object, the support of the English College at Rome. By subsequent enactments, or by custom, a penny was demanded, under the head of this tax, from every house in England. This the bishops of the Church of England were accustomed to collect, and, paying the three hundred marks a year to the papal treasury, applied the rest of the money to the sustentation of the mother church, or the cathedral of each diocese. Innocent demanded the payment of the whole sum.*

The legate had no authority to take off the interdict, until this question was settled. He did not care for delay. The king rejoiced in it. The main grievance of it had been already removed from the people. The archbishop had, soon after his arrival, relaxed the interdict in the king's chapels, and had permitted the conventual churches and parish priests to perform divine service, though without music. Wherever the legate took his abode, there he ruled, that the interdict was, for the time, sus-

* Innocent had made a demand to this effect in 1207, and the clergy were prohibited from meeting it by a royal writ. Rot. Litt. Pat.

pended. The conduct of the archbishop in this respect was, indeed, a fresh cause of disagreement between the two Churches: what right had he, it was asked, to interfere with an interdict imposed by the pope? The only answer was,—the right inherent in his office, the existence of which was ignored by Innocent.*

The quarrel between the churches was still on the increase, through the conduct of the legate. He was among the first of those legates, with whom a new era, in the history of the papacy, commenced. From Gregory VII. to Innocent the struggle had been for power. After the death of Innocent, we shall see, that the contest was for money. Nicolas came to England with an equipment, purposely insufficient to support his dignity. The people were astonished to find, that he landed with only seven horses to accommodate his suite; but there was an immediate demand for fifty to be supplied, out of the funds of the impoverished Church of England. He travelled with this princely retinue, and, wherever he lodged, he required, for his entertainment, all the luxuries of a court.

Wherever he went, he superseded the diocesans in the exercise of their functions, and would not permit the cross of the archbishop to be raised in his presence. He degraded abbots and sequestered clergy at his will; but the crowning offence of all, was his assuming to fill up the many vacant churches, without respect to the election of chapters, or the wishes of patrons; advancing men to important posts in the church, regardless of their moral or religious qualifications. He only required them to be partisans of the king; the interests of the king and of pope being now one. A greater despotism could not have been exercised; the legate had, in his hands, the power both of the king and of the pope; to either he might

* See p. 57. Innoc. ep. ix. 238.

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appeal, at his own will, and from both he was secure of support.

The archbishop was urged by his clergy to resist this usurpation, and his brave spirit was always resolute against tyranny, whether exercised by pope or by king. In January 1214, he summoned his suffragans to meet him at Dunstable, to discuss the affairs of the unhappy Church of England. The clergy, says Wendover, were beyond measure indignant, at the conduct of the legate. Without regard to canonical election, and without consulting the diocesans; by mere force of arms, he would intrude men into ecclesiastical office. He consulted merely the wishes of a profligate king, who was known to "sell and mart" all his offices for gold. There were long discussions and debates at Dunstable, but little could be effected, owing to the credulity, which had induced the age to accept as law the forged decretals. It was finally decided, that certain clerks should be sent to Burton-upon-Trent, where the legate then was, to forbid him, by the interposition of an appeal on the part of Stephen Langton, to appoint prelates in the vacant churches, in prejudice of the undoubted rights of the Archbishop of Canterbury, to whom, by the constitution of the Church of England, the right pertained of appointing to vacant churches in his province.

The legate, however, laughed at the prohibition, for he acted under the pope's directions. He sent Pandulph forthwith to the court of Rome, to counteract any proceedings on the part of the primate. There Pandulph met Simon Langton, who had been despatched by his brother, to state the circumstances of the case. Simon Langton, however, could not obtain a hearing from the pope or his cardinals. They exhibited unsuppressed satisfaction and delight at the charter, with its gold seal, by which the king had rendered himself a vassal to the Court of Rome. They were not a little pleased with the

money already realised, and the greater sums expected, for the repletion of a treasury, which the ambitious schemes of the pontiff had nearly exhausted.* When Pandulph declared, in the name of the legate, that, of all the kings of the earth, he had never seen a character so humble, so moderate, so endowed with excellence, as John King of England, the pope and his counsellors were ready, at once, to acquiesce ; and, when the delegates of Nicolas proceeded to vilify Archbishop Langton, the same parties fully believed the assertion ; and forgot, for the time, that the primate of England was also a cardinal of the Roman see. Langton and his suffragans were accused of unreasonable avarice, in not accepting the proposed terms of compensation ; they oppressed the injured and pious king ; were acting unjustly towards him, and were violating the rights of the kingdom.

John, meanwhile, left it to the dignitaries of the two churches to fight their own battle. Until they had come to an agreement, he had nothing to pay, and he could leave his interests, in perfect security, in the hands of his friend, patron, and liege lord, the pope. In February 1214, John had sailed from Yarmouth, on an expedition against the French king ; and on June 17th, being then at Angers, he came to a final settlement, on ecclesiastical affairs. The interdict was to be withdrawn, on security being given, by the king, for the annual payment to the pope of twelve thousand marks, till all the claims should be satisfied. In regard to the claims of the Church of England, as the king had already paid forty thousand marks by way of compensation, he was further required to bind himself by oath, and, through letters

* Pope Innocent, who always saved appearances, did indeed direct the legate to have regard to the moral qualifications of the persons to be appointed to the vacancies in the Church ; but what he insisted upon was devotion to the king's cause. Innoc. ep. xvi. 138.

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patent under the great seal, to make full payment, according as the pope should order.* John felt that he might trust the pope. The grateful pope, to prevent his being annoyed by the authorities of the Church of England, removed the king, as far as possible, out of its spiritual jurisdiction. He issued a bull, by which it was decreed, that the king's person should not be excommunicated, or his chapel put under interdict, except by immediate sentence from the papal see.†

The king had carried his points; he was satisfied, that he might defy both the nobles and the Church of England, and that he might henceforth reign a despot. When the news of the settlement arrived in England, the legate went in state to St. Paul's church. Here a council was convened, to which he explained the terms of the treaty. He then solemnly revoked the sentence of interdict, by which the country had been insulted and annoyed for six years, three months, and fourteen days.

The Te Deum was chanted, and the bells rang out a merry peal, — but there was a sullen discontent among the higher orders in Church and State. A disturbance immediately took place, which must have convinced the legate that troublous times were at hand. An innumerable multitude beset the legate, on his return to his home, and as long as he remained in England, — of abbots, templars, hospitallers, abbesses, nuns, clergy, — whose claims to compensation had been utterly disregarded. They demanded satisfaction to be made to them, for losses and injuries sustained by them, during the time of the interdict. They asserted, that although they had not left England, they had endured an incessant persecution from the king and his agents, both in person and in property. Their property had been confiscated, their persons mal-

* Fœdera, i. 122; Rot. Chart. p. 199, ed. Hardy.

† Fœdera.

treated, and they were still exposed to the fury of their enemies. An insulting reply was all the redress they found. The legate insinuated, that they were beneath consideration; he asserted, that he had received no instructions concerning them, that he could not exceed his commission, and that they had better appeal to the pope. All were well aware, that an appeal to the pope, by the enemies of the king, was a work of supererogation, although it was, on account of their obedience to the pope, that they had incurred the royal displeasure.

A few months before, Nicolas, Bishop of Frascati, had been received with joyful processions, amidst the acclamations of the people: he now left the country amidst curses, not loud, but deep.

II. We have, hitherto, seen Stephen Langton, a scholar, a divine, a much enduring man. We shall now advert to his active life; and we have to regard him, as a politician and a statesman. From a reference to the general facts of his history, we infer his wisdom, his influence, and his superiority to his contemporaries. Before Langton's arrival in England, the barons, although oppressed by John, and hating him for his insolence, despotism, and cruelty, had formed no regular combination against the tyrant. As soon as Langton had arrived, we find a plan formed and steadily adhered to, until it was carried into effect. Langton placed something definite, before the barons, for which to struggle. They eagerly grasped it, and, as long as he was with them, they were by that circumstance, successful, and victorious. When, at a later period, Langton quitted England for Italy, the barons, having lost their leader, became apathetic, proceeded on no system, and were easily subdued. Although some of the barons may have been influenced by a spirit of mere factious opposition to regal authority, as is evident from certain events in the reign of Henry III., yet this was not

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the case with Langton, who opposed the Earl of Chester and others, when they unjustifiably rebelled against Henry's government; and who even excommunicated the open violators of the law. The influence of Langton, and his connexion with the baronial party, had commenced before his return to England. The English nobles resorted to Pontigny, and there we discover the archbishop confederated with Eustace de Vesci, and also with Robert Fitz-Walter, the future general of the baronial army against John.* We have already seen, that, without a guarantee, the archbishop could not trust himself to the king; and when, in 1213, the final agreement was made, the two great noblemen were included in the security granted.

It was as the adviser of these great men, the leader of the barons of England, that Stephen Langton became the author of Magna Charta.

Hitherto, the barons had been accustomed to act each for himself, with a view to the maintenance only of his personal rights. Langton taught them to act in combination: not only to be lords, but to form a House of Lords. Singly, they were weak, when opposed to the king, the mightiest of the barons; as an order in the state, they were more than his match. In the reign of Henry II., as we have seen, the courts of law were developed from the Curia Regis; now we see formed the House of Lords; and henceforth the king's council became a parliament.

The first step, in this right direction, was taken at a council assembled at St. Alban's, on the 4th of August, 1213.

The king had summoned the council, but he did not attend. Just before its meeting he had started, on his ex-

* R. de Coggeshale, p. 871. An account of Fitz-Walter, renowned for his personal prowess, may be found in Dugdale's Baronage, p. 218.

pedition to France.* He had left the regency to Geoffrey Fitz-Peter, who died in the following October. Under the advice of the archbishop, and of this distinguished statesman, the council ordained that the laws of the king's grandfather, Henry I., should be observed, throughout the kingdom, and, that all unjust laws should be utterly abolished. They issued orders to the sheriffs, the rangers of the forests, and all other officers of the king, requiring them, at peril of life and limb, to abstain from extortion, from all acts of violence and oppression, and from making tallage, in any part of the kingdom, as they had hitherto done with impunity.

This first meeting of the barons, in council, is important, as contradicting the opinion, that their combination was only for private ends, and not for any public or patriotic object. It was seen how justly the council was prepared to act, when the king was away, and what was the advice, that his friends had been ready to give, but which he had refused to follow. We also see the object of Langton, in requiring a renewal of the coronation oath, before he pronounced absolution upon John.

But what were the laws of King Henry? Were they written laws? or merely the common law of the country? The archbishop, clear headed, practical and decided, required search to be made; and the written laws of Henry were soon discovered. Copies had been transmitted to every county, and placed in all the public libraries. They were the old Saxon laws, known as the laws of Edward the Confessor, granted by Henry I. in the first year of his reign; renewed by Stephen; and confirmed by Henry II.;

* He had started for France, but only got to Jersey, and returned to England before Michaelmas. He probably intended only to organise his forces and then to return to the council, but met with some unexpected causes for delay.

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though rendered a dead letter, when they stood opposed to the will of any of these despotic sovereigns.

The council of St. Alban's was adjourned. On the 25th of August, it reassembled at St. Paul's Church, in London. The king was still abroad. There was a vast gathering of bishops, abbots, priors and barons. All classes were represented, except the serfs, whose independent status was not yet acknowledged.

The archbishop availed himself of this opportunity, to unite the barons in one great confederation, in order that the liberties of the country might be placed on a sure foundation, and guarantees be taken for their maintenance. He, first of all, conferred with the barons one by one. The substance of his address to each is given in the form of a speech by Wendover. "Did you hear," he said, "how when I absolved the king at Winchester, I made him swear that he would do away with unjust laws, and would recall good laws, such as those of King Edward, and cause them to be observed by all in the kingdom? A charter of Henry I., King of England, has just now been found, by which you may, if you wish it, recall your long lost rights and your former condition?"

Having thus wisely prepared the way, showing himself to be a thoroughly practical man, Langton summoned a general meeting, and directed the following charter of Henry to be read aloud.

"Henry, by the grace of God King of England, to Hugh de Boclande, justiciary of England, and all his faithful subjects, as well French as English, in Hertfordshire: greeting.

"Know that I, by the Lord's mercy, have been crowned king by common consent of the barons of the kingdom of England; and because the kingdom has been oppressed by unjust exactions, I, out of respect to God, and the love which I feel towards you, in the first place constitute the holy Church of God a free Church,

so that I will not sell it, nor farm it out; nor will I, on the death of any archbishop, bishop, or abbot, take anything from the domain of the Church or its people, until his successor takes his place. And I, from this time, do away with all the evil practices, by which the kingdom of England is now unjustly oppressed, and these evil practices I here in part mention. If any baron, earl, or other subject of mine, who holds possession from me, shall die, his heir shall not redeem his land, as was the custom in my father's time, but shall pay a just and lawful relief for the same; and, in like manner, too, the dependents of my barons shall pay a like relief for their land to their lords. And if any baron or other subject of mine shall wish to give his daughter, his sister, his niece, or other female relative in marriage, let him ask my permission on the matter; but I will not take any of his property, for granting my permission, nor will I forbid his giving her in marriage, except he wishes to give her to an enemy of mine; and if on the death of a baron or other subject of mine, the daughter is left heiress, I, by the advice of my barons, will give her in marriage, together with her land; and if, on the death of a husband, the wife is surviving, and is childless, she shall have her dowry and a marriage, and I will not give her away to another husband, unless with her consent; but if a wife survives, having children, she shall have her dowry and a marriage, as long as she shall keep herself according to law, and I will not give her to a husband, unless with her consent; and the guardian of the children's land shall be either the wife or some other near relation, who ought more rightly to be so; and I enjoin on my barons to act in the same way, towards the sons and daughters and wives of their dependents. Moreover, the common monetage, as taken throughout the cities and counties, such as was not in use in King Edward's time, is hereby forbidden; and if any one, whether a coiner or any other person, be taken with false money, let strict justice be done to him for it. All pleas and all debts, which were due to the king my brother, I forgive, except my farms, and those debts, which were contracted for the inheritances of others, or for those things which more justly belong to others. And if any one shall have covenanted anything for his inheritance, I forgive it, and all reliefs which were contracted for just

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inheritances. And if any baron, or subject of mine, shall be ill, I hereby ratify all such disposition, as he shall have made of his money; but if, through service in war or sickness, he shall have made no disposition of his money, his wife, or children, or parents and legitimate dependants shall distribute it, for the good of his soul, as shall seem best to them. If any baron or other subject of mine shall have made forfeiture, he shall not give surety to the amount of all his money, as was done in the time of my father and my brother, but according to the degree of the forfeiture; nor shall he make amends for his fault, as he did in the time of my father, or of my other ancestors; and if any one shall be convicted of treason or other crime, his punishment shall be according to his fault. I forgive all murders committed previous to the day, on which I was crowned king; but those which have been since committed shall be justly punished, according to the law of King Edward. By the common advice of my barons, I have retained the forests in my possession, as my father held them. All knights, moreover, who hold their lands by service, are hereby allowed to have their domains free from all amercements and from all peculiar service, that, as they are thus relieved from a great burden, they may provide themselves properly with horses and arms, so that they may be fit and ready for my service, and for the defence of my kingdom. I bestow confirmed peace in all my kingdom, and I order it to be preserved from henceforth. I restore to you the law of King Edward, with the amendments which my father, by the advice of his barons, made in it. If any one has taken anything of mine, or of any one else's property, since the death of my brother King William, let it all be soon restored without alteration; and if any one shall retain anything of it, he shall, on being discovered, atone to me for it heavily.

"Witness, Maurice, Bishop of London; William, elect of Winchester; Gerard, of Hereford; Earl Henry, Earl Simon, Earl Walter Gifford, Robert de Montfort, Roger Bigod, and many others."*

The barons listened to the reading of this document with great attention, and under feelings of considerable

* Wendover, ad ann. 1214.

excitement, expressed first, by their looks and gestures, and then, by words. For their rights they were prepared to contend, and, if need should be, to die. "Swear it," said the primate. The solemn oath was taken, and the confederation was now formed.

I have given this document at length, because it is interesting, in two points of view. It shows how the liberties of England are an inheritance from our Anglo-Saxon forefathers, and that Magna Charta was only an acceptance, on the part of the Anglo-Norman barons, of that constitution which, without distinction of race, the united English people were, henceforth, to maintain, improve and expand.

In October 1214, the king returned to England, not only offended by the proceedings of the government, during his absence, but indignant with the barons, his vassals, who had refused to accompany him to the continent. Various causes have been assigned for their conduct, in thus refusing to follow the standard of the king, and different pretexts were, at the time, urged in excuse. But the truth is, they "had no stomach for that fight." According to their feudal tenures, the barons were not bound to serve the king, beyond a certain period, or to follow him in a foreign expedition, especially since the establishment of scutage. The king, as Duke of Normandy, had, by a verdict of his peers, been pronounced guilty of murdering his nephew; and, by the King of France, as his suzerain, he had, in consequence of the verdict, been deprived of his dominions on the continent. Even if the barons had not political sagacity to perceive, that the loss of Normandy by the King of England, was a national blessing, they felt no personal interest in the quarrel between the Duke of Normandy and the French king. They were no longer Norman barons holding castles in England; they had become an English aristocracy, connected, by their fathers,

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with the Normans, but, by their mothers, with the Anglo-Saxon possessors of the soil.

Things now assumed a very threatening aspect. The king was collecting an army. There was no doubt, that his object was to punish his refractory barons, by military execution. No time was to be lost. The league with the barons must be made more stringent; and it was agreed that they should meet at St. Edmundsbury. St. Edmund was a popular saint, among the Anglo-Saxons. A concourse of people always flowed into the town, on his festival; and the barons, with their retainers, might therefore appear as devotees at the shrine of the Anglo-Saxon king and martyr. The festival was on the 22nd of November. A few days before, the various parties armed, and had their secret meetings. There, one by one, at the altar, each baron made oath, that he would withdraw his fealty from John, if John refused to grant the rights now claimed; and, that he would wage war upon him, until, by charter, under his seal, the king confirmed their just demands.

The king, meanwhile, was actively employed, in collecting his forces. He made no secret of his intention. According to Matthew Paris, he declared that "he hated, like viper's blood, the noblemen of rank in the kingdom, especially Sayer de Quincy, Robert Fitz-Walter, and Stephen Archbishop of Canterbury."

He took the field, in the spring of 1215, and marching against the barons of the north, he proceeded from London to Northampton. No time was now to be lost, by the confederates. The archbishop, with his retinue, made his appearance in the king's camp. He stated, that he had come to remind the king of the oath he had taken, when he received absolution at Winchester. He affirmed, that, according to the terms of that oath, instead of making war upon his vassals, he was bound, in the first place, if there were cause of offence, to summon them to

his court, that they might be tried and judged by their peers.

"Rule you the Church," said the king, "and leave me to govern the State." He continued his march to Nottingham, in a state of great indignation and wrath. The archbishop followed him, and threatened to excommunicate every one, who engaged in the war, the king alone excepted. John's mercenaries had not yet joined him. The feudal army, by whom he was surrounded, were, in their sympathies, on the side of the barons, and would be pleased to have an excuse for returning to their homes, at the mandate of the archbishop. The king was obliged, therefore, to listen to the proposals of Langton, and to promise, that he would fix a convenient time, to meet his barons, who only sought justice at his hands.

The meeting was of a character which the king did not expect. Important events now occurred, in rapid succession. Early in April, the barons met at Stamford.* The military display was splendid. Two thousand knights appeared in complete armour, with cavalry, infantry, and attendants variously equipped. All were enthusiastic, in their determination to resist the tyranny of king and pope. Forty-five barons only are named, by Wendover; but he tells us, that almost all the nobility of England had now joined the league. The king was at Woodstock, on the 4th of April. On Monday the 6th, the barons encamped at Brackley. The king moved to Oxford, to treat with them, on the Tuesday. The archbishop had accompanied the king from Nottingham. He, with the Earl of Pembroke, formed a deputation, from the king, who desired to be

* On the authority of Wendover, this gathering is generally represented as having taken place in Easter week. But Easter, this year, fell on the 19th of April, when the king was in London. He was at Woodstock on the 4th of April, and left Oxford on the 13th. I take my dates from the Itinerary.

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specifically informed, as to the nature of those laws and liberties, the recognition of which was now demanded at his hands.

A schedule was handed over to the deputation, which had been previously drawn, in all probability, by the archbishop himself. In this document, were recited the laws and customs of the country. The deputation was directed, to inform the king, that, unless these demands were immediately granted and confirmed under his seal, his fortresses would be taken, and compliance enforced, by an appeal to arms. The archbishop read the petition, if so it may be called, and expounded it, clause by clause, until John lost all patience, and, in a fury, exclaimed, "Why do they not demand my crown at once? By God's teeth, no liberties will I grant to those, whose object it is to make me their slave."

The archbishop and William Marshall, Earl of Pembroke, endeavoured to persuade the king, to comply with the requests of the barons. It was in vain, and they returned to Brackley, with his refusal. The confederated nobles hesitated not for one moment, as to the course to be pursued. All had been arranged before hand. Theirs was the cause of the realm of England, against a traitor king; of the Church of England against the pope; their army was the Army of God and the Church. Of this army, Robert Fitz-Walter was elected mareschal. The newly elected mareschal immediately led his forces, to an attack upon the royal fortress of Northampton. Robert Fitz-Walter was a brave officer and a gallant soldier, but he was no general. He appeared before the castle of Northampton, without a sufficient supply of petrariæ and other engines of war. No progress was made in the siege, and, consequently, the confederates were the more ready to reopen communications with the king.

Meanwhile, the barons had received intimation from

the citizens of London, that the principal inhabitants were on their side; and if the Army of God and the Church were to appear before the walls, they would find the gates open. The king, who left London for Alton, on the 23rd of April, returned to the metropolis on the 7th of May; but learning, probably, that the Londoners could not be depended upon, he, with the papal party, again quitted the city on the 10th. The patriot forces took possession of London, on Sunday the 24th of May. The city authorities, careful not to forfeit their charter, had directed all persons, to repair to their parish churches. The gates were then left open. The citizens were, or seemed to be, so profoundly devout, that day, that they did not hear the march of the silent troops; whom they rejoiced to find, when divine service was over, in possession of the tower, and mounting guard upon their walls.

And now the barons issued a proclamation, which was joyfully received throughout the country, enjoining all men to abandon the cause of a perjured king, and to take part with the barons, upon whom he had made an unjust war. There were very few in the country, who were really attached to the cause of the king and the pope; but there were some, who hesitated, at first, from motives of prudence, to commit themselves. But when the capital had declared itself in favour of the archbishop and the barons, these waverers took courage. They quitted their castles. They joined the standard of freedom. They formed part of the Army of God and the Church.

The archbishop and the Earl of Pembroke, according to the terms of the treaty of London, remained with the king;—responsible to the country, for a satisfactory answer, on the part of John, to the demands of the barons. The army of the king had dispersed. His suite consisted only of seven knights. With his usual insincerity, he commissioned the Earl of Pembroke to announce the

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fact, that he was ready, to fulfil his promise, and to grant to the patriots, the laws and liberties, which they claimed as a right. He left it to them, to name the day and to appoint the place of meeting. The day was to be the 15th of June; the place a field, between Staines and Windsor, a green meadow, on the banks of the Thames. The king was at Windsor. The two parties met at Runnymead. The archbishop, seven bishops, and about fourteen earls and barons attended the king. These personages were, most of them, he was well aware, pledged to the same cause, as the barons. They were with him simply as a security to the patriots, that he would at least attend the conference. He had only two friends who gave him their sympathy, Pandulph the pope's subdeacon and chaplain, and perhaps Almeric Master of the Templars. The whole nobility of England were in array before him. By their retainers, ready to support them, the commonalty were represented in the conference. The king's seal was attached to Magna Charta.*

John frequently displayed considerable energy, when he was forced, by circumstances, to rouse himself from his debaucheries, and to enter the field of action. After resting a few days at Windsor, he is to be traced to Winchester, to Marlborough, to Devizes,—then to Corfe, and thence to Oxford. The greater part of the August following, was spent at Sandwich, Canterbury, and Dover. We may infer, from the rapidity of his movements, and from these several localities, the manner in which he was engaged. He had been already denounced as a perjurer; and the measures he was now devising only proved, that

* It is a curious fact, that Magna Charta was never enrolled. The king, most probably, ordered it not to be recorded, as it had been extorted from him. It is also remarkable, that the charters already referred to, as given by Wendover, were, probably, for the same reason, not enrolled.

he was even more regardless of his oath, his pledges, and his princely word, than his worst enemies had supposed. His object was to surround himself by an army, which would enable him to fight against his subjects, and to rescind the great charter, through which the liberties of the Anglo-Saxon constitution were confirmed, to those who had become the English people. Agents were despatched to the continent, commissioned to re-enlist the mercenaries, who had lately been disembodied. He offered for their pay, the plunder to be made, in every castle they might storm, and licence to commit outrage, without being called to account. The country was soon inundated with freebooters and adventurers, from Poitou, Gascony, Brabant, and Flanders. The king found himself sufficiently powerful, on the 13th of October, to lay siege to the castle of Rochester.

At the same time, that the royal traitor was thus taking measures to raise an invading army, and to make war upon his subjects, John despatched his devoted friend, the astute and unscrupulous Pandulph, to demand assistance from his suzerain, the pope of Rome.

The whole country was in a state of anxiety and alarm. The unarmed were a prey to John's banditti. The barons knew, that John, in his vengeance, was himself more terrible than a bandit.* It was discovered, that Pandulph had

* When the castle of Rochester surrendered, John gave orders for a general massacre of the garrison, and commanded that the general, William D'Albiney, and all the nobles, should be hanged on a gibbet. But Savaric de Mauleon came to him, and said, "My lord king, our war is not yet over, therefore you ought carefully to consider how the fortunes of war may turn; for if you now order us to hang these men, the barons, our enemies, will perhaps, by a like event, take me, or other nobles of your army, and, following your example, hang us; therefore do not let this happen; for, in such a case, no one will fight in your cause." By way of contrast, and to show the different spirit by which the two generals were animated, I add here a pleasing anecdote related by M. Paris: — "One day, during the siege of Rochester castle,

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sailed for the continent. Rumours were afloat, that the kingdom was to be again placed under an interdict, and that bulls of excommunication were soon to be expected, which would reach the archbishop himself. What was to be looked for, — what was to be done, when despot had appealed to despot, and not dogs but wolves of war had been let slip upon the land?

Langton, knowing Pandulph's powers of misrepresentation, determined himself to go to Rome, in order that he might warn his former friend, Innocent, not to expect, in the aristocracy or the hierarchy of England, that subserviency, which he had found in the hypocritical king. John, whenever it might suit his interests, his conscience, or his passions, might free himself from the papal yoke, as he had done from the restraints, which the laws and customs of his country had placed upon him; and the pope would find his real strength to lie, in withdrawing, in good time, from an untenable position, and in conciliating the respect, instead of provoking the wrath, of determined men.

The king, dreading the archbishop's influence at Rome, was violently opposed to the proposed journey. Nevertheless, he could not absolutely forbid it; for Langton

the king and Savaric were riding round it, to examine the weaker parts of it, when a cross-bowman, in the service of Sir William D'Albiney, saw them, and said to his master, 'Is it your will, my lord, that I should slay the king, our bloody enemy, with this arrow, which I have ready?' To this William replied, 'No, no; far be it from us, villain, to cause the death of the Lord's anointed.' The cross-bowman said, 'He would not spare you in a like case!' To which the knight replied, 'The Lord's will be done. The Lord disposes events, not he.' In this case, he was like David, who spared Saul, when he could have slain him. This circumstance was afterwards known to the king, who, notwithstanding this, did not wish to spare William, when his prisoner, but would have hung him had he been permitted." The general commanding the army of God and of the Church of England had the advantage, in religion and in clemency, over the vassal of the Pope.

had received a summons, as a Roman cardinal to attend a council, the fourth Lateran, to be held at Rome in 1215. Notwithstanding the objections of John, Langton persevered in his intention. The ship, in which he was about to sail was anchored off Dover; his suite was equipped; his goods were on board. He was just on the point of sailing, when he received a visit from the Bishop of Winchester, the Abbot of Reading, and the subdeacon Pandulph, who had just returned from Italy. They presented themselves as commissioners from the pope; they informed the archbishop, that they were in possession of certain bulls, one of which annulled the Magna Charta, while another commanded the barons, under penalty of excommunication, to lay down their arms. The commissioners laid the pope's commands upon the archbishop, to cause the publication of these bulls, every Sunday and feast-day, in all the churches of his province.* The archbishop refused compliance. For his disobedience to the papal edict to rescind Magna Charta, the commissioners pronounced the archbishop contumacious, and declared him to be suspended. He was prohibited from performing divine service, or from entering a church.

Langton was one of those practical men, who never waste their strength, in fighting useless battles, or in contending for mere theoretical rights. The only important question to be asked was, whether the commissioners were in possession of a bull, prohibiting the archbishop from leaving the country? No such bull could be produced, as Pandulph had left England, before Langton's determination to follow him had become known. The archbishop, therefore, quietly proceeded on his journey.† His suspension was of little or no im-

* Wendover, ad ann. Fœdera, i. 138.

† "Cantuariensis archiepiscopus, rege invito et ei minas intentanti transfretavit."—*R. Coggeshale*, 877.

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portance to him, on the continent; but he was quite aware, that his reception, by his former friend, at Rome, would be anything but cordial and friendly.

Innocent was, indeed, much exasperated by the proceedings, which had taken place in England. He foresaw, in the opposition of the barons, the frustration of one of his favourite schemes, for papal aggression and aggrandisement. He was, in general, though determined and despotic in temper, kind in manner, and even indiscreetly facetious in conversation; but he seems to have placed no restraint upon himself, when adverting to the conduct of the Archbishop of Canterbury.

Pandulph and the other envoys of John, when imploring the pope's aid, in the king's behalf, against the people of England, had enlarged upon the iniquity of what they called the rebellion of the barons, in demanding the re-establishment of laws and liberties, inconsistent with the dignity of the crown. The king, they ventured to say had openly declared, before them all, that the kingdom of England, by right of dominion, belonged to the pope of Rome; and, therefore, that the changes, in the constitution of the realm, which he had been compelled to make, were null and void. John placed himself and all his rights, under the protection of the see of Rome, to which he appealed. To this appeal, the king declared, the barons had paid not the slightest regard. They had taken possession of the city of London, which had been yielded to them, by the treason of the inhabitants, and they still retained it. They had recourse to arms, and then demanded, from the king, the laws and liberties recounted in the Magna Charta, a transcript of which they now laid before the pope. Innocent read the various items; his countenance expressed his indignation; he knit his brows, and at length he burst forth: — "What! have the barons of England dared to dethrone a king,

who has taken the cross, and placed himself under the protection of the apostolic see? The barons of England,— do they dare to transfer to others, the patrimony of the Church of Rome? By holy Peter, their outrage shall not go unpunished."

He, straightway, convened the cardinals, to whom he dictated his will. His object was, to represent himself, as acting by their advice. Their advice or his determination issued in the bulls, to which allusion has been already made. They were dated from Anagni, on the 25th of August, 1215. The preamble of the first recites, that John, owing to his enemies, had drawn upon himself and his kingdom the sentence of excommunication and interdict; that he had repented and made satisfaction to the Church; that he had subjected his realm to the sovereign pontiff, under an annual tribute; that he had sworn fealty to the pope; that he had taken the cross; that he was preparing to make war upon the infidels. The document thus proceeds: — "But the enemy of the human race, whose custom it is, to be envious of good actions, by his crafty arts, excited the barons of England against him, so that the order of things being perverted, he was, after being converted and making atonement to the Church, attacked by those, who stood by him in his offence against the Church. When, at length, a cause of difference arose between them, and after several days had been appointed to treat about peace, special messengers were sent to us; and, after a careful discussion of the matter with them, we, after full deliberation, wrote by the same messengers to Stephen Archbishop of Canterbury, and the bishops of England, ordering them to give diligent attention and efficacious assistance to restore true peace and concord between the parties; to proclaim all confederacies and conspiracies, if any had been formed, since the commencement of the dispute between the king

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and priesthood, annulled by the apostolic authority, and to forbid, under penalty of excommunication, any one to show such presumption for the future."

Having alluded to the determined resistance to the king, as exhibited by the nobles of the realm and the bishops of the Church of England, notwithstanding these circumstances, and in spite of the king's repeated assertion, that the dominion of the whole kingdom had been made over to the Church of Rome, the pope thus concludes: —

"Wherefore, as the Lord hath said, by the mouth of his prophet, 'I have set thee, over the nations and over the kingdoms, to pluck up and to destroy, to build up and to plant,' and by the mouth of another prophet, 'Break the leagues of ungodliness, and loose the heavy burdens;' we can no longer pass over in silence such audacious wickedness, committed in contempt of the apostolic see, in infringement of the rights of the king, to the disgrace of the kingdom of Israel, to the great peril of the crusade: we, therefore, with the advice of our brethren, altogether reprobate and condemn the charter; we prohibit the king, under penalty of excommunication, from observing it, and the barons from attempting to exact the observance of it; we altogether quash the charter, and pronounce it to be, with all its obligations and guarantees, null and void."

Having thus, as far as in him lay, annulled the liberties of the English realm and Church, the pope issued, under the same date, a bull directed to the barons. He repeats the substance of the former bull; and he commands the barons, as their spiritual father and suzerain lord, to renounce the Magna Charta, and to be reconciled to the king. After this, the king might be induced to listen to their petitions; and for this purpose, Innocent expresses his readiness to act as the mediator. He exhorts them to submit, lest something worse should befall them. He desires them to send proctors to the general council, now

about to be assembled; he requires them, to await the final decision of that tribunal.

Returning to England, we find John highly elated on receiving the papal bulls; and he especially rejoiced at the suspension of Langton. He caused the suspension to be proclaimed, throughout the country. To his great disappointment, however, the papal bulls were treated with contempt, by the patriots; and the phrase was current among them, "Woe unto him that justifieth the wicked for reward." When Innocent was informed of these circumstances, and heard that his advice was disregarded, and his menaces contemned, he was in a state of great irritation. He therefore issued a bull, containing a sentence of excommunication against all, who opposed the king.* Its publication was confided to the Bishop of Winchester, the Abbot of Reading and the subdeacon Pandulph. It runs thus: "We are extremely astonished and justly annoyed, that, although our well beloved son in Christ, John, the illustrious King of England, has given satisfaction beyond what was to be expected, to God and his Church, especially to our brother the Archbishop of Canterbury and his suffragan bishops, some of these very prelates, showing no due respect, if any, to the business of the holy cross, the mandate of the apostolic see, and their oath of fealty, have not rendered assistance or shown good will to the king, against the disturbers of that kingdom, which, by right of dominion, belongs to the Church of Rome, as if they were cognisant of, not to say associates in, this very conspiracy.

"Is it thus, that they protect those, who have assumed the cross? Worse than Saracens, these prelates of the Church of England would drive from his realm a king, in whom rests our best hope of deliverance for the Holy Land; there-

* The Bull is not dated either in Wendover or in the Fœdera.

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fore, that the insolence of such men may not prevail, not only to the danger of the Church of England, but also to the ruin of other kingdoms, and, above all, to the subversion of all the matters of Christ, we, on behalf of the omnipotent God the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost, and by the authority of the apostles Peter and Paul, and by our own authority, lay the fetters of excommunication, on all the disturbers of the king and kingdom of England, as well as on all accomplices and abettors of theirs, and place their possessions under the ecclesiastical interdict; and we most strictly order the archbishop aforesaid, and his fellow-bishops, by virtue of their obedience, solemnly to proclaim this our sentence, throughout all England, on every Sunday and feast-day, amidst the ringing of bells and with candles burning, until the said barons shall give satisfaction to the king, for his losses and for the injuries they have inflicted on him, and shall faithfully return to their duty. We, also, on our own behalf enjoin all the vassals of the said king, in remission of their sins, to give advice and render assistance to the said king in opposing such transgressors. And if any bishop neglects, to fulfil this our injunction, be it known to him, that he will be suspended from his episcopal duties; and the obedience of those under him will be withdrawn, because it is right, that those, who neglect their obedience to their superior should not be obeyed themselves, by their inferiors. Therefore, that the fulfilment of our mandate may not be impeded through the irresolution of any one, we have entrusted the business of excommunicating the aforesaid barons to you, together with the other matters connected with this business; charging you by these our apostolic letters, immediately, postponing all appeal, to proceed as ye may think expedient."

The pope had now placed himself, in an extraordinary and anomalous position. He had cursed the Magna

Charta; he had cursed the patriots*; he had cursed the peers of the realm, he had cursed the bishops of the Church of England; he had cursed the city of London; he had suspended, as far as he had the power, the primate. Under his name, and by his authority, the most debased and profane of the rabble of Europe were destroying bishop's palaces, plundering monasteries, keeping licentious revel in churches, and stabling their horses in cathedral stalls.† Their leaders, with the blessing of the pope upon their heads, were, John the king, a tyrant, who has never found an historian, hardy enough to attempt the vindication of his character, and Falkasius, without bowels; Savaric de Mauleon, the bloody; and Brice, the murderer; and Sottini, the merciless; and the iron-hearted Godeschal. Wherever these men — so designated by their contemporaries — went, what was before a garden was turned into a wilderness, devastated by plunder, torture, rape and murder. A contemporary tells us,—

"The whole surface of the earth was covered with these limbs of the devil, like locusts, who assembled from remote regions

* The title of patriots has been sometimes denied to Langton and his brother barons; it has been said that they had the interests of their own class only in view. But this accusation is refuted by facts, when we examine the demands, which they made upon the king, and which form the basis of Magna Charta. They demanded, that no right should be sold, delayed or denied; that the law courts should be stationary, and not follow the king's person; that no penalty should be laid on any freeman, but by the judgment of his peers, and according to law; that for all offences, only reasonable fines should be imposed, according to each man's degree, and *a villein also shall be amerced in like manner.* They demanded that new afforestations and weirs in rivers should be abolished; that weights and measures should be justly fixed, merchants protected, and freedom of passing to and from the land secured, except in case of war. There was clearly a regard, as far as circumstances would permit, to all interests and to all classes.

† Ralph of Coggeshale, p. 878. Wendover.

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to blot out everything from the face of the earth, from man down to his cattle; for, running about with drawn swords and open knives, they ransacked towns, cemeteries and churches, robbing every one, and sparing neither women nor children; the king's enemies, wherever they were found, were imprisoned in chains and compelled to pay a heavy ransom. Even the priests, while standing at the very altars, with the cross of the Lord in their hands, clad in their sacred robes, were seized, tortured, robbed and ill treated; and there was no pontiff, priest, or Levite to pour oil or wine on their wounds. They inflicted similar tortures on knights and others of every condition; some of them they hung up by the middle, some by the feet and legs, some by the hands, and some by the thumbs and arms, and then threw salt mixed with vinegar in the eyes of the wretches, taking no heed that they were made after God's image, and were distinguished by the name of Christian; others they placed on tripods or gridirons over live coals, and then bathing their roasted bodies in cold water they thus killed them; and when in their tortures the wretched creatures uttered pitiable cries and dreadful groans, there was no one to show them pity, and their torturers were satisfied with nothing but their money. Many who had worldly possessions gave them to their torturers, and were not believed when they had given their all; others, who had nothing, gave many promises, that they might at least for a short time put off the tortures they had experienced once. This persecution was general throughout England, and fathers were sold to the torture by their sons, brothers by their brothers, and citizens by their fellow-citizens. Markets and traffic ceased, and goods were exposed for sale only in church-yards. Agriculture was at a standstill, and no one dared to go beyond the limits of the churches."*

When we read of these things, we cease to wonder, that the memory of John was held in abhorrence, by succeeding generations, and we cease to regard, as mere rhetoric, the passionate expressions, by which Matthew Paris represents the barons, as giving vent to their grief. "Woe

* Wendover, ad ann. 1216.

to you, John, last of kings, detested one of the chiefs of England, disgrace of the English nobility! Alas! for England, already devastated, and to be further ravaged! Alas! England, England, till now, the chief of provinces in all kinds of wealth, thou art laid under tribute; subject not only to fire, famine, and the sword, but to the rule of ignoble slaves and foreigners, than which no curse can be worse."

The archbishop had left the country, triumphant in having carried the charter. In the sad events, which subsequently occurred, and to which allusion has just been made, the barons felt, that, in losing their head, their loss was irreparable. There was no one to supply Langton's place. Fitz-Walter, with all the valour of a soldier, was without the genius of a general or the sagacity of a statesman. The barons, thus circumstanced, were opposed to a king accustomed to the command of armies, and surrounded by experienced captains, among the foremost of whom was his bastard brother, the Earl of Salisbury. Neither must we omit to mention, that, to the last, John retained in his service some persons,—both prelates and statesmen of respectable character, especially when the barons, in seeking a leader, transferred their allegiance to the Prince of France. John, though stained with vice, was not without talent, and no human being is absolutely devoid of all virtue, when the temptation to evil is not immediately present. However detestable Satan must be, Milton is careful to represent him, as not utterly repulsive. The devil, indeed, would not be so successful as he is, unless he could sometimes transform himself into the appearance of an angel of light. It was fortunate for the country, that John, to the last, possessed friends, who by their talents and virtues secured the succession of his son to the crown, and so preserved the dynasty of the Plantagenets.

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But, with the events which happened, during the few but eventful months, which occurred between the departure of Langton from England, and the accession of Henry III., we are not concerned in these pages. Langton had not, even indirectly, a share in them.

When the primate arrived in Italy, at the end of October, he was not readmitted to the friendship of Innocent. But there was a calmness and dignity in Langton's character, that rendered him superior to any of those petty feelings, by which little minds are exasperated, under a sense of neglect, real or imaginary. The prelates, abbots, heads of religious houses, the ambassadors of kings, and the ministers of princes, were assembling in Italy, in preparation for the approaching council; and Langton, if not permitted to take his place at the pope's right hand, as was the custom with his predecessors in the see of Canterbury, was content to appear as a cardinal of the Roman see. His equanimity does not appear to have been disturbed, when the Abbot of Beaulieu and the knights Thomas Hardington and Geoffrey of Crawcombe were admitted to the council to bring their charges against their metropolitan—in the language of the day—their spiritual father. They accused him, in the name of John, whose proxies they were, of conspiring with the nobles of England, against their anointed king. They affirmed, that, in an attempt to dethrone the king, the barons acted under his encouragement and advice. They asserted, that, although he had received letters from the court of Rome, requiring him, under the penalty of ecclesiastical censure, to restrain the nobles from their persecution of the king, he refused to comply; on which he was suspended by the Bishop of Winchester and his colleagues, from the performance of divine service and from entering the church; that, then hurrying to this council, he evidently showed himself rebellious against the apostolic commands. On

hearing these, and many other allegations against him, the archbishop made no answer. The pope addressed him: "Brother, by St. Peter, you will not so easily obtain absolution from us, after having inflicted such and so many injuries, not only on the King of England himself, but also on the Church of Rome. We will, after full deliberation with our brethren, decide how we are to punish such a rash fault." At length, after having discussed the matter with his cardinals, Innocent confirmed the sentence of suspension against the archbishop.

The archbishop received the censure in dignified silence. His subsequent conduct, in maintaining the great charter, is sufficient to show, that the proceedings at Rome, made no impression upon his mind.

At the very time, when this event took place, Langton received from England a gratifying proof that the sympathies of the Church of England were with him, and that, by the independent clergy, his conduct had been approved. The archiepiscopal see of York had been vacant, from the 18th of December, 1212, and was in the custody of Bryan de Insula.* On the 18th of June, 1215, the king granted his license to the chapter, to elect an archbishop; recommending very strongly Walter de Gray, Bishop of Worcester, and chancellor. In opposition to the king, the chapter elected Simon, the brother of the Archbishop of Canterbury.

Innocent did not hesitate to annul the election, for certain reasons, which he did not think fit to mention. He desired the deputation from the chapter, who had come to Rome to maintain the cause against the envoys of the king, to proceed to a new election, or else he would provide a fit pastor for them. What followed shall be told in the words of Wendover. "The canons

* Pat. 16 Joh. et Claus. 18 Joh.; Hardy's Le Neve.

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now, as it had been before provided, postulated Walter de Gray, Bishop of Worcester, on account, as they said, of his carnal purity, as one, who had continued chaste from his birth until that time. To this the pope is said to have answered, 'By St. Peter, chastity is a great virtue, and we grant him to you.' Therefore, after receiving the pall, the said bishop returned to England, being bound, at the court of Rome, in the sum of ten thousand pounds of sterling money."

With the death of John, which took place on the 16th of October, 1216, the political life of Stephen Langton may be said to have terminated. He ceased to be a leader in the affairs of the state, and, when he appears as a politician, he acted a subordinate part. He seems always to have preferred retirement and the pursuits of a scholar, to the more stirring occupations of public life. He listened to the call of patriotism and duty; but when he knew, that the government of the country was confided to the courage, wisdom, and prudence of the great Earl of Pembroke, and that the liberties of the people were safe in the hands of the noble Hubert de Burgh; then Stephen Langton followed his own inclinations, and confined his energies to the discharge of the spiritual duties, which devolved upon him, through his episcopal office. His desire to retire from public life, it appears, induced him, at one period, to contemplate the resignation of his archbishopric.*

Langton was unable to return to England, before the year 1218.† He had remained till then, a state prisoner,

* This appears from a letter from Giraldus Cambrensis, which may be found in the Anglia Sacra, or the Works of Giraldus, published by Mr. Brewer, i. 402. It is without date; but if Wharton's calculation be correct, it belongs to 1216 or 1217. Reference is made to the new work of Giraldus, the Speculum Ecclesiæ, which was written, according to Wharton, in the 70th year of his age, 1217.

† Chron. Mailros, p. 196.

at Rome.* He landed at Dover, in May, and met with a reception, which showed how highly his exertions, as a patriot, had been appreciated by the people, and that the papal maledictions had fallen harmless, on the Church of England.

Soon after the archbishop's return, at Michaelmas 1218, a council was held, in London, probably at his suggestion, at which, the Magna Charta was solemnly confirmed, in the name of the young king. To this document the archbishop affixed his official seal.* The papal rejection of Magna Charta had no effect, on the mind of our patriotic prelate. The first public act of the archbishop, in the new reign, was the last, or nearly the last, of the great Earl of Pembroke. These two great men acted together, having one object in view,—security for the laws and liberties of the land, during the minority.

The young king had been hastily crowned at Gloucester, on the tenth day after his father's death. On the 17th of May, 1220, he was again crowned by Stephen Langton. We have seen, that the kings of England, during the Norman period, frequently appeared with their crowns, and that the crown, on all great and public occasions, was placed upon their heads, with some amount of ceremony, by the Archbishop of Canterbury, or by some prelate deputed by him. But, on these occasions, the unction was not repeated; and it was, through the unction, that, on the inauguration of a sovereign, a quasi-sacerdotal character was imparted to the king. Any irregularity in a coronation, thus regarded, might be attended with disastrous consequences; and to remove all doubts, which might arise, from the hurried manner, in which the first coronation had been conducted, Henry was again crowned and anointed. There was to be no question, as to

* M. Paris, ad ann. 1216. ‡ Ann. Wav. 1218.

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the fact of his being the anointed king of England. How important this measure was, as an act of policy, will be apparent at once, if we bear in mind, that Henry III. had no hereditary right to the throne,— no right beyond that of election, confirmed by his unction. Elected by Church and State, his title was good, but not beyond dispute. The heiress to the throne was a prisoner in one of Henry's castles*; but she was a high-spirited person,

* The Princess Eleanor was kept in restraint, during her whole life; but the entries, in the Close Rolls, refute the assertion, made by some writers, that she was deprived of the necessaries of life. The following notices are interesting, as suggestive of the manners of the age: — "The Mayor of Winchester is commanded to send in haste to the king, for the use of his niece Elianor, and the two daughters of the King of Scotland, robes of dark green, namely, tunics and supertunics, with capes of cambric, and fur of miniver, and twenty-three yards of good linen cloth; also, for the use of the king's niece, one good cap of dark brown, furred with miniver, and one hood for rainy weather, for the use of the same; besides robes of bright green for the use of her three waiting maids, namely, tunics and supertunics, and cloaks, with caps of miniver, or rabbit skins, and furs of lamb's skin; and thin shoes for the use of the daughters of the King of Scotland, the king's niece, and her three waiting maids; and also for the king's niece, one saddle with gilded reins; and the mayor is to come himself, with all the above articles to Corfe, there to receive the money for the cost of the same."—6th July, 15 John. "The mayor and reeves of Winchester are ordered to send, without delay, to Corfe constabulary, for the use of the king's niece, a beautiful saddle, with scarlet ornaments and gilded reins."—9th Aug. 15 John. "Peter de Maulay is commanded to procure for the king's niece, who is in the custody of Robert de Vipont, one scarlet robe, namely, a cloak, and a tunic with cendal, and another for the wife of Robert de Vipont; and also, for the king's niece, some good and fine linen cloth, enough to make four or five chemises and four sheets, not, however, of the king's finest cloth, but rather, if they have none suited for this, except the king's finest cloth, to purchase it as good as they can with the king's money; and she is also to have two pair of boots delivered to her by the messenger of Robert de Vipont, the bearer of this order."—15th July, 16 John. "The treasurer and chamberlains are ordered to pay to Andrew Bukerel, 6*l.* 14*s.* 2*d.*, which he laid out, by the king's command, in the following articles; namely, a silken couch,

who, if an opportunity were to occur, was quite prepared to contest the throne, with all the spirit of her great-grandmother, the Empress Maude. Eleanor, the fair maid of Brittany, was the sister of Prince Arthur, whom John had murdered. On the death of Arthur, the rights of the house of Plantagenet devolved upon her.

The event is thus quaintly mentioned by Capgrave. "In the third year of his regne Henry was crowned again at Westminster by Steven Langdon, Bischop of Cantirbury, for certyn causes which we rehersed before. And in that same year the Blake Munkys had hir first chapter at Oxeforth for reformation of the order."

The determination of Stephen Langton, in spite of all papal maledictions against the Magna Charta, to uphold that great instrument of British freedom, is shown in what must have been one of the last acts of his political life.

There was an inclination on the part of some officers of the crown, to infringe, upon some of the provisions of the great charter. At a court held by the king at Lon-

price 1*l.* 10*s.* 1*d.*, and delivered to John de Cundi, for the use of Elianor the king's cousin, and Isabella daughter of the King of Scotland; two coverlets of fine linen, price 2*l.* 2*s.* 1*d.*, likewise for their use; and six yards and a half of scarlet, price 1*l.* 3*s.*, to make two coverlets, also for the use of the same; and in six yards and a half of dark green, price 13*s.*, to make a robe for the use of their waiting-maid; one fur of lambskin, price 4*s.*, for the use of the same waiting-maid; and forty yards of linen cloth, price 21*s.*, for the use of the same Elianor and Isabella."—8th Dec. 6 Hen. III.

The Barons of the Exchequer are ordered to account to the sheriff for certain sums of money expended by him, in gloves, boots, silk, and other necessaries, for the use of Elianor, the king's cousin, and also 12*l.* which he laid out by the king's order, in the expenses of the same Elianor, during a period of twenty-six days, viz., from Sunday, the morrow of St. John the Baptist, in the seventh year of the king's reign, until Thursday the feast of St. Margaret, both days inclusive. Cirencester, 23rd July, 7 Hen. III.; Hardy, Introd. to Close Rolls.

don, in the year 1223, the archbishop, in the name of the assembled barons, required, that the royal confirmation of the charter should be renewed. A member of the council, William Brewer, had the boldness to reply: "The liberties you demand were extorted by force, and ought not, of right, to be observed." The aged primate, remembering the miseries of the late reign, was visibly affected, and turning to the speaker, gravely, but with great dignity, rebuked him. "William, if you really love the king, you will not seek to disturb the peace of the kingdom." The young king was moved, and, interposing, he said:—"We have sworn to observe all these liberties, and what we have sworn we are bound to abide by." He then immediately held a council, and sent letters to each sheriff in the kingdom, ordering them to cause an inquisition to be made, on oath, by twelve knights or liegemen of each county, as to what liberties there existed, in the time of King Henry, his grandfather, and to send the particulars of the inquisition to him, at London, within fifteen days after Easter.

There is another event, which, though connected with the Church, may be called a political transaction, in which Langton bore a prominent though a subordinate part. "One Master Otho," * as he was called, appeared in England at the close of the year 1225 with certain proposals to the king and the archbishop. The proposals

* This Otho is not to be confounded with the author of the legatine constitutions of 1237, or, if he were the same person, he discharged the office of legate on two separate occasions. A demand, similar to the above, was made upon the Church of France, immediately after the Council of Bourges, which was held in November 1225, and was indignantly rejected by the Gallican Church. Labbe, tom. xi. conc. p. 291. The idea of diverting the prebends of cathedrals to ecclesiastical purposes, other than those, for which they were originally established, which has been adopted in our own time, occurred to legislators, in various shapes, at different periods of our Church history.

were of a character, so extraordinary, that they took all parties by surprise, and, by the advice of the archbishop, the consideration of them was relegated to the Curia Regis. A council, to consist of clergy, and laity, was convened, to meet on the octaves of Epiphany 1226.

The day came, and the parties assembled, but the king was too unwell to attend, and an adjournment took place. But as many of the nobility and the clergy not aware of the intended prorogation, had come to the place of assembly, a private meeting was held, and before the persons, there assembled, Master Otho laid his business. He produced letters signed by the pope, in which were fully admitted the scandal and great abuses of the Church of Rome. The authorities of that Church pleaded guilty to the charge of avarice, and avarice, it was asserted, is the root of all evil. It was conceded, that no one could manage any business, at the court of Rome, without a lavish expenditure of money and large presents. To this confession of sin, by the Church of Rome, a ready assent was given. No one doubted the fact. The proposed remedy was now to be stated: "Since the poverty of the Roman Church is the cause of this offence and evil name, it is the duty of all to alleviate the wants of their mother and father as natural sons, because, unless we received presents from you and other good and honourable men, we should be in want of the necessaries of life, which would be altogether inconsistent with the dignity of the Roman Church. In order, therefore, utterly to destroy this abuse, we, by the advice of our brethren the cardinals of the holy Roman Church, have provided certain terms, to which, if you will agree, you may free your mother from insult, and obtain justice, at the court of Rome, without the necessity of making presents. Our provided terms are these: in the first place, we require two prebends to be granted to us from all cathedral churches,

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one from the portion of the bishop, and another from the chapter, and from monasteries in the same way, where there are different portions for the abbot and the convent; and from convents, the share of one monk, on an equal distribution being made of their property, and the same from the abbot.

"After making these proposals, Master Otho, on behalf of our lord the pope, advised the prelates to consent, setting forth the above-mentioned advantages contained in the letters. The bishops and prelates of the Church of England, who were present in person, then moved apart to consult on the matter; and, after having deliberated on the proposals for some time, they deputed John, Archdeacon of Bedford, to give their answer. He went before Master Otho, and gave the following reply to his demands:—'My lord, the things, which you set forth to us, refer to the king in particular, and to all the patrons of the Church in general; they refer to the archbishops and their suffragans, and the prelates of England. Since, therefore, the king, on account of illness, and some of the archbishops and bishops and other prelates of the Church are absent, we cannot and ought not, in their absence, give you an answer, for, if we were to presume so to do, it would be to the injury of all who are absent.' After this, John Marshall and other messengers of the king, were sent to all the prelates, who held baronies in chief, to warn them, that the king strictly forbade them to engage their lay fee to the Church of Rome, by which the king would be deprived of the service, which was due to himself. Master Otho, on hearing this, appointed a day, in the middle of June, for those, who were then present to meet, when he would procure the presence of the king and the absent prelates, that the affair might be brought to a conclusion; they, however, would not agree to the day proposed, without the consent of the king, and of the

others who were absent. And so they took their departure." *

Before any council was convened, Master Otho, to his great indignation and disgust, was recalled to Rome. The reason for his recall is not assigned; but, before he went, he handed over to the archbishop, the letters of the pope, urging him to lay the matter before the king, and the prelates, and to send the answer to Rome.

A council was, accordingly, held at Westminster, soon after Easter. The archbishop, without note or comment, laid the letters before the assembly. The perusal of them excited great merriment and loud fits of laughter, especially, when some one, denouncing the insatiable appetite for gold, which the Romans displayed, proceeded to remark that the authorities of the Church of Rome understood not the moral,

> "Not wealth, but virtue, makes a man content,
> Not want, but lust of lucre, makes him poor."

A committee was named by the king, consisting of the prelates and of some of the nobles. They soon produced their answer to the papal demand, which the archbishop must have read with a complacent smile: "These grants, to which our assent is asked by the pope, concern the whole Christian community; and as we are situated in an extreme corner of the world, we will see how other kingdoms act, in regard to these demands; and when we have their example, our lord the pope shall find us more ready in our acquiescence with his demands than others."

The assembly separated.

III. When we pass on to the ecclesiastical administration of Langton, we fail to find the same self-reliance, determination and foresight, by which he was distinguished as a statesman. As a statesman, he was in advance of his

* Wendover, ad ann.

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age, but as an ecclesiastic and a theologian, although the intellect of Europe was now beginning to awake, he remained either unable or unwilling to rise above that credulity, which is, in reality, as much opposed as scepticism itself, to the development of truth.

Soon after his return to England, we find the archbishop acting, under a commission with John Abbot of Fountains, to make inquiry into the miracles performed at the tomb of Hugh, Bishop of Lincoln, whose reputation for sanctity had procured him, at a former period of Langton's history, a funeral, which kings and prelates had honoured with their presence. The result of the inquisition we have, in the following warrant issued from the court of Rome: —

"Honorius, Bishop, servant of the servants of God, to all his beloved and faithful children in Christ to whom these presents shall come, health and the apostolic benediction:

"The divine mercy glorifies with miracles on earth, the holy and elect, who are now placed in celestial felicity, that the devotion of the faithful may be thereby excited to ask for their intercession. Whereas, we have enrolled in the number of saints Hugh, Bishop of Lincoln, of sacred memory, whom, as it is plainly evident to us, the divine goodness has rendered illustrious by the number of his glorious miracles, as well during his life, as after he had put off the garb of mortality, we command, and, in the name of the Lord, exhort the whole brotherhood of you, devoutly to implore his mediation with God; and, in addition to this, we order that, from the day of his death, a feast in honour of him shall be solemnly observed each year thenceforth.

"Given at Viterbo, this seventeenth of February, in the fourth year of our pontificate." *

Soon after the circumstances just related, that occurrence took place, which, in the opinion of the religious world, for three centuries, made the episcopate of Langton

* Wendover, ad ann. 1220.

more memorable, than the real event of his life—the Magna Charta.

From the date of the conquest, the popularity of the Church, and of its rulers, had been ever on the increase. The reaction, which brought both the Church and its rulers into discredit and disgrace, the subject of our next book, had not yet commenced. The people were oppressed, first by the barons, then by the kings, and often by both. Although many of the leading ecclesiastics had become, at one time, little better than the barons, while from their number kings selected their counsellors, and sometimes their generals, the Church, in its corporate capacity, had ever been on the side of the poor; it was the means, through which, the slave passed into the freeman, and through which, the poverty-stricken freeman rose to wealth, to honour, and to an association with princes. It had been, though not always in the right, yet steady in its opposition to oppressive governments. Of the Church alone the oppressors of the people had stood in awe. It represented the popular party in the state. Even the crusading prelates Baldwin and Hubert were revered as heroes, because the crusade was a popular movement, —one of the means, through which, the humbler classes might rise to the higher positions of society.

As John had become, in the public mind, the personification of tyranny, so had Thomas à Becket presented to the popular imagination, the ideal of a patriot. Illustrious princes had knelt before the tomb of St. Thomas, to conciliate, if possible, one, whom they supposed, in their superstition, to be still fighting against them, in the world beyond the grave; and when the people saw Henry, Richard, John, bowing down before the opponent of their despotism, they felt, in the homage paid to their patron saint, their own triumph and substantial power. Encouraging and sharing a profitable credulity, they proclaimed

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the miracles of St. Thomas of Canterbury to be numberless, and they worshipped the hero, with enthusiasm and devotion.

Legends superseded history. Becket's faults were forgotten. His one principle of opposition to kingly power was alone remembered. Devout men, believing in his merits, approached his grave with their *ora pro nobis.* Sickly invalids, believing in the miraculous powers attached to his dead bones, sought, and sometimes found, relief. The monks of Christchurch, in their opposition to the monks of St. Augustine's, repeated as truths, and sometimes believed, the exaggerated statements of a credulous multitude.

Throughout Europe, the spirit of liberty, as well as the spirit of inquiry, had been awakened in the people, who, associated in the crusades, had learned their strength. Everywhere, there existed a tendency to exaggerate the merits of the people's saint. Consequently, not in England only, but in all parts of the continent, an interest was taken in the proceedings at Canterbury, when it was reported, that a chapel was to be attached to the cathedral, and, that there the body of St. Thomas, the most illustrious of saints, was to be enshrined.

Almost immediately after his return to England, Langton had published an edict declaring, that the translation of St. Thomas of Canterbury would take place on the 7th of July, 1220. As the day approached, the archbishop, with his habitual foresight and precaution, prepared for an event, which, unless it were well conducted, would, owing to the influx of all sorts of persons from all parts of England, and from every quarter of the continent, be attended by consequences, likely to be disastrous. A needy multitude might soon be converted into a band of hungry robbers. The archbishop, therefore, collected, from all his manors and possessions, all that was possible for the enter-

tainment of so vast a multitude. He borrowed such large sums of money, that his successors were heard to complain, scarcely with justice, of their being impoverished by a munificence, which compelled them to pay their fair quota towards the glories in which they shared, as belonging to their see.*

We see the mind of the statesman displayed in its forecast, and in a minute attention to all details; in the provision made for a supply of hay and provender, wherever there was a relay of horses, between London and Canterbury; in the precaution, which permitted wine only to be obtained in licenced cellars; although such was the archbishop's hospitality, that on the feast day itself, wine and food might be had by all comers only for the asking.

We are not in possession of any authentic records, bearing upon the translation of St. Thomas of Canterbury, beyond the general historical statements.† But all agree in stating, that the concourse of people from all nations was such, as had never been seen in England before. For fifty years, the corpse had lain in the under crypt of the cathedral; on the night of the 6th of July, it was removed as privately as possible.‡ This was done by the prior, Walter, and the monks, in the presence of the archbishop and of the Bishop of Salisbury. The bones and the skull

* Knyghton, 2730.

† If any details could have been collected, they would have been presented to us in the deeply interesting chapter, on the shrine of Becket, in Professor Stanley's "Memorials of Canterbury."

‡ "The king went from thence to Canterbury, and the high men also,
To take up the body of St. Thomas, and place it in a shrine:
Before this he had lain in the earth enshrined fifty years.
Of England and of France many people came there,
That all the neighbourhood would scarcely contain them;
Therefore they took him up privately by night."

Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle, 100—15.

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were placed in a chest of iron, and carried, probably, to the west door of the cathedral, where they were left, till the morrow.

On the morrow, the 7th of July, the iron coffin was raised on the shoulders of some of the first lords of the land, and borne to the chapel, at the east end of the cathedral, beyond the high altar. The king was present, the Archbishop of Rheims, nearly all the bishops of the Church of England (Pandulph being one of them, as Bishop elect of Norwich), and the justiciary, Hubert de Burgh. The part each person sustained in the ceremonial, is not stated. As it is mentioned, however, that the king, on account of his tender age, was not permitted to carry the coffin, we may infer, that the persons just mentioned were the bearers, relieving one another, from time to time. When they entered the chapel, they found the new shrine, behind the altar, supported on stone work about six feet high, — a gorgeous work of gold and silver, already set with precious stones. Here they deposited their load. The service of the day then commenced, being conducted by the Archbishop of Rheims.

The following year, the archbishop returned to Canterbury and preached the anniversary sermon. The substance of this sermon he published afterwards in the shape of a tract; and a very dry sermon it must have been.* There does not, indeed, appear to have been much of demonstrative enthusiasm in Langton's character; or, upon such an occasion as this, the critic would have been absorbed in the orator. Instead of appealing to the feelings, he indulged his taste, by placing forced constructions on the various passages of the Bible, which, however, he quotes with

* It is entitled, "Stephani Langton, Archiepiscopi Cantuariensis, tractatus de translatione Beati Thomæ." It is to be found in Giles's works of Thomas à Becket, ii. 269. See also Ep. et Vita S. Thomæ, ed. Lupus, ii. 901.

the case of one, whose acquaintance with scripture was profound.

Archbishop Langton was present at two councils: at one he assisted, at the other he presided. They were both of them important synods.

The fourth Lateran council commenced its meetings, when Langton was at Rome, on the 11th of November, 1215, in St. Saviour's church. It completed its session on the 30th of the same month. It is chiefly distinguished as being the council, in which the first synodical authorisation of the doctrine of transubstantiation occurs; and in which was passed the canon known, from the words with which it commences, as the canon "Omnis utriusque sexus,"— the first which enjoined generally sacramental confession.*

The first canon asserts that

"There is one universal church of the faithful, out of which no one at all is saved. In which Jesus Christ himself is at once priest and sacrifice: whose body and blood in the sacrament of the altar are truly contained under the species of bread and wine, which, through the Divine power, are transubstantiated†,

* The canons of this council were drawn up by Innocent himself, who submitted them to the meeting, without permitting any debate to ensue. The silence of the assembled prelates was taken for their assent. The consequence was, that these canons came to be regarded simply as the constitutions of Innocent. Because they were not made in council, or discussed *conciliariter*, they have never been regarded as entitled to the authority, whatever that may be, of synodical canons. They are not found, in the first collection of councils and canons, that of Jacobus Merlin, in the early part of sixteenth century: they were first published, under the name of the Lateran Council, by Johannes Cochlæus, in 1538. See M. Paris, p. 272; Platina in Vit. Innoc. III.; Du Pin, cent. xiii. p. 95.

† The doctrine of transubstantiation was not by this council made an article of faith. Considerable latitude of opinion upon the subject continued to exist, for some time afterwards. In the fourteenth century, Occam says:—"There are three ideas about transubstantiation, of

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the bread into the body, and the wine into the blood, that, for the fulfilment of the mystery of unity, we may receive of His, that which He received of ours."*

The canon concerning confession is as follows: —

"Let every believer of both sexes, after he has come to years of discretion, faithfully make solitary confession of all his sins, at least once in the year, to his own priest, and study to the utmost of his power to fulfill the penance enjoined him, reverently receiving the sacrament of the Eucharist, at least at Easter, unless, perchance, at the advice of his own priest, he shall be induced to abstain from the receiving it, for a time, on some reasonable account: otherwise let him, while living, be denied entrance into the church, and at death be deprived of

which the first supposeth a conversion of the sacramental elements; the second the annihilation; the third affirmeth the bread to be in such manner transubstantiated into the body of Christ, that it is no way changed in substance, or substantially converted into Christ's body, or doth cease to be, but only that the body of Christ, in every part of it, becomes present in every part of the bread."—*Occam, Centiloquii Conclus.* cap. 39. In the fifteenth century, Waldensis says:—"That some supposed the conversion that is in the sacrament to be in that the bread and wine are assumed into the unity of Christ's person; some thought it to be by way of impanation, and some by way of figurative and tropical appellation. The first and second opinions found the better entertainment in some men's minds, because they grant the essential presence of Christ's body, and yet deny not the presence of the bread still remaining to sustain the appearing accidents."—*Waldensis, De Sacram. Eucharistiæ*, tom. ii. c. 64. There are some Protestants, who would rest satisfied with the dictum of Peter Lombard, the Master of the Sentences, who wrote about sixty years before this council. "If it be inquired of what kind is this conversion, whether formal or substantial, or otherwise, I am unable to define. If you inquire, in what manner this can take place, I briefly answer, this mystery of the faith can safely be believed, but not safely investigated."

* "Una vero est fidelium universalis Ecclesia, extra quam nullus omnino salvatur. In qua idem ipse sacerdos et sacrificium Jesus Christus: cujus corpus et sanguis in sacramento altaris sub speciebus panis et vini veraciter continentur; transubstantiatis, pane in corpus, vino in sanguinem, potestate divina, ut ad perficiendum mysterium unitatis accipiamus ipsi de Suo quod accepit de nostro."—*Conc.* xi. 143.

Christian burial... But let the priest be discreet and wary, that, like a skilful physician, he may pour in wine and oil upon the wounds of the injured person; diligently inquiring the circumstances, both of the sinner and the sin, by which he may prudently understand, what sort of advice he ought to offer him, and what kind of remedy to apply, using different experiments for the cure of the sick person."*

As bearing upon future controversies, the ninth canon is remarkable: "Because, in most parts, there are, within the same state or diocese, people of different languages mixed together, having, under one faith, various rites and customs: we distinctly charge, that the bishops of these dioceses provide proper persons to celebrate the divine offices, and administer the sacraments of the church, according to the differences of rites and languages, instructing them both by word and by example.†

The council, at which Archbishop Langton presided was convened at Osney, near Oxford. It assembled, on

* "Omnis utriusque sexus fidelis, postquam ad annos discretionis pervenerit, omnia sua solus peccata confiteatur fideliter, saltem semel in anno, proprio sacerdoti, et injunctam sibi pœnitentiam studeat pro viribus adimplere, suscipiens reverenter ad minus in Pascha eucharistiæ sacramentum: nisi forte de consilio proprii sacerdotis, ob aliquam rationabilem causam ad tempus ab ejus perceptione duxerit abstinendum: alioquin, et vivens ab ingressu Ecclesia arceatur, et moriens Christiana careat sepultura. . . . Sacerdos autem sit discretus et cautus, ut more periti medici superinfundat vinum et oleum vulneribus sauciati: diligenter inquirens et peccatoris circumstantias et peccati, per quas prudenter intelligat, quale illi consilium debeat exhibere, et cujusmodi remedium adhibere, diversis experimentis utendo ad sanandum ægrotum."

† "Quoniam in plerisque partibus intra eamdem civitatem sive diœcesim permixti sunt populi diversarum linguarum, habentes sub una fide varios ritus et mores; destricte præcipimus, ut pontifices hujusmodi civitatum sive diœcesim provideant viros idoneos, qui secundum diversitates rituum et linguarum divina officia illis celebrent, et ecclesiastica sacramenta ministrent, instruendo eos verbo pariter et exemplo."—*Conc.* xi. 161.

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the 11th of June, 1222.* The preamble confirms the historical statements of the dreadful state to which society was reduced in the time of King John. It excommunicates: —

"All that violate sanctuaries, or take goods or men from thence; all that seize on the goods of clergymen or of their tenants (and especially of such as dwell on the bishop's lands), unjustly, or do any ways molest their persons; and also all thieves, robbers, freebooters, incendiaries, sacrilegious and falsarious persons, with their principals, receivers, defenders, accomplices and partakers; those especially, who *keep robbers on their lands, in their castles, or houses, or are sharers with them, or lords over them;* and all that injuriously disturb the peace of the king, or endeavour to withhold the rights of our sovereign lord or of his realm."

The character of many baronial castles may be further inferred, from the twenty-first canon: —

"We forbid, with threat of anathema, any one to retain robbers in his service for committing robberies, or knowingly to let them dwell on his lands."

The first canon has reference to the prelacy, and ordains that, —

"Every prelate have his almoners, and that prelates themselves be hospitable, and, at convenient seasons, hear the causes of the poor, and do them justice in public, and sometimes hear confessions and give penance, and frequently have their own sores healed by proper confessors, and be careful to reside in their cathedrals on some of the double feasts, and some part at least of Lent, as they shall see best for their souls; and that they cause the profession, which they made, at their consecration, to be read to them twice a year, that the oftener they hear it the better they may remember it."

* Labbe and Cossart, tom. xi. Conc. p. 270; Wilkin's Conc. i. 585; Spelman, ii. 181. These are the first constitutions inserted in Lyndwood's Provinciale.

The 28th relates to clerical dress *:—

"We decree, by the authority of this present council, that archdeacons, deans, all parsons and dignified men, all rural deans and priests go in a decent habit, with close capes; the same is to be observed by the officials of archdeacons, when in consistory, and let none of these nor any other clerks wear long hair, but be decently clipped and crowned, unless they disguise themselves out of a just fear. Let them also abstain from immoderate eating and drinking, and be compelled to the diligent observance of all these particulars, by their superiors, according to the direction of the general council."

As corresponding with this, we quote the following from the 32nd canon:—

"We decree, that nuns and other religious women wear no silk veils, nor needles of silver or gold in their veils; that neither monks nor canons regular have girdles of silk, or garnished with gold or silver, nor use burnet, or any irregular cloth. Let the dimensions of their clothes be commensurate to their bodies, not longer than to cover their feet, like Joseph's coat, which came down to the ankles. Only the nun may wear a ring, and but one. Let the offenders be subject to regular discipline, if they mend not on admonition."

A regulation, with respect to the Jews, appears in the Oxford copy of the canons, which is remarkable as showing that churches were sometimes used as warehouses by merchants seeking security in a sanctuary.

"To prevent the mixture of the Jewish men and women with Christians of each sex, we charge, by authority of the general council, the Jews of both sexes to wear a linen cloth, two inches broad, four fingers long, of a different colour from their own clothes, on their upper garment, before their breast; and that

* Lyndwood asserts that no colours were forbidden the clergy, but red and green, though they were not to wear striped or parti-coloured garments.

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they may be compelled to this, by ecclesiastical censure. And let them not presume to enter into any church, and to lodge their goods there. If they do, let them be corrected by the bishop."

In the 30th canon, allusion is made to the married clergy:—

"Whereas some do (which we cannot speak without tears) spend their ecclesiastical revenues in building houses on lay fees for their sons, nephews, nay, for their concubines, and so misapply the goods of the church designed for the use of the poor; now we decree, that they who are suspected to do this, or to give money for the doing of it, be punished, at the discretion of their superiors, unless they make their purgation at his discretion."

Here, and in the 28th canon, the wives of the clergy are spoken of as concubines: and as an effectual enforcement of clerical celibacy, which had hitherto failed, in spite of councils and of popes, the penalty was made to fall not only on the clergy themselves, but also on their wives, now held up to public opprobrium:—

"Let not clergymen that are beneficed, or in holy orders, publicly keep concubines in their lodgings, or have public access to them with scandal anywhere else. If the concubines, after admonition publicly given, do not get them gone, let them be expelled from the churches, and not be admitted to the sacraments. If they still persist, let them be excommunicated, and the secular arm be invoked against them. As to the clergymen themselves, let them, after admonition, be restrained by a subtraction of their benefice."

I have reserved this regulation of the council for our consideration in the last place, because Langton, himself an austere man and an ascetic, added to the severity of the council, when he put the canon in force. He issued a warrant to the following effect:—

"The concubines of priests and clerks, who are in holy orders and endowed with benefices, shall not receive church burial, unless they truly reform their lives, or show such repentance, in their last days, as will entitle them to a dispensation. Moreover, they shall not be admitted to the kiss of peace, nor shall they partake of the consecrated bread in the church, as long as their paramours keep them in their houses, or openly, elsewhere. Also, if they bring forth children, they shall not be purified, unless they shall previously give to the archdeacon or his official, sufficient security that they will make proper reparation at the next chapter, after their purification. Moreover, all priests in whose parishes the concubines of such persons dwell, unless they give notice of it to the archdeacon or his official, shall be suspended; and before they are absolved, they shall be subjected to severe penance." *

This council, and the archbishop who presided at it, are amenable to a yet graver charge. A deacon was presented for apostasy. He had been deeply in love, and the object of his affections was a Jewess, such as Walter Scott has described in Rebecca. She would not condescend to become the despised wife, repudiated and proscribed by society, of a Christian clergyman, and no hopes, therefore, could be entertained of converting her to Christianity. Consequently, her lover professed to be a Jew and was circumcised. He was convicted before the council, and, being first degraded, was afterwards sentenced to the stake by the secular court and burnt accordingly. Church and State thus united in this judicial act, by which a man was condemned to death for an offence against religion.† We condemn the action; but when we remember, that our

* Wendover, ad ann. 1225.

† Chron. Wikes, p. 39. This was not, as I, at one time, supposed, the first instance. It appears from the Liber de Antiquis Legibus ad annum, 1210, p. 3, that a case of burning for heresy, took place during the interdict: — "Hoc anno concrematus est quidem Ambigensis apud Londonias." Ambigensis means, of course, Albigensis.

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own fathers were accustomed to pronounce sentence of death, upon the sheep-stealer, the poacher, even upon one, who should commit an act of felony, by destroying a young ash tree, we must not feel surprise, that there was no one, among the contemporaries of Langton, who exclaimed against the judgment pronounced, upon an apostate minister of the Gospel. George III., a man of piety and benevolence, refused to give ear to the many petitions presented to him, in behalf of the unfortunate but criminal Dr. Dodd, on the ground, that the commercial interests of the country demanded his execution. No petitions were addressed to Henry III., when the spiritual authorities handed over to his courts, the apostate deacon, because men supposed, that the time had come, when the spiritual welfare of the country required an example to be made. The age was ceasing to be an age of credulity, and men knew not what was to ensue. The crusades had not terminated in the conquest or the conversion of the Saracens, but, on the contrary, oriental sciences and modes of thought had been imported into Europe. The European mind was awakened; and the direction, which it was taking, was not always satisfactory. Richard I. was accused of having acquired many oriental tastes and habits; John was said to have meditated apostacy to Mahometanism; other distinguished persons had shown, that Christianity hung but loosely upon them. It was not for heresy, but for apostasy, that the awful sentence was, in this instance, pronounced*, but per-

* The following statement occurs in Capgrave: — "In the sext yere Stevene, Bischop of Cauntirbiry, held a councel at Osney, where a dekne was accused, that for love he had to a yong woman, doutyr to a Jew, he suffered him to circumcide him, and deneyed Crist and his baptism, and took the Sacrament of the auter, and broute it to the Jewis; and for these enormes was he brent. There was accused eke a carl that procured men to nayle him on a crosse; for in handis and feet were seyn the woundes of the nayles, and in his side a wound eke; and in his fonnednesse he wold sey that he was so arrayed for savacion of the

secution for heresy, that is, for the exercise of private judgment and opinion in religious matters, had already commenced, under the auspices of Innocent III. Only a short time before, by his direction, the heretical Albigenses were treated like the infidel Saracens; and war against them was regarded, as a meritorious crusade. The notice of this subject will come more particularly before us in the succeeding chapter.

The same statement is applicable to the case of the Dominicans and Franciscans; who made their first appearance in England, towards the close of Langton's life and met with the cordial patronage of the archbishop.* The general principle of these new and important orders, with their development and corruption, will come under consideration at a future period of our history. It is sufficient here to remark, that the attention of the archbishop had been called to the miserable condition of a large portion of the population, in our larger towns and cities.

The suburbs were crowded with wretched beings, who had fled from the tyranny of the feudal baron, without means of earning an honest livelihood; they were the patients and the propagators of disease, — the wretched victims and eager perpetrators of crime.

The monasteries had done much, in protecting and civilising the rural population; but the monasteries were inefficient in the towns, except as schools and places of learning. The parochial clergy were at a loss, to know how the acknowledged evil was to be met.

For this work, the Franciscans now presented themselves.† They proposed to win the confidence of the out-

world. He was put in prison for evyr, and nevyr to have othir repast but bread and watir."—*Capgrave, Chron.* ad ann.

* See Mr. Brewer's interesting Introduction to the Monumenta Franciscana.

† They were called Franciscans, from their founder, Francis of Assisi; Grey Friars, from the colour of their dress; Minorites as the

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casts, by reducing themselves, to the same condition of temporal destitution. By devoting themselves especially to an attendance on leprous patients, at a time when the leprosy was a plague, from the mere sight of which most men shrank, they hoped to obtain a hearing for the gospel. They were not only diligent preachers, but, leaving the refinements of the schools, they addressed men everywhere, in the vulgar tongue, and at first with marvellous success.

Four clerks and five laymen of this order landed at Dover on the 11th of September, 1224.* Their passage had been paid by the charity of some monks of Fescamp, who were well aware how valuable would be their services in England. They proceeded to Canterbury, and presented themselves to the clergy of the cathedral. They were, as a matter of course, admitted as guests into the monastery, but not to an equality with the dignified monks. A small room beneath the school-house, near the priest's hospital, was assigned to them. Here, on an evening, some of the scholars joined them. When they had finished the scanty fare doled out to them by the charity of the monks, they kindled a fire and warmed their beer. The cup went merrily round, all drinking from one pot, for it was part of their rule, wherever they might be, to make themselves agreeable and happy.†

humblest and youngest of religious foundations. See Brewer's Introduction to the Monumenta Franciscana.

* Eccleston, De Adventu Minorum, 7. In 1256, only thirty-two years afterwards, the number of Franciscans in England amounted to 1242. The order is mentioned by Wendover and M. Paris, as founded in 1207. But although Francis of Assisi may have obtained so early as this, a verbal authorisation of his plans, from Innocent III., he only numbered eleven followers in 1210, and the formal recognition of the order did not take place till 1223, one year before the founder's death. See Luke Wadding, Annales Minorum.

† Their maxim was, "Tria sunt necessaria ad salutem temporalem; cibus, somnus et jocus."—*Pegge, Life of Grostete*, p. 23.

Four of their number, after resting a couple of days, proceeded to London. Here they sought the hospitality of the Dominicans, who, destined hereafter to be the rivals and opponents of their order, at this time befriended them. Fourteen Dominicans had arrived in England, in the year 1221. Their prior, Gilbert, preached before Langton, and the archbishop, a practical man, at once perceived how the new style of preaching, vulgar and coarse, as it appeared to many, was adapted to the circumstances of the time. He immediately gave permission to the prior and his companions, to preach freely throughout his province. The Franciscans did not receive, in London, a more convenient lodging, than that which had been accorded to them at Canterbury. They were placed in a dilapidated house on Cornhill, in which they formed separate cells, stuffing the interstices with grass. "I have seen them," says Eccleston, "drink beer so sour, that some preferred water; their bread also was of the inferior kind, 'quam tortam vulgus vocat.'"

They succeeded, however, in adding a novice to their number. They had, probably, been introduced to the archbishop by the prior Gilbert. At all events, they now waited upon him, with the request that the novice, Solomon, might be accepted as an acolyte. They met with a most gracious reception from the archbishop. He immediately advanced Solomon to the order, with these words, "Apostolatum accedat frater Solomon de ordine apostolorum."* The brethren were hospitably entertained

* The zeal of Solomon was greater than his wisdom. He was evidently unequal to sustain the hardships to which he devoted himself. He felt the effects of this walk through the snow for two years. One of his feet became diseased, probably frost-bitten. The surgeon at length advised amputation. The axe had not yet gone out of use in such cases. It was about to be applied, and the foot was uncovered. Fortunately the fester then broke, and the patient recovered without an operation.

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at the archbishop's own table, and then returned home, barefooted, through the deep snow.

The close of the archbishop's eventful life was rendered happy by his being restored to the society of his brother, Simon. Simon Langton, after his ejection from the see of York, through the interference of King John and the pope, embraced the cause of Louis of France, whose chancellor he became. He seems to have lacked the discretion and sound judgment of his brother, or his conduct may have been influenced by his feelings of disappointment. On the settlement of the kingdom, by the coronation of Henry III., the pseudo-chancellor found it necessary to quit the country, to which he could not return without the royal permission.

Although the permission was not obtained, before the year 1223, it was then granted in gracious terms, and as an acknowledgment of the services, which the aged primate had rendered to the state.* The archbishop conferred upon his brother, a man much younger than himself†, the archdeaconry of Canterbury, and leaving to the archdeacon, the details of business, he sought, in retirement, to prepare for the great change, which was awaiting him; and to enjoy a foretaste of the eternal Sabbath, which the Great Captain of our salvation holds forth to the hopes of those good and faithful soldiers and servants, who, under his banner, have fought, loyally, if not wisely, the fight of faith.

There were several manors belonging to the see of Canterbury, in the county of Sussex. Stephen Langton chose, as his residence, the manor-house of Slindon. Slindon is situated, within seven miles of those cloisters, beneath the shadow of which these pages are

* The letter is preserved among the Close Rolls, p. 360.

† Simon Langton did not die till the year 1248. Matt. Paris, ad ann.

written.* We are therefore in a position to affirm, that the author of Magna Charta must have been a man of taste. The foundations of the ancient archiepiscopal residence are those, upon which the present mansion rests. Approached from the broad Downs, with their even outspread turf, that mansion is seen standing, amidst its broad-spreading beeches; and from the eminence, upon which it is placed, there is a sea view, which reaches from the Isle of Wight to Brighton. Here Stephen Langton accustomed his mind, to look from nature up to nature's God.

Stephen Langton, like his great predecessors, Lanfranc and Anselm, conduced, by his writings, to the great change, which was now passing over the awakened mind of Europe, to which we trace, in this country, the establishment of civil liberty, and the Reformation of the Church. The doctrinal errors of the middle ages will come before us, not controversially, but as historical facts, in another book; we have already had occasion, to notice their silent growth. In every age of the Church, errors must exist, and they always are most exuberant, wherever the greatest of all heresies is fostered,—that of seeking to propagate the Gospel, not simply by persuasion, but by coercion. We are taught by infallible wisdom, that "there must needs be heresies among you, that they which are approved may be manifest among you."† This was said to the earliest Christians; and to the existence of errors among them, we are indebted for apostolical epistles, written

* There can be little doubt that Stephen Langton visited occasionally Ralph Neville, Bishop of Chichester. Neville was a man whose principles accorded with those of the archbishop, by whom he was consecrated in 1224. It was under the auspices of this munificent prelate, that the spire was begun and designed. Dallaway, i. 45. I cannot forbear from referring to the learned work on the architectural history of this Cathedral by Professor Willis, just published by Mr. Mason. The typography and plates reflect honour upon the provincial press.

† 1 Cor. xi. 19.

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for the express purpose of refuting erroneous opinions, and of correcting the evil conduct consequent thereupon. The errors of good men generally arise, from their not perceiving how one truth is to balance another, and, that the observance of one class of duties is no excuse for the neglect of another class of duties: duties being always reconcilable and never really antagonistic. He is to be censured, who, in attending to the mint and cummin, neglects the weightier matters of the law; but he is not to be praised, who, in having regard to the one thing needful, leaves undone what, though not essential, may still be of importance, towards the perfecting of the religious character or the amelioration of human society.

During the larger portion of the period, which has now passed in review before us, the devotional element in religion almost overwhelmed the intellectual, and superstition was the result. In our own times, the intellectual has almost superseded the devotional, and the consequence is an increasing scepticism. Men, who have equal regard to the means of grace and to the means of knowledge are in possession of the truth, which always lies in the mean, between two vicious extremes.

Amidst all diversities of opinion, however, the unity of the Church is preserved, and, in the language of primitive Christianity, its orthodoxy is affirmed, so long as it adheres to the one centre doctrine of the whole Christian scheme, asserted by the Council of Nice, and zealously watched, by each succeeding council, assuming to be œcumenical,—the incarnation of the Eternal Son of God. This has always been called the Catholic faith. So long as he relies on the one Mediator between God and man, the Son of God incarnate, a Christian remains a Christian, however much his mind may be deformed by strange doctrines not inconsistent with this fundamental fact; just as man is man, whether seated on the throne of an

emperor, or pining upon inadequate food, in the hut of the Esquimaux.

The particulars of the last hours of Stephen Langton have not been handed down to us. We only know that his last breath was breathed on the 9th of July, 1228.

A stone coffin is still exhibited in Canterbury cathedral as that which contains his bones.

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